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COLLECTED WORKS
OF
SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR
VOL. II

**COMPRISING REPORTS ON SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. DURING
1882-91, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WRITINGS ETC,**

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

The sudden and long-protracted illness of Mr. N. B. Utgikar, the Editor of the Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, has prevented him from reading the proofs of the Indexes of this volume. The Indexes, themselves were left incomplete by the editor, and have been completed by Mr G N Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Institute. Mr. Utgikar, I am glad to add, has recovered remarkably well from a very bad attack of paralysis, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to write an Introduction to the first volume of the Collected Works which will, however, be the last to be published.

R̥sipañcamī, Śake 1850
(20th August, 1928)

V. G. PARANJPE,
Superintendent, Publication Dept.
of the B. O. B. Institute.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ait Br = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
Am = Amarakośa.
Anuv. = Anuvākya.
Āśv Śr. = Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.
Bh. = Bhagavadgītā.
Bib. Ind Ed. = Bibliotheca Indica Edition.
Gött gel. Anz. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
Gr Sū. = Grhyasūtra.
Ind. Anti. = Indian Antiquary
J A. O. S = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBBRAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society, Bombay.
Mah. = Mahābhāṣya.
Pāṇ. = Pāṇini.
Rājtaran. = Rājataranginī.
Rāya. = Rāyamukūṭa.
Rv. = Rgveda.
Śārng. = Śārngadhara-paddhati.
Taittī. S. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft.
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**EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR
SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1882-83¹
AND ON THE STATE OF THE PRESENT
COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS.**

EXPENDITURE

From the beginning of the official year to about the middle of September last², I was in sole charge of the operations in connection with the Search. Thereafter, the work, as well as the funds, were divided between Professor Peterson and myself. Out of the grant of Rs. 8,000, I had up to September spent Rs. 2,500, and the balance, after deducting Rs. 548, which had to be set apart for Inscriptions, was Rs. 4,952. Out of this, one-half or Rs. 2,476 was placed at the disposal of Professor Peterson and the other half was entrusted to me. Of this, I spent Rs. 2,455-0-6, so that, in all, my expenses during the year amounted to Rs. 4,955-0-6. Manuscripts of the value of Rs. 439-0-9 paid for out of this amount were, as stated in the last year's Report, included in the list then submitted, wherefore the results now to be reported, have cost Government Rs. 4,515-15-9.

Of this amount, Rs. 3473-13-0 were paid for the 772 Manuscripts purchased this year and the remainder, Rs. 1,042-2-9, was spent on the salaries and travelling expenses of the agents and Śāstrins employed for collecting Manuscripts and cataloguing Private Libraries.

¹ Originally published in 1884, at the Government Central Press, Bombay [N. B. U.]

² The original Report is dated 6th September 1883. [N. B. U.]

¹ [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. II.]

MANUSCRIPTS PURCHASED IN GUJARATH AND IN THE MARATHA COUNTRY

The catalogue of these Manuscripts is divided into two sections, in the first of which are entered Manuscripts collected in Gujarath, and in the second those purchased in the Maratha Country. The Gujarath section comprises Nos. 1—486 and the other, Nos 487—772

I will now give a brief analysis of the collection noticing all the particulars of a literary and historical importance, which from a hasty examination of the Manuscripts, I have been able to gather.

VEDAS

Under the head of Vedas including Upanisads are entered two complete copies of the Vajasaneya Samhitā, one in each section (Nos. 12, 13 and 495), and one of the Pada text of the Kāṇva Śākha of that Veda (No 489) Nos. 3 and 4 are complete copies of two of the four principal song-books of the Sāma Veda. We have also in this class, Manuscripts of eight out of the fourteen Kāṇḍas or divisions of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and double copies of some of them

No 14 is a copy of a part of Ūṣa's Bhāṣya or commentary on the Vajasaneya Samhitā. The fragment begins in the middle of Chapter II, and extends up to about the end of Chapter XXI; but a good many intermediate leaves are wanting. No. 16 is a copy of the latter part of the same work, and begins with Chapter XIX, and comes down to the end, one intermediate leaf only being lost. This was transcribed in the Samvat year 1431 corresponding to 1375 A. D., and is one of the oldest paper Manuscripts we possess. No. 14, and No. 15 (which is another fragment of the first part extending from Chapters XII to XVIII) also look as old if not older, though they bear no date.

ŪAṬA'S DATE

The date of No. 16 itself shows that Ūaṭa or Uvaṭa, the author, must have flourished at least five hundred years ago, but there is a statement in that Manuscript as well as in No. 14 which enables us to determine the precise period when he lived. In the colophon of Manuscripts of this author's works and at the end of some of the chapters, a couplet occurs, in the first line of which the name of his father is given as Vajraṭa and the place where he lived as Ānandapura. The sense of the second line of the couplet as it usually occurs in Manuscripts of the Mantrabhāṣya is "*This commentary on the Mantras was composed after a mature deliberation of [the sense of] words and sentences.*" But in the Manuscripts I am speaking about, instead of the words in Italics, we have in several places "while Bhoja was ruling over the earth" or "while Bhoja was governing his kingdom."

Ānandapura has been identified with Vadanagar in Upper Gujarath, and though Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, tells us that in his time the district in which the town was situated formed part of the kingdom of Malwa, still it is questionable whether the town belonged to the kings of that country in the time of Bhoja, especially since a powerful kingdom had been established, a good many years before Bhoja came to the throne, at Anahilapaṭṭana not far from Vadanagar. But the point is placed beyond doubt by another couplet occurring at the end of the tenth Chapter of No 14, in which Ūaṭa tells us that "he composed the Mantrabhāṣya while living in Avantī and while Bhoja was ruling over the country." This shows that though Vajraṭa, the father of our author, lived at Ānandapura, Ūaṭa himself lived in Malwa at the time when he wrote his work. The Bhoja therefore mentioned by him must undoubtedly be the celebrated prince of that name who ruled over the country from about 996 to 1051 A. D.

UPANIṢADS

No. 487 is entitled Aṣṭottaraśatopanīṣad or the Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads. The original Upaniṣads formed parts of the Vedas and these are really works of great antiquity; but treatises of this nature gradually multiplied, many of them being devoted to the exaltation of particular deities and to the furtherance of such other sectarian objects. Most of them are referred to the Atharva Veda, a circumstance partially due to the fact that the literature belonging to this Veda was not clearly defined and specified by the ancient scholars of India. The number of Upaniṣads extant is now estimated at about 250.

But at some period which cannot be very distant, 108 of these were chosen as the best, and their names given in one of them entitled Mukṭikopanīṣad and their study enjoined. The Upaniṣads in our No. 487 are the same as those mentioned in the Mukṭikopanīṣad, and are written and arranged exactly in the same order. But out of the 108, two—the Taittirīya and the Mantrika—have dropped out somehow, though their names are given in the table of contents attached to the Manuscript.

Gujarath section also contains thirty-six treatises of this class, and some of them are different from those enumerated in the Mukṭikopanīṣad. Besides these we have detached copies of several of them. It is not often that so many Upaniṣads are found in a single collection of Manuscripts.

VEDĀNGAS AND SACRIFICIAL MANUALS

In the class of Vedāṅgas and Sacrificial Prayogas or Manuals, there is in the Gujarath section a copy of Devayājñika's Bhāṣya or commentary on the Anukramanikā of the Vajasaneya Saṁhitā (No. 25), and in the Maratha section, a copy of two chapters of his commentary on Kātyāyana's Sacrificial Sūtras (Nos. 504 and 505). Of this last a copy of four chapters was procured by me last year. There is also a Manuscript of the first three

chapters of another Bhāṣya on this Sūtra by an author whose name is not given.

Last year's Collection contained copies of the commentaries of Karka, Gadadhara, and Harihara, on Pāraskara's Gṛhya Sūtra and this year one of Jayarāma's commentary on the same (No. 512) has been added.

There are Manuscripts of dependent treatises also such as the Prātijñā Sūtra, the Bhāṣika Sūtra, Yājñavalkya Śikṣā, &c. (Nos. 26, 28, and 513—521) In the Maratha section, there are Manuscripts of several sacrificial Manuals belonging principally to the Vajasaneya Śakhā (Nos. 522—541).

ITIHĀSAS, PURĀṆAS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

The object in making collections of Manuscripts is, I apprehend, not only to procure copies of rare works but also to secure material for critical editions of such as though not rare are of great importance, or for the determination of the correct text of any particular passage in them, whenever a weighty issue hangs on it. In making these I have always this object in view. In the department of the Mahābhārata, therefore, I have on no occasion rejected a good Manuscript of the whole or a portion of the Mahābhārata offered for sale, though the work has been printed once in Calcutta and twice in Bombay. But in all cases I paid a good deal less than the ordinary price. One copy of the Mahābhārata was purchased in 1879 at the rate of one rupee for a thousand Ślokas, and a copy of each of the ten books of the epic with commentaries, at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0.

In this year's Collection in the Gujarath section there are Manuscripts of eleven books, two of which, from the dates given in the colophon, appear to be 300 years old. The others also look as old though they bear no dates. They were paid for at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 (Nos. 56—67). In the Maratha section there is a copy of the whole of the Mahābhārata with the

exception of the Śāntiparvan or the twelfth book, and a copy of the Harivamśa (Nos. 565, 566 and 579). These are about two hundred years old, and the price paid was Rs. 1-12-0 per thousand, which was the uniform rate at which a large lot of Manuscripts was purchased at Nasik

In this class there are also Manuscripts of the Vāṃśtha Rāmāyaṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Viṣṇu and the Vāmana Purāṇas, and of a good many Mahātmyas of shrines or rivers, such as the Mahātmya of Jagannātha in Orissa, of which we have two copies, one engraved on Tāla leaves and the other written on paper, and the Prabhāsa Mahātmya.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA OR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW

As belonging to the Smṛti branch of the literature of the Hindu Law, religious and civil, I have to announce the acquisition of a valuable commentary on the Manu Smṛti by Raghavānanda (No. 110). There are also old copies of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, and of Viṣṇuśaṅkara's commentary on it—the *Mitākṣara*—one of which was transcribed in Samvat 1535 or 1479 A.D., that is more than 400 years ago (No 106).

We have a somewhat mutilated Manuscript of a work entitled Jñānabhāskara (Nos. 96-97), which consists of a dialogue between Sūrya, the Sun deity, and Aruṇa, his charioteer, and another of that part of it which treats of the duties of widows.

Of digests and manuals, which form an extensive branch of the modern literature of the subject, we have an old copy of the Madanapārijāta (No. 599)—which is considered a work of much importance—and treatises on the domestic rites of the followers of the White Yajurveda entitled Samskārabhāskara (Nos. 115 and 611) by Khaṇḍabhaṭṭa, the son of Mayūreśvara, and Samskārapaddhati (Nos. 114 and 610) by Gaṅgādharma. Madanapārijāta is so called because its author Viśveśvara was patronized by a prince named Madanapāla whose history is given in the introduction to

the work. This introduction Professor Aufrecht gives in his notice of the work in the Oxford Catalogue.

Nos. 614, 615, and 618 are commentaries on works detailing the duties of the followers of Madhva, the originals of which were written by Madhvācārya himself. The last of these Manuscripts contains the original also. Nos. 616 and 617 also belong to that sect. Besides other works which are well known we have a large number of Manuscripts of rituals employed on special occasions.

POEMS, PLAYS, FABLES, ETC

Among the poems and plays and the commentaries thereon, collected this year, may be mentioned a large fragment of Ekanātha's commentary on the Kīrātārjunīya (No. 136), eleven cantos of the Raghuvamśadarpaṇa by Hemadri (No. 161); an anonymous commentary on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasaṃhāra (No. 139); four different glosses on the Meghadūta (Nos. 157—160); a complete copy of a commentary on the Naisadhiya by Narahari (No. 146); two commentaries on the Khandaṇḍasāstī (Nos. 140 and 620); two old copies of Kadambarī (Nos. 134 and 135); a Manuscript of the Pañcatantra more than five hundred years old (No. 147), and two poems entitled Rukmiṇīśavijaya and Tīrthaprabandha by Vādirāja-tīrtha with commentaries (Nos. 622, 623, 632 and 633). There is a copy of the Madhvavijaya or the triumphant career of Madhva (No. 627); but several of its leaves are missing.

The last three works belong to the Mādhva sect, and Vādirāja, said to be the same as Kavindra, was one of Ānandatīrtha's successors, being the eighth in the list given [later on]. He died in 1261 Śaka or 1339 A. D.

GĀṄGĀDĀSA AND NARAHARI

One of the commentaries on the Khandaṇḍasāstī is by Guṇavīṇaya, a Jaina, and the other by Gaṅgādāsa, who in a stanza at the end of each section, gives Peciya as the name of

his father and Mahalakṣmī as that of his mother. He assumed the name of Jñānānanda after he had renounced the world and become a saṁnyāsin or recluse. The stanza is given by Professor Aufrecht in his notice of this work, but it is worthy of observation that the line, in which his having become a recluse is mentioned, occurs for the first time in the stanza at the end of his commentary on the Rāma-Avatāra, or the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu, so that he seems to have assumed that condition after he had finished his commentary on the first six avatāras or incarnations.

The commentary on the Naiṣadhiya also contains at the end of each canto a stanza in which the author gives his name as Naraharī, and states that he was the son of one Svayambhū "whose feet were incessantly adored by the king of Trilīṅga" by his wife Nālamā, and that he was treated with kindness by Vidyāranya, the Yogin, who probably was his guru or preceptor. The king of Trilīṅga or Telaṅgaṇa, alluded to here, must very likely be a prince of the Vijayanagara dynasty, and if the Vidyāranya mentioned by the writer was the same as Mādhava, who, when he renounced the world, assumed that name, our author flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Harihara.

MINOR POEMS

GĪTA-RĀGHAVA OF PRABHĀKARA

Of the minor poems one is the Gīta-Rāghava which is one of the several imitations of Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda, the hero here being Rāma instead of Kṛṣṇa. The author's name is Prabhākara. He was the son of Bhūdhara, and wrote his work in Śaṁvat 1674.

BHĀVAŚATAKA OF NĀGARĀJA

Another small poem is the Bhāvaśataka by Nāgarāja. It consists of a hundred and one verses, some of them in the Prakrit, in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition, and the reason why he or she does so, or the inner sense of the verse, is meant to be found out by the reader. It is, however, given at the end of the verse. Nāgarāja, the author, is spoken of at the end of the poem as a king who was the ornament of the Tāka race and in whom the goddesses of Prosperity and Learning having ceased to quarrel, lived in harmony with each other. "He was the son of Jalaya (?) whose fame was sung by a host of bards, and who was a praiseworthy offshoot of the Tāka race." Jalaya's father was Vidyādhara who belonged to the Kārpaya (?) gotra and obtained very great prosperity by worshipping the feet of Kedarā. The Tāka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapala, the patron of the author of the Madanapārijāta, noticed above, belonged. It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was, as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kāstha situated on the Yamunā to the north of Delhi.

BHĀIRAVAŚĀHANĀVARATNA BHĀIRAVAŚĀHA

Another small poem entitled Bhairavaśāha-navarasa-ratna (No. 152) contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas or poetic sentiments. The hero is a prince named Bhairavaśāha of the Rāṣṭraṇḍha or Rāṭhor race, who was the son of Pratāpa and whose capital was Mayūrādrī. In the Kirtikaumudī, a Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race is mentioned as a dependent of the Calukyas of Anahilapattana. Rāṣṭrakūṭa is the Sanskrit form of Rāṣṭraṇḍha or Rāṭhor, but whether this Pratāpamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty. Bhairavaśāha is in some of the verses called

Bahīramasāha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name. But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it.

RĀMAŚATAKA OF SOMEŚVARA

We have also a copy of a poem called Rāmaśataka (No 166), which contains a hundred verses in praise of Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu. In a verse at the end, which is the 101st, we are told that the poem was composed by Someśvara-deva in half a Yāma or an hour and a half. Who this Someśvara was is not stated in the Manuscript, but in another copy of the poem since procured, he is represented as the Purohita or priest of 'Gūjareśvara' or King of Gujarath. This Someśvara, therefore, was the same as the author of the Kīrtikaumudī who was the chaplain or priest of Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, the founders of the Vāghela branch of the Cālukya dynasty of Gujarath, and the line about the poem being written in half a Yāma occurs, word for word, in an Inscription composed by him found at Dabhoi in the territory of the Gaikvad, (Kathavate's Kīrtikaumudī, Intr., p 1x).

VYAKARAṆAŚĀSTRĀ GRAMĪYAR

In grammar I have to announce the acquisition of another copy of the Mahābhāṣya with the commentary of Kaiyaṭa (No. 185). It wants the first Pāda only, but in other respects it is a very good Manuscript. There is also a fragment of a commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudī (No 189), by an author not much known, named Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa.

The works of Bhaṭṭojidikṣita and Nagojibhaṭṭa with their commentaries, which, along with a portion of the Mahābhāṣya, are exclusively studied by modern Pandits who devote themselves to grammar, are also well represented in this year's Collection as they were in last year's.

Of works belonging to other systems of grammar, we have Bopadeva's Kavikalpadrūpa and a voluminous commentary

on the *Sārasvata* by Rāmabhaṭṭa, the son of Narasiṃha, and another entitled *Sāradīpikā*, both of which however are incomplete (Nos. 193 and 194)

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

Among the *Kośas* or lexicons collected this year there is a Manuscript of *Halāyudha*, four hundred years old (No 645), and a copy of the *Anekārthatilaka* by Mahīpa (No. 202).

In the Gujarath section there is a Manuscript entitled *Anekārthadhvanīmañjarī* (No 199), and in the Maratha section, another entitled *Nānārthamañjarī*, (No 648) On examination I find that they are both copies of the same work In No. 199, the name of the author is given as Mahāchapanaka, cha being put for kṣa, and the work is referred to the Kāśmīra Āmnāya or Kāśmīr literature.

In the group of Jaina works there is a copy of the *Siddhasābdārnava* by Sahajakīrti, a lexicon that is quoted by Mallinath and mentioned by other writers (No. 466).

POETICS AND METRICS

PUNJARAJA, AUTHOR OF THE KĀVYĀLAMKĀRĀSISUPRABODHA

In the class of Poetics and Metrics we have a mutilated copy of a work, unknown before, entitled *Kāvyālamkārasūprabodha* by Puñjarāja (No 210), an old Manuscript of Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṅgāratilaka*, two copies of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* with fragments of commentaries, two works of Appayadīkṣita; and Bhānudatta's *Rasataranginī*, of which about a leaf is wanting at the end, and his *Rasamañjarī*.

Puñjarāja was the son of Jīvanendra and is spoken of as the ornament of the Mālava circle and as belonging to the family of Śrīmāla He is therefore, the same as the author of the commentary on the *Sārasvata* grammar.

DHVANIPRADĪPA, ANOTHER WORK OF THE SAME

Puñjarāja mentions another larger work of his, entitled *Dhvanipradīpa*

BHĀNUDATTA

In the sixth chapter of the *Rasataranginī*, Bhānudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points, because he says they are given in the *Rasamañjarī*. From this it is clear that the author of both was the same ; but there is some question as to his native country. In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the *Rasamañjarī*, it is spoken of as 'Vīdarbhābhūḥ,' or the land of the Vīdarbhas, and the Manuscript before me agrees with his. But Dr. Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts, calls him Maithilā Bhānudatta, i e, Bhānudatta, the native of Mithilā, and the copy of the *Rasamañjarī* purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year, have Vīdehābhūḥ instead of Vīdarbhābhūḥ, i e, the land of the Vīdehas of which Mithilā was the capital. That Vīdarbhābhūḥ is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country, while the country of the Vīdarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the south of the Narmadā.

ANANTA PAṆḌITA

The commentary which accompanies our *Rasamañjarī* is called *Vyangyārthakanmudī* and was composed by Ananta Paṇḍita, the son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita. The father of this last was Bālo Paṇḍita, and his again was Nīlakaṇṭha Paṇḍita. The family lived at Puṇyastambha, the vernacular Puṇtāmbem, situated on the river Gautamī or Godāvarī. Puṇtāmbem is a town in the Ahmadnagar District. The commentary was written at Kāśī or Benares in the year 1692 for Candrabhānu, who was king of Kāśī at the time. Candrabhānu was the son of Virasenadeva and grandson of Madhukarāsāha, who was the son of Kāśīrāja.

The date given by the author must be understood as referring to the Vikrama era, for if we take the era to be the Śaka, the Vikrama year corresponding to 1692 Śaka will be 1827, while the Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1817 Vikrama.

PINGALA'S PRAKRIT PROSODY

There are in this class incomplete Manuscripts of a work on Prakṛt prosody attributed to Pingala and of a commentary on it by Manoharakṣṇa.

VEDĀNTA

ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANIṢADS

Our acquisitions in the department of the Vedānta have been very valuable this year. First, we have Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣyas or commentaries on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and seven other Upaniṣads (Nos. 247 and 227—230), and Nārāyaṇa's Dīpikās or glosses on forty-six treatises of that class (No. 233). Then there is a copy of Ānandajñāna's gloss (No. 248) on Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka; of the Vārtika or commentary in verse (No. 249) on the same Bhāṣya by Sureśvarācārya who was a pupil of Śamkarācārya, and of a commentary on the fourth chapter of this Vārtika by Ānandajñāna (No. 250). Similarly there are copies of Śamkarācārya's exposition of the Mahāvākyas, or the great Upaniṣad texts declaratory of the identity between the supreme and the individual souls (Nos. 256 and 661).

WORKS BASED ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

We have also got Ānandajñāna's voluminous commentary (No. 266) on Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra which is very valuable, and which I now use for my lectures on the

Bhāṣya, a portion of which has to be got up by students who take up English and Sanskrit as an optional subject for the B.A. Examination.

I may also mention a copy of the second half of the *Samkṣepaśāstraka*, or substance of Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya (No 268) by Sarvajñātman who was a pupil of Sureśvarācārya and grandpupil of Śaṅkarācārya. There is also a copy of a commentary by one Rāmatīrtha (No 269) on the fourth or last chapter of this work.

" A PRINCE OF THE RACE OF MANU "

In a stanza at the end of the *Samkṣepaśāstraka*, the author tells us that he wrote his work while " the prosperous king, the Āditya or Sun of the race of Manu, who belonged to a Kṣatriya family and whose orders were nowhere disobeyed, was ruling over the earth." Who this Āditya of the race of Manu was, it is difficult to determine. But princes of the early Cālukya dynasty, which ruled over the Deccan from the Narmadā to Mysore, spoke of themselves as belonging to the *Manavya gotra*, or, as the word might be interpreted, to " the race of Manu , " and there were several of them the second part of whose name was Āditya, such as Vikramāditya, Vinayāditya, and Vijayāditya. But the sovereignty of the country was wrested from them by another family known by the name of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* before the Śaka year 675 or 753 A D , while Śaṅkarācārya, the preceptor of our author's teacher Sureśvara, is said to have been born in 710 Śaka or 788 A D.

The Cālukyas, however, were not exterminated by the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and they probably governed a small province as their dependents. But our information with regard to them after the extinction of their power is very scanty. There were two princes among them of the name of Vikramāditya, and perhaps Sarvajñātman alludes to one of these. If, however, the description given by him is considered hardly applicable to

a minor chief, and the family of Manu spoken of by him was really the early Ālukya dynasty, Śaṅkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards to about the year 680 A.D., so as to place his grandpupil in the reign of at least the last king whose name terminated in the word Āditya, viz., Vikramāditya II. Vikramāditya II ceased to reign in Śaka 669 or A.D. 747. If, on the other hand, we place Sarvajñātman in the reign of the first prince whose name terminated in the word Āditya, i. e., Vikramāditya I, who was a powerful monarch and who ceased to reign in Śaka 601 or 679 A. D., Śaṅkarācārya must be referred to about the end of the sixth century

WORKS BASED ON PURĀNIC ORIGINALS

Among the Vedāntic works based on Purāṇic originals may be noticed the Yajñavalkyaśraṅgā (No. 666), with a commentary by Mādhavācārya, the pupil of Śaṅkarānanda, and the Brahmagītā said to form a part of the same Śraṅgā with a commentary by the same author (No. 260).

Of those based on episodes of the Mahābhārata we have Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya or authoritative commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, one copy of which is 472 years old (No. 252), and his Bhāṣya on the Viṣṇusahasranāma.

INDEPENDENT TREATISES

Of the independent treatises on the subject composed by the great teacher we have copies of eight, most of them with commentaries (Nos. 225, 231, 232, 243, 244, 261, 656, 667), and of those composed by his followers we have ten (Nos. 222—224, 235, 237, 238 &c)

THE SYSTEM OF MĀDHYA

In the Maratha Section of the Collection, there are fifty-five Manuscripts (Nos. 668—722) of forty-four different works expounding the system of the Vedānta promulgated by

Madhva who is also known by the names of Ānandatīrtha, Pūrṇaprajña and Madhyamandāra.

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS OF THE MADHVA SECT

Ānandatīrtha was the pontiff or head of the congregation he founded, and the members of his sect have kept a regular list of his successors to the present day together with the dates of their death. Copies of the list, however, found in the possession of different persons, differ from each other in a few respects. It appears that in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each High-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error, if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than 60 years.

I have compared three lists, one from Poona, another from Miraj, and the third lithographed at Belgaum, and found that the principal disagreement between the last two is due to this source. The second however appears to be correct, since the third assigns to two successive pontiffs, i.e., the eleventh and the twelfth, sixty and fifty-eight years. The results of the comparison are given in [the following table]. It will be seen from the list here given that Ānandatīrtha died in Śaka 1119 corresponding to 1197 A. D.

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mādhva Sect.

No.	Name	DATE OF DEATH				Name before initiation	Place of termination	Notes
		Saṁvatsara	Śaka	Month	Day			
1	Ānandatīrtha ..	Pingala	1119	Māgha	9 ś.	Vāsudevaśācārya ...	Bedarikāśrama	
2	Padmanābhatīrtha	Raktākṣi	1126	Kārtika	14 v	Subhanabhaṭṭa ¹	Ānegundi ..	¹ Ānandabhaṭṭa, Bel.
3	Naraharīrtha	Śrīmukha	1135	Paṇṣa	7 v	Rāmaśāstrin ¹	Hampi ²	¹ Śamaśāstrin, Bel. ² Okaśrīrtha, Bel.
4	Mādhavatīrtha ..	Vikṛti	1152	Bhādra- pada ..	3 v.	Viṣṇuśāstrin ¹	Hampi ³	¹ Govindaśāstrin, Bel. ² Maṇḍūr, Bel.
5	Akṣobhyatīrtha	Plavanga ¹	1169	Mārga- śrīṣa	5 v	Govindaśāstrin	Malkhed	¹ Viśvāśu, Bel.; P. agrees with M Native of Mangalve- dha.
6	Jayatīrtha .	Vibhava ...	1190	Āśāḍha	5 v	Dhondo Raghunātha ..	Do	
7	Vidyādhurājatīrtha	Angiras ...	1254	Varāṣṭha .	3 ś.	Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa ...	Yaragal	
8	Kavindrājatīrtha	Pramāthin	1261	Caitra ...	9 ś.	Vāsudevaśāstrin	Ānegundi .	¹ 1257, M.; P. and Bel. agree in the Sam- vatsara.
9	Vaṣīṣatīrtha ...	Subhānu ¹	1265	Do. ..	² 2 v.	Raṅgācārya ⁵	Do	¹ P. agrees with M.; Bel has Sarvajit and 1269 Śaka. ² 3 v Bel. ³ Raghunāthācārya, Bel.

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mād̥hva Sect—continued.

No	Name	DATE OF DEATH			Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Samvatsara	śaka	Month	Day		
10	Rāmacandraśrīr̥tha	Nala ...	1298	1 Paur̥ṣa	6 ś.	Yaragal	1 Vaisākha, Bel.
11	Vidyānandhīr̥tha	Raktakṣi	1306	1 Kārtika	11 ś.	Ānegundi	1 1366 Śaka, Bel. 2 4 v, Bel. 3 Yaragal, Bel.
12	Rāghunāthār̥tha	Dundubhi	1364	1 Mārgaśīrṣa	1 v	Do	1 1424, Bel. 2 Vṛspuṣāstr̥tin, Bel. 3 Malkhed, Bel.
13	Rāghuvaryār̥tha	Pingala	1419	1 Jyestha	3 v	Do	1 1479, Bel.
14	Rāghūttamār̥tha	Manmatha	1457	1 Paur̥ṣa	11 v	Do	1 1517, Bel. 2 Tirskallur-Dakṣa-pnaskmi, Bel.
15	Vedavyāsār̥tha	Siddharthun ...	1481	1 Caitra	2 ś.	Pinagundi	1 1541, Bel. 2 3 ś., Bel.
16	Vidyadhīśār̥tha	Prajāpati	1493	1 Paur̥ṣa	14 v	Ekacakra	1 1553, Bel.
17	Vedānandhīr̥tha	Yuvan	1497	1 Kārtika	12 ś.	Paṇḍharpur	1 1557, Bel. 2 11 ś., Bel.
18	Satyavratār̥tha	Bahudhanya	1560	1 Phālguna	6 ś.	Saigali	1 Raiganakthācārya, Bel.

19	Satyānidhātīrtha .	Sarvajit . .	1582	Mārgaśr̥ṣa	10 ś.	¹ Raghunāthaśārya	Nivṛtsaṅgama	¹ Raghupatyaśārya, Bel.
20	Satyasthātīrtha ...	Pramādin	1595	Do. ...	11 ś.	Do	Vīroja
21	Satyābhūnavaatīrtha	Vyaya ...	1628	Jyēṣṭha ..	14 v	² Narasimhaśārya	Nacārguṇḍa	¹ 14 ś., Bel. ² Kēśavaśārya, Bel.
22	Satyapūrṇatīrtha .	Parābhava	1648	Do	2 v.	¹ Kēśavaśārya	Koṇṇikollur ...	¹ Kṛṣṇāśārya, Bel. ² Kollur, Bel. M. puts between 21 and 22 one of the name of Satyādhi-rājatīrtha, who occupied the seat for about ten days.
23	Satyaviṇayaatīrtha...	¹ Siddhārthun ...	1661	Caitra ...	12 v.	² Do	Āraṇi ...	¹ Pingala 1659, Bel. ² 11 v, Bel. ³ Balacārya, Bel.
24	Satyapriyatīrtha ..	Raktākṣaṇ	¹ 1666	Do. .	13 ś	Rāmacandraśārya...	Bhāgyanagar.	¹ 1664, M. ² Mānāmadhuri, Bel.
25	Satyābodhātīrtha.	Śobhana	1705	Phalguṇa	1 v	Rāmacārya	Śaṅnur
26	Satyasaundhātīrtha	Ānanda ...	1716	Jyēṣṭha	2 ś	¹ Do	Mahar	¹ Raghavendraśārya, Bel.
27	Satyavaratīrtha ..	Pingala	1719	Śrāvaṇa ...	7 ś.	Kṛṣṇāśārya	¹ Santu Binur ..	¹ Santu Bedanur, Bel.
28	Satyadharmatīrtha	Vikṛti ..	1752	Do. ...	13 v.	Āṇṇayaśārya	Hole Honur	...

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mādhyā Sect.—concluded.

No.	Name	DATE OF DEATH				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Samvatsara	Śaka	Month	Day			
29	Satyasaṃkalpa- tirtha ..	Plava ..	1763	Āṣāḍha	¹ 5 ś	Śrīnivāsācārya	Mahisur ...	¹ 15 ś, Bel
30	Satyasaṃtūṣṭa- tirtha ...	Plava	1763	Phalguṇa	30 v	¹ Balācārya	Do	¹ Ghuh-bālācārya, Bel
31	Satyaparaṇyana- tirtha ...	Rudhrod- gārin	1785	Āśvina ..	¹ 6 ś	Gurācārya	Santi Bnūr ..	¹ 7 ś, Bel. ² Gurīabosur, Bel.
32	Satyakamatirtha ...	Prajapati	1793	Pauṣa	¹ 30 v	Śrīnivāsācārya	Ātakur, then Raichur	¹ 6 v, Bel
33	Satyasatirtha ...	Angiras .	1794	Bhādra- pada	11 ś	Narasimhācārya	Ātakur	M omits all except the Dikṣa name by mistake
34	Satyaparaṅkrama- tirtha ...	Pramāthin	1801	Āśvina .	¹ 6 ś	Śrīnivāsācārya	Chittapur ..	¹ 8 ś, Bel.
35	Satyavratirtha	Bodharāyācārya	..	Now living

M. represents the list procured at Miraj, Bel represents the list published at Belgaum; P represents the list procured at Poona ś represents the light half of a month, v represents the dark half of a month

LIFE AND DATE OF MADHVAČĀRYA

Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in Kali 4220, corresponding to Śaka 1040, and in the Vilambin Samvatsara. He was made a Samnyāsīn by Acyuta-prekṣācārya and afterwards went to Badarikāśrama and came back in 1057 Śaka, Ānanda Samvatsara, bringing with him idols of Dīgviṣaya Rāma and Veda Vyāsa. He was raised to the seat of High-priest in the presence of kings. Padmanābhatīrtha, Narahatīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha and Akṣobhyatīrtha were his pupils. Narahatīrtha was sent to Jagannātha, in Orissa, to bring the original idol of Rāma and Sītā. Ānandatīrtha went from country to country putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others and established the Vaiṣṇava creed. He died on the 9th of the light half of Māgha in 1120 Śaka current and the Pingala Samvatsara, having raised Padmanābhatīrtha to the seat of Pontiff in the presence of all his disciples.

COMPARISON OF THE DOCTRINES OF ŚĀMKAARA AND MĀDHVA

The system founded by Ānandatīrtha is so bitterly hostile to that of Śamkarācārya, that its followers consider the latter teacher to be an incarnation of a Daitya or demon whose object was to deceive mankind. According to Śamkara's system, the world is an unreality and the only reality is an unconditioned and blissful soul. All conditions or limitations of which our soul is conscious, all feeling, even the sense of individuality, and the external world, arise from the development of a certain principle which consists of ignorance, and which represents the soul as otherwise than what it really is, and generates mere appearances. When this principle is got rid of, the soul is free from all limitations and the appearances are dissolved, and being free from all misery, it resumes its pristine condition.

This doctrine is condemned in unqualified terms by Madhva and his followers, who maintain that the world is

real, the feeling of individuality which separates one soul from another and from the inanimate world, represents something that is real, God as different from the individual souls and from the world is real, that the relation between the individual soul and God is like that between a servant and his master, and that by worshipping and serving this master, the individual soul is exalted and becomes like God in most respects. These are the speculative doctrines of Madhva. Practically he enjoins the worship of Viṣṇu who is represented as the supreme God.

THE THREE PRASTHĀNAS

The Vedānta has what are called three Prasthānas or sources (literally, *starting points*), viz. (1) the *Upaniṣads*, (2) the *Brahmasūtra* by Bādarāyaṇa, and, (3) the *Bhagavadgītā* and such other episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Hence it is necessary that each system should have its own way of interpreting these treatises, and accordingly each has its own *Bhāṣyas* or authoritative commentaries on them. The works of Śaṅkarācārya on these three sets of originals existing in our Collection have been noticed, and I shall now proceed to examine those of Ānandatīrtha.

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANIṢADS

Out of the forty-four works mentioned above seven are Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣyas* on seven of the principal *Upaniṣads*, two of them having glosses by two of his successors. Our Manuscript of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, which is the largest of the *Upaniṣads*, is incomplete.

WORKS BASED ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

We have a copy of Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* (Nos. 704—706); of what is called his *Anuvyākhyāna* of it, which is of the nature of an independent treatise expounding the

contents of the Sūtra (No. 709), and of the Aṇubhāṣya or a summary of the Sūtra (No. 708).

JAYATĪRTHA

Ānandatīrtha's treatises are generally very short, but there are large commentaries on them, principally by Jayatīrtha, the sixth in the succession list who died in 1190 Śāka or 1268 A. D. Jayatīrtha's name before he was raised to the pontifical seat was Dhopḍo Raghunātha, and he was a native of Mangalavedha near Pandharpur. In the Collection there are Manuscripts of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya entitled Tattvapraśāśikā (No. 679), and of two commentaries on this again, one entitled Abhinavacandrikā (No. 669) by Satyanāthatīrtha (the twentieth in the succession list who died in Śāka 1595), and the other called Tātparyanirṇaya by Vyāsayatī the fifteenth, who died in Śāka 1481 (No. 691). The first two, however, come down to the end of the second chapter, there being four in all, and the third is but a fragment. Jayatīrtha's commentary on the Anuvyākhyāna is called Nyāyasudhā, of which we have got about one-half (No. 695).

No. 713 is a copy of the Bhāvprakāśa, a commentary by Nṛsiṃha on the last of Ānandatīrtha's works on the Brahmasūtra, the Aṇubhāṣya.

WORKS BASED ON PURĀNIC ORIGINALS

The works in our Collection of Ānandatīrtha's school on the third source of the Vedānta are three, viz., a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā (No. 677), not by Ānandatīrtha, but by Vidyādhiraṇja, the immediate successor of Jayatīrtha, who died in 1254 Śāka or 1332 A.D.; the Bhārata-tātparyanirṇaya-pramāṇasaṃgraha (No. 712), and a small fragment of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāgavata-tātparyanirṇaya (No. 711).

The Bhārata-tātparyanirṇaya-pramāṇasaṃgraha is a collection of texts from the epics and Purāṇas supporting some of the

statements of Ānandatīrtha in his Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya. The name of the author is not given

INDEPENDENT WORKS OF MĀDHVA

Of the independent works of Madhvācārya, we have ten with the commentaries of Jayatīrtha, and in some cases a gloss on these latter by Vyāsātīrtha. One of the most important of these is the Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya, of Jayatīrtha's commentary on which we have two copies (Nos 719—721)

Two more works of Ānandatīrtha have been noticed [above] in connection with Dharmaśāstra, so that we have copies of twenty-three out of the thirty-seven works attributed to him in certain memorial verses [making up the Grantha-Mālīka-stotra] which are as follows.—

॥ श्रीवेदव्यासाय नमः ॥

॥ श्री० अथ ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्रप्रारम्भः ॥

कृष्णं विद्यापतिं नत्वा पूर्णबोधार्थसद्गुरुन् ॥

ग्रन्थान्मध्वश्चकारासौ सप्तत्रिंशदमन्त्रधीः ॥ १ ॥

गीताभाष्यं चकारासौ प्रथमं तुष्टिदं हरेः ॥

भाष्याणुभाष्ये चक्रेऽथ अनुव्याख्यानमव्ययम् ॥ २ ॥

संन्यासपञ्चतिं चक्रे न्यायशास्त्रनिष्कृन्तने ॥

प्रमाणलक्षणं नाम कथालक्षणसंज्ञकम् ॥ ३ ॥

उपाधिलक्षणं चक्रे मायावादस्य खण्डनं ॥

चक्रे प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वमानखण्डनमुच्चधीः ॥ ४ ॥

चकार तत्त्वसंख्यानं साधनं तत्त्वदर्शनं ॥

ग्रन्थं तत्त्वविवेकाख्यं तत्त्वोद्घोतं हरेः प्रियम् ॥ ५ ॥

कर्मनिर्णयनामानं ग्रन्थं न्यायार्थबुद्धितं ॥

सुखतीर्थयतिश्चक्रे विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णयम् ॥ ६ ॥

ऋग्भाष्यं च चकारासौ सर्ववेदार्थनिर्णयं ॥

देतरेयं तैत्तिरीयं बृहदारण्यमेव च ॥ ७ ॥

ईशावास्यं काठकं च छान्दोग्याथर्वणे तथा ॥

माण्डूक्यं नाम षट्प्रश्नं तथा तल्लघकारकम् ॥ ८ ॥
 चक्रे भाष्याणि दिव्यानि दशोपनिषदां गुरुः ॥
 निर्णयं सर्वशास्त्राणां गीतातात्पर्यसंज्ञकम् ॥ ९ ॥
 नरसिंहनखस्तोत्रं चक्रे यमकभारतं ॥
 द्वादशस्तोत्रमकरोत्कृष्णामृतमहार्णवम् ॥ १० ॥
 तन्त्रसारं चकारासौ सदाचारस्मृतिः [ति] सुधीः ॥
 धीमद्भागवतस्यापि तात्पर्यं ज्ञानसाधनम् ॥ ११ ॥
 महाभारततात्पर्य-निर्णयं संशयच्छिदं ॥
 यतिप्रणवकल्पं वा प्रणवार्थप्रकाशकम् ॥ १२ ॥
 जयन्तीनिर्णयं चक्रे देवकीगर्मजन्मनः ॥
 कृष्णस्य कृष्णमकोयं द्वैपायनकराबुधौ [Sic] ॥ १३ ॥
 एतेषां पाठमात्रेण मध्वेशः प्रीयते हरिः ॥
 इति ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्रं संपूर्णं धीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF MADHVA

We have also Manuscripts of eight independent works written by the followers of Madhva, and Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya (No 275) in the Gujarath section also belongs to this school

SYSTEMS OF RĀMĀNUJA AND NIMBĀRKA

DOCTRINES

Another system of the Vedānta was founded by Rāmānuja in the South, and by Nimbārka who was a Southern Brahman, in the North. There is not much difference between the doctrines of these teachers. According to them there is an unity of substance as well as plurality. The individual souls and the inanimate world form one substance with God in so far as he animates them. He is the soul of our souls and the soul of the world, and these are his body, and as the human soul with the human body forms one individual, so does the supreme soul with his body, viz, the world

and the dependent souls, form one substance. Thus we have unity. But plurality also is true in so far as the distinction between the three—the supreme soul, the dependent souls, and the world—is never obliterated. Practically, Rāmanuja enjoins the worship of Nārāyaṇa generally, but Nimbārka seems to have attached particular importance to the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, and in this respect was a precursor of Vallabhācārya.

WORKS OF THE NIMBĀRKA SYSTEM

ŚIṢṬAGĪTĀ

We have no work expounding Nimbārka's system in the Collection, but there is a Manuscript of a tract, entitled the Śiṣṭagītā (No 83), in which all great persons from Brahmā, Śiva, and Vyāsa down to Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita and Caitanya are represented as having held a meeting at Kāśī and extolled the doctrines of Nimbārka, and recommended them to all mankind. According to one of the speakers, all inconsistent doctrines finally resolve themselves into those of Nimbārka as rain-water, wherever it may drop, finally reaches the ocean and is absorbed in it.

There is a copy of another work belonging to the sect entitled Hari-guru-stavamālā (No 84), which contains Stotras referring to Viṣṇu in one or more of his forms and to the Gurus or leaders of the sects.

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE NIMBĀRKA HIGH-PRIESTS

In connection with one of the latter sort, a succession list of the High-priests is given which contains forty names up to Govindadeva, the author of the work. The first three of these are mythological persons. The thirtieth from Nimbārka is a person of the name of Keśava Kāśmīrin who wrote a Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra. It is published in the Eighth Volume of the Benares Journal, the Pandit. In the introduction Keśava

renders his obeisance to Nimbārka and speaks of Śrinivāsa, his immediate successor, as the author of the principal Bhāṣya. He also mentions Sundarabhāṭṭa and others occurring in our succession list and his preceptor Mukunda.

SYSTEM OF VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Of the latest system of the Vedānta, that founded by Vallabhācārya, we have copies of five works (Nos. 270—274)

NYĀYA AND VAIŚEŚIKA SYSTEMS

COMMENTARIES ON THE SŪTRAS

The founder of the Nyāya system was Gautama of whose Sūtra, No 748 is a copy The Bhāṣya or authorised commentary on this is that by Vātsyāyana, a Manuscript of which was purchased by me in 1879 In the present Collection, there is a fragment equal to about one-fourth of the whole, of a more modern commentary entitled Nyāyarahasya (No 743) by Rāmabhadra, who represents himself as the son of Bhāṭṭācāryacūḍāmaṇi This person was in all probability the same as Jānakīnāthabhaṭṭācāryacūḍāmaṇi, the author of the Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī, to be hereafter mentioned

The Sūtra of Gautama and that of Kaṇāda, the founder of a kindred system, the Vaiśeṣika, are however rarely studied in modern times The literature of the two systems, the study of a portion of which at least, is considered indispensable to one who wishes to become a Naiyāyika or Nyāya Paṇḍita, was developed in Bengal during the last six or seven hundred years.

LITERATURE CENTRING ITSELF ROUND THE TATTVACINTĀMAṆI

It centres principally round one book entitled Tattvacintāmaṇi by Gaṅgeśamahopādhyāya. Of the first and fourth part of this

we have Manuscripts in the present Collection (Nos. 731 and 732), and of a large portion of the third in addition to these two, in last year's.

There is a commentary on this work entitled *Ontāmaprakāśa* by Rucidatta, who speaks of himself in one place as a pupil of Jayadeva, probably the same as the author of another commentary called *Āloka*, and in another, as having learnt the whole Śāstra or system from a number of teachers. There is a copy of the first part of this work (No. 279), and another of the second part (No. 278), amongst our acquisitions of this year.

This commentary, however, is very rarely read, and the one generally studied in modern times is that entitled *Didhiti* by Raghunāthabhaṭṭasīromani, of the second part or *Anumānakhaṇḍa* of which we have a copy (No. 740). We have also Manuscripts of the *Anumānakhaṇḍa* or inference portion of Mathurānātha's commentary on Gaṅgeśa's work (Nos. 757—759), and of the *Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa*, or first part and the *Śabda* or fourth of the same in last year's Collection.

The *Didhiti* again has been commented on by this same Mathurānātha who represents himself as the son of Rāma, by Jagadīśa, by Bhavānanda, and by Gadādhara, and the *Āloka* mentioned above, by the first, and the *Śabda* or fourth portion of it, by the last. All these are largely represented in this and last year's Collections.

NATURE OF THIS LITERATURE

These commentaries instead of elucidating the system have in a sense mystified it. The great object and aim of the writers is accuracy of thought and speech. But to attain this, they have invented a very difficult and artificial terminology, and by its means, seek to define every thing they are concerned with, in their branch of learning, in a manner to obviate all possible objections, howsoever flimsy and ridiculous. Their definitions

have thus become unwieldy, and usually consist of an extremely long compound and are unintelligible to all except the initiated. Still the end they seek to attain is good, and their method is to a certain extent worthy of adoption, especially in its application to grammar or to the accurate determination of the sense of words and sentences (Śabdakhaṇḍa) Whatever is useful in their mode of treatment can however be acquired by studying the little manuals on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems with some of their smaller commentaries, and these I shall now proceed to notice

MANUALS OF THE NYĀYA AND VAIŚEŚIKA SYSTEMS WITH COMMENTARIES

(I) NYĀYASIDDHĀNTAMAÑJARĪ AND COMMENTARIES

One of the large manuals is the Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī by Jānaknātha-bhaṭṭācārya-cuḍāmaṇi, of which Nos. 745 and 746 are copies There is another in my Collection of 1879 A valuable commentry on this is the Tarkaprakāśa by Śrīkaṇṭha or Śitikaṇṭha, a fragment of which we have in this Collection (No 737), but a complete copy in that of 1879 The Naiyāyika of modern times, whose study of the works of Mathurānātha, Jagadīśa, and Gadādhara is restricted to the parts on Anumāna or Inference, and Śabda or Interpretation, derives his knowledge of the Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa or the first part, from the Tarkaprakāśa. Another commentary on the work is by Śrīkṛṣṇa-nyāyavāgīśa-bhaṭṭācārya, of the Śabdakhaṇḍa of which No 747 is a copy, and No 742 is a small fragment of a third entitled Nyāyaratnāvalī

(II) BHĀṢĀPARICCHEDA AND COMMENTARIES

The Bhāṣāpariccheda by Viśvanāthapañcānana is another manual which is always studied along with the Siddhānta-muktāvalī, a commentary on it by the author himself There are two copies of the first (Nos 288 and 727), and one of the

second (No 292), in our Collection Another work of this nature is the Padārthamālā of Jayarāmapāṇicānana, of which we have a fragment (No. 753).

THE SMALLER MANUALS

(I) TARKASAMGRAHA AND COMMENTARIES

Of the smaller manuals the Tarkasamgraha is the one generally studied It has a great many commentaries of which we have two the Tarkasamgrahadīpikā (No 738), attributed to the author of the manual himself, and the Tarkacandrikā by Vaidyanātha Gaḍgīla (No 736)

The Tarkāmṛta of Jagadīśa, the Saptapadārthi of Śivāditya and the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamīśra are similar works, but the last follows the system of Gautama

(II) TARKAMṚTA AND COMMENTARIES

On the first there is a commentary called Tarkāmṛtacaṣaka by Gangārāma Jadī who was the son of Nārāyana, pupil of Nilakaṇṭha, and son of the daughter of Dinakara, the author of the Muktāvalīprakāśa, a commentary on the work of Viśvanātha noticed above No 277 is a commentary on this Caṣaka, apparently by the author himself, without the original Gangārāma states that his work was looked over by his grandfather Another commentary on the Tarkāmṛta entitled the Tarkāmṛtataranginī is in my Collection for 1879

(III) SAPTAPADĀRTHĪ AND COMMENTARIES

The Padārthacandrikā by Śeṣānanta, of which we have two good copies (Nos. 286 and 287), is a commentary on the second, the Saptapadārthi, and there is a commentary on this again by Nṛsiṃha of which we have a small fragment (No. 750). Another commentary in the Collection on Śivāditya's manual is by a Jaina named Jinavardhanasūri (No. 291), and a third entitled

Mitabhāṣiṇī by Mādhava Sarasvatī is among the Manuscripts collected by me in 1879

JINAVARDHANASŪRI'S DATE

Jinavardhanasūri is represented in the colophon to have been the successor of Jinarājasūri, High-priest of the Kharataragaccha. Jinarāja died in 1461 Samvat or 1405 A D, and Jinavardhana occupied the seat vacated by him till 1475 Samvat, when he was deposed on account of his having transgressed one of the vows.¹ Jinavardhana appears to have been a zealous student of the Nyāya. Among the Palm-leaf Manuscripts in our Collections, No 28 of 1880-81 (which is a copy of Udayana's Tātparyapariśuddhi) is stated at the end to have belonged to Jinavardhanasūri the successor of Jinarājasūri, and the year there given is 1471 Samvat.² Śivāditya the author of the Saptapadārthī commented on by Jinavardhana, must thus have flourished before the fifteenth century

(IV) TARKABHĀṢĀ AND COMMENTARIES

The third manual or Tarkabhāṣā has been commented on by Govardhanamiśra, Mādhavabhāṭṭa, and Cinnabhāṭṭa. Govardhanamiśra was the son of Balabhadra and his wife Vijayaśrī, and had two elder brothers named Padmanābha and Viśvanātha. He was the pupil of Keśavamiśra, the author of the work on which he has commented. Of Govardhanamiśra's work we have two copies (Nos 282 and 283), and one of that of Mādhavabhāṭṭa (No 284), and of that of Cinnabhāṭṭa (No 285)

CINNABHĀṬṬA'S DATE

The last is called Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā. Cinnabhāṭṭa was the son of Sahajasarvajña and the younger brother of Sarvajña and was patronized by Harihara, king of Vijayanagara. He thus

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 249

² Prof. Kielhorn's Report on Manuscripts for 1880-81, p. 19.

lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and the Tarkabhāṣā therefore commented on by him must have been considerably older

JYOTIṢA

ITS THREE BRANCHES (SKANDHAS)

The Hindu Jyotiṣa is divided into three branches entitled Siddhānta, Samhitā, and Horāśāstra. The first is also called Gaṇita, and comprehends Mathematics and Astronomy proper, the second embraces a variety of miscellaneous subjects,—science, astrology, alchemy, portents, omens, &c—, and the third comprises Horoscopy or Jātaka, and Tājika or Judicial Astrology and Divination

SIDDHANTAS OR GAṆITA

Of works belonging to the first branch, we have a copy of the Sūryasiddhānta (No 360), and of the Brahmasiddhānta in six chapters, described as forming the Śakalyasamhitā (No 345)

BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA'S WORKS

There is also a Manuscript of the first part of Bhāskarācārya's Siddhāntasīromani (No 357), and of the Golādhyāya or the fourth chapter, with the author's annotations entitled Vasanābhāṣya (No 358). This last Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1576 or A D. 1520

KARĀṆAKUTŪHALA

We have three copies of this author's Karāṇakutūhala, a work which expounds methods of various astronomical calculations, and among them that of determining the positions of the Sun, Moon, and Planets at any given time from their positions on a certain day in a certain year (Nos. 293—295)

DATE OF THE WORK, ŚAKA 1105

This year or epoch in the present work is, as is well known, 1105 Śaka or 1183 A.D., and Bhāskarācārya was born in 103 ,

Śaka as he himself tells us in the Siddhāntasiromani which he wrote in the thirty-sixth year of his age

The methods given in the Karaṇas differ from those given in the Siddhāntas in this, that while the latter use as an epoch the beginning of a Kalpa or a fabulous period of an extremely long duration, and consequently involve tedious multiplications and divisions, the former take their start from a certain year of the Śaka era as an epoch and are less cumbersome. The astronomical data are the same as those given in the Siddhāntas

BRAHMATULYA

Our author's Karaṇa follows the data given in the Brahmasiddhānta and is hence called Brahmatulya or "like the Brahma." There are three other copies of the Karaṇa with the commentaries of Soḍhala, Padmanābha, and Śaṅkarakavi, the pupil of Haṇṣaratna (Nos 296—298). Our Manuscript of the first was transcribed in 1519 Samvat or 1463 A D, i.e., 280 years after the work had been composed by BhāskaraĀcārya.

ŚAṅKARAKAVI'S DATE, ŚAKA 1541

The last commentator exemplifies the author's rules by making actual calculations for the Śaka year 1541 or 1619 A D, which therefore is the date of his work. Śaṅkarakavi mentions Śrīpati, Brahmārka, and Keśava to be noticed below (No 344).

BRAHMATULYAṬIPPANA

This is an anonymous work containing calculations according to Bhāskara's rules for the Śaka year 1523. No 303 is entitled Khetakasiddhi or methods of astronomical calculations, and its epoch year is 1500 Śaka or 1578 A D. The author's name is Dinakara who also wrote a small tract called Candrārki, of which No. 308 is a copy.

DĀMODARA'S BHATATULYA, ŚAKA 1339

No. 346 is a Manuscript of a Karaṇa by Dāmodara, the pupil of Padmanābha, based on the astronomical data given by

Āryabhaṭa, and hence it is called Bhaṭatulya. Dāmodara's epoch is 1339 Śaka corresponding to 1417 A D., and the Manuscript is dated 1559 Samvat or 1503 A D

ŚRĪNĀTHA'S GRAHACINTĀMAṆI, ŚAKA 1513

No. 304 is the Grahacintāmaṇi by Śrīnātha son of Rāma and younger brother of Raghunātha, and the year used as an epoch is 1512 Śaka. This Rāma was probably the same as the author of the Muhūrtacintāmaṇi.

BRAHMADEVA'S KARĀṆA, ŚAKA 1014

There is also a copy of another Karāṇa entitled Karāṇaprakāśa (No 299) by Brahmadeva, son of Candrabhaṭṭa. But its first leaf is lost and that of another Manuscript substituted in its place, hence its epoch cannot be easily made out. Amongst a number of Manuscripts, however, since collected in the Maratha country, I found the first two or three leaves of a copy of this Karāṇa, and these have been added to No 299. From the first two verses, I gather that Brahmadeva follows the astronomical data given by Āryabhaṭa, and the Śaka year used by him as an epoch is 1014. This, therefore, is the oldest of the Karāṇas in the present Collection.

GAṆEŚA'S GRAHALĀGHAVA WITH VIŚVANĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

There is in the Collection a copy of the Grahālāghava (No 306) with the illustrative commentary of Viśvanātha. This is the work that is ordinarily used by the Hindu astronomers and astrologers of the day. The author's name is Gaṇeśa, who was the son of Keśava, himself the author of a Jātakapaddhati to be mentioned below and other works.

GAṆEŚA'S NATIVE PLACE

They belonged to the Kauśika Gotra and lived at Nandigrāma which name is Nandgaon in the Vernacular. This is placed by Colebrooke near Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, that is, he identifies this Nandgaon with a town of that name in the Nasik

District on the G. I. P. Railway line But in the Manuscript before me I find a statement of Gaṇeśa himself, that his Nandigrāma was situated in Aparānta which is the Sanskrit name for Northern Konkan, and the commentator mentions in the introduction, that it was situated near the sea-coast. Gaṇeśa's Nandigrāma, therefore, is the Nandgaon which is about four miles to the north of Janjira and forty miles to the south of Bombay, and is now in the territory of the Habasi Chief

The epoch year in Gaṇeśa's Grahalaṅghava is 1442 Śaka corresponding to 1520 A D, and the year for which the illustrative calculations are made by Viśvanātha is 1534 Śaka, or 1612 A D.

PĀTASĀRAṆĪ, ŚAKA 1444

There is another work of Gaṇeśa entitled Pātasāraṇī with Viśvanātha's commentary (No 335). The Śaka year occurring in the former is 1444, and Viśvanātha's explanatory calculations are for the year 1553 Śaka

SAMHITĀ BRANCH

ṬODARAMALLA'S JYOTIṢSUKHA-SAMHITĀ

Of the second branch of the Jyotiṣa I have to announce the acquisition of the Samhitāskandha (No 317) of Ṭodaramalla's Jyotiṣsukha. This is one of the volumes of what might be called an encyclopædia of Indian science and lore, entitled Ṭodarānanda, caused to be compiled by Ṭodaramalla who is represented to have been a Rājā and who was the financial minister of the Emperor Akbar

HORĀŚĀSTRA OR THIRD BRANCH OF THE JYOTIṢA

Of the third branch we have got a large lot, and first I shall speak of the Jātakas or works teaching the casting of nativities

JĀTAKAS OF VARĀHAMIHĪRA AND OTHERS

The first that deserves mention is Varāhamihīra's Brhājātaka with two commentaries, one by Mahidāsa and the other by Mahīdhara (Nos 341—343) There is a copy of Utpala's commentary on it in the last year's Collection. Then we have in the present Collection a Manuscript of Utpala's commentary on Śatpañcāśikā by Pṛthuyāsa, the son of Varāhamihīra (No 355). No. 311 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati by Śrīpati who flourished before Keśava of Nandigrāma—the father of Gaṇeśa—and No. 312, of a commentary on it by Mādhava.

JĀTAKAPADDHATĪ BY KEŚAVA, FATHER OF GAṆEŚA

No 314 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati composed by Keśava of Nandigrāma with a commentary written by himself. In this he refers to or quotes the following works and authors with others whose dates are well known —

Kalyāṇavarman	Ramakṛṣṇapaddhati
Keśavamīśra	Vallayupaddhati
Jivaśarman	Śrīpati
Dāmodara	Śrīdharapaddhati
Mhālukapaddhati	Śrīdharācārya
Yavana	Sārāvali

Horāmakaranda

The Śrīpati mentioned by Keśava is the same as the author of No 311, since a quotation from Śrīpati in Keśava's work is found in that Manuscript. There is a copy of the Horāmakaranda in last year's Collection. The author's name is Guṇākara, who was the son of another Śrīpati. Another commentary on Keśava's Paddhati by Viśvanātha, the son of Divākara, we have in last year's Collection. The illustrative calculations in it are made for the year 1508 Śaka or 1586 A D. Viśvanātha therefore wrote this commentary twenty-six years before that on Gaṇeśa's Grhalāghava.

There are Manuscripts of several other Jātakas, among which may be mentioned the Yavanajātaka (No 349), which is probably the one referred to by Keśava of Nandigrāma. The date of the Manuscript is 1621 Samvat or 1565 A.D. We have, however, not got a complete copy of this Jātaka, and the section on the subject of Keśava's quotation is wanting.

JYOTIRATNAMĀLA

No 316 is Śrīpati's Jyotiratnamālā with a commentary by Mahādeva, the son of Luṇiga. Whether this Śrīpati is identical with the author of the Jātakapaddhati it is difficult to determine. The author of the Jyotiratnamālā was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśava, who of course was a different person from the father of Gaṇeśa. This Keśava belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra, while Keśava of Nandigrāma was a Kauśika.

In a Manuscript of the Jyotiratnamālā with the commentary of Mahādeva existing in a private Library at Nasik, occur a few verses at the end, in one of which the date of the composition of the commentary is given as 1185 Śaka or 1263 A.D. Śrīpati, therefore, must have lived previous to the latter half of the thirteenth century.

No 348 is a copy of a commentary on Keśava's Muhūrtatattva by his son Gaṇeśa

MUHŪRTACINTĀMAṆI BY RĀMA

We have also a copy of the Muhūrtacintāmaṇi by Rāma who gives his genealogy thus —In Dharmapura on the banks of the Narmadā there lived a learned man of the name of Cintāmaṇi who knew a great many Śāstras including Jyotiṣa. He had a son named Ananta who was an astrologer and wrote a Jātakapaddhati and a commentary on the Kāmadhenu.—Nos. 300 and 301 are copies of a Kāmadhenu, very probably the same as this. —Ananta had two sons Nilakaṇṭha and Rāma, the latter of whom was the author of the work before us. He wrote it at Benares in 1522 Śaka or 1600 A.D.

TĀJIKA

SAMARASIMHA'S TĀJIKASĀRA

We have several Manuscripts of works on what is called Tājika or General Astrology, of which I shall notice a few Nos 320—322 are copies of different parts of the Tājikasāra by Samarasimha. The author traces his descent to Caṇḍasimha, of the Prāgvāta family, who was a minister of the Cālukya kings of Gujarath. He was probably the same person as Caṇḍapā, who, as stated by Someśvara in the Kirtikaumudī (III, 1—4), also belonged to the Prāgvāta family, and was a Mantrin or counsellor and an ancestor of Vastupāla. From Caṇḍasimha sprang Śobhanadeva who had a son of the name of Sāmanta. Sāmanta's son was Kumārasimha who was the father of our author No 322, which is a copy of the third section of the work, was transcribed in 1491 Samvat corresponding to 1435 A D

TEJAHSIMHA'S DAIVAJÑĀLAMKṚTI

No 327 is Daivajñālamkṛti by Tejaḥsimha. The pedigree of the author is given in the colophon, but the reading is very corrupt and what appears likely is this. Tejaḥsimha like Samarasimha belonged to the Prāgvāta family, but he is much older than the latter. Śārangadeva of the Cālukya dynasty of Gujarath, who reigned from 1277 to 1297 A D, had a Mantrin or counsellor whose name appears to have been Vikrama. Of him was born another Mantrin of the name of Vijayasimha, and his brother was Tejaḥsimha, the author of the work before us

SŪRYA'S TĀJIKĀLAMKĀRA

We have also a copy of the Tājikālamkāra by Sūrya (No. 326) who lived at Pārthapura on the northern bank of the Godāvari. His father's name was Jñānarāja who was himself an astronomer of great repute, being the author of a work called the Siddhāntasundara.¹ Sūrya gives a list of his own works at the end of the

¹ See Colebrooke's Essays.

Tājikālaṅkāra. The passage is corrupt; but on comparing it with another copy of it given by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue, I find he wrote the following works —Glosses on (1) the Līlāvati and (2) the Bijaganita, (3) computations according to Śrīpati's Paddhati, (4) a new Bijaganita, (5) Tājika, the present work, (6) another Tājika, (7) a Kāvyaṣṭaka, and (8) Bodhasudhākara, a Vedantic work. The dates 1460 and 1463 Śaka are given by Colebrooke as occurring in two of his works

TĀJIKAKAUSTUBHA BY BALAKRṢṆA

No^o 318 is a Manuscript of the Tājikakaustubha by Balakṛṣṇa who lived at Jambusara. His father was Yādava whose great-grandfather Rāmajit (Rāmji) was, according to Balakṛṣṇa, a very learned man and lived at a place situated on the northern bank of the Tāpī. Rāmajit had a son of the name of Nārāyaṇa and his son was Rāmakṛṣṇa who was the father of Yādava. Balakṛṣṇa's other works are —Stotras of Nārāyaṇa, Śaṅkara, Śivā (Durgā), Gaṇapati and Trivenī, Yoginyāṣṭadaśākrama, of which we have a copy, and Saṁkrāntinirnaya

MAṆITTHA TĀJIKĀ

Another Manuscript that deserves notice is called Maṇittha-tājika (No 324), and the work is ascribed to Maṇitthācārya. Maṇittha is mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Jātaka and identified by Professor Weber with Manetho, author of the Apotelesmata. Varāhamihira's commentator Utpala quotes passages from the work attributed to Maṇittha, which however I have not been able to find in the present Manuscript. A man of the name of Maṇittha could not have composed this treatise, since in one place the author says he is "going to give what is stated by Maṇittha and others" with reference to a certain subject. The work is a modern compilation, since the name "Tājika" itself for astrology was adopted by Hindu writers in about the thirteenth century, while Varāhamihira who mentions

Maṇiṭṭha flourished in the early part of the sixth. The author's object was to state the views of foreign writers whom he speaks of as "Yavanas" or "ancient Yavanas," and he uses Maṇiṭṭha's name only because he was acquainted with the tradition which represented him to be a distinguished foreign writer on astrology.

PARASĪPRAKĀŚA BY VEDĀNGARĀYA, WRITTEN DURING THE REIGN
OF SHAH JEHAN

I may also here mention a Manuscript of a work entitled *Pārasiprakāśa* (No 336) by an author named *Vedāngarāya*. In this work are given methods for converting Hindu into Mahomedan dates and vice versa, and the Arabic and Persian names of the days of the week, the months, the planets, the constellations, the signs of the Zodiac, &c. Several Arabic technical terms of astronomy, and others that are ordinarily used in astrological treatises are explained, and the influences of the planets in different positions are mentioned. The book is intended for the use of astrologers and was written for the purpose "of pleasing the Emperor Shah Jehan and gaining his favour." Shah Jehan was on the throne of Delhi from 1627 to 1657 A. D., and the date of the composition of this treatise is 1565 Śaka and 1053 A. H., corresponding to 1643 A. D.

This *Vedāngarāya* was the same person as the father of *Nandikeśvara*, the author of a work entitled *Gaṇakamaṇḍana* which is a sort of introduction to the study of astronomy. In that work, a copy of which exists in my Collection for 1881-82, *Nandikeśvara* states that his father's name was *Mālaṇḍit* (*Mālji*), that he was conversant with the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and got from the Emperor of Delhi (*Dhilliśvara*) the title of *Vedāngarāya*. *Mālaṇḍit* or *Vedāngarāya* was the son of *Tigālabhaṭṭa* who was the son of *Ratnabhaṭṭa*. *Ratnabhaṭṭa* lived at Śrīsthala in Gujarath.

WORKS ON DIVINATION

BHOJA'S VIDVAJJANAVALLABHA

Copies of a few works on Divination are also to be found in this year's Collection. One of them is entitled Vidvajjanavallabha (No 337) and is ascribed to king Bhoja who is represented to have been a powerful sovereign.

NARAPATIJAYACARYĀ BY NARAPATI

The last Manuscript in this class that I shall notice is the Narapatijayacaryā (No 331), a treatise on omens by Narapati. The author wrote this book at Anahilapattana in the reign of Ajayapala, who occupied the Calukya throne from 1174 to 1177 A D¹. He finished the work on Tuesday, the first of the light half of Caitra in the year 1232 of Vikrama corresponding to 1176 A D. Narapati's father was Āmradeva who lived at Dhārā, the capital of Malwa, which country was, according to our author, the "abode of learning". There is another copy of the Narapatijayacaryā in the last year's Collection.

MEDICINE

CARAKA, SUŚRUTA, VĀGBHATA

In the class of works on Hindu Medicine we have fragments of the Caraka and Suśruta Samhitās and a copy of Vāgbhata's important work, the Aṣṭāṅgayogahrdaya, which however is incomplete. The last Manuscript was caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 or 1430 A D, at Bhrguksetra or Bharoch by Arddhasera (Ardesar) who was a learned Ādhyāru or priest of the Pārastika race for his son to study. This shows that about four hundred and fifty years ago Parsi priests valued and cultivated the study of Sanskrit lore.

There are several other smaller treatises, and among them may be mentioned two copies of Bopadeva's Śataśloki and another

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 213.

⁶ [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. II.]

of his commentary on the work, which however wants a few leaves (Nos. 378—380) Bopadeva, as is well known, was the son of Keśava and pupil of Dhanēśa. He was patronized by Hemādri, the minister of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri. *This fact is however mentioned not in his medical treatises but in the Harilīlā, a summary of the Bhāgavata.* At the end of the Śataśloki, it is stated that both Bopadeva's father and teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva therefore was a native of Berar.

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

Of the Tāntrika literature we have Manuscripts of two Tantras, the Śivarāhasya and the Gautamīyamahātāntra (Nos. 400, 401, and 385). The rest are digests or extracts from some of the larger Tantras, one of the former being the Tantrasāra by Kṛṣṇānandabhāṭṭācārya (No. 388).

ART

There are copies of four works on technical subjects. Two of these are on architecture, one entitled Rājavallabhamandana (No. 404), and the other Vāstumandana (No. 405).

ARCHITECTURE

MAṆḌANA'S WORKS

In the colophon of the first it is stated that Maṇḍana, a Sutrādhāra or architect, who was in the service of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapāṭa, composed the work, and by his devotion to Gaṇapati and to his teacher, and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning, he expounded the "art of building as taught by the Munis." Medapāṭa is Mevad, and a king of the name of kumbho ruled over the country according to Tod from 1419 to 1469 A.D. He had a taste for the arts, and constructed many temples as well as strongholds. It is not unlikely, therefore, he had in his service, persons who had read

the literature of architecture, and could compose such treatises as the one under notice.

Vastumaṇḍana also is ascribed to Maṇḍana, and it is stated that he wrote this work at the request of his son Devasimha. He is here spoken of as the son of Kṣetra

KUNḌAMĀRTAṆḌA WITH COMMENTARY

The third work entitled Kunḍamārtanḍa treats of the construction of altars according to the Śulva Sūtras composed by the R̥sis of old. The author is Govinda who was the son of Gadādhara and lived at Junnar. The Manuscript contains a commentary by Ananta, the son of Siddheśvara. The original was composed in 1613 Śaka or 1691 A.D., and the commentary in 1614 Śaka or 1692 A.D.

SAMGĪTA

COMMENTARY ON THE SAMGĪTARATNĀKARA

The last of the four is a commentary on the Samgītaratnākara (No. 406). The Manuscript is in a bad condition, the edges of all the leaves being torn off and the writing on a good many, having faded away. The Commentary is attributed to a king of the name of Singa, who is spoken of as the supreme sovereign of the Āndhra circle. Who this Singa was it is difficult to say, but it is not unlikely that he was the Yādava prince Singhaṇa who reigned at Devagiri. For, the country ruled over by the Deccan Calukyas is sometimes called Telangana by Northern writers such as Merutunga and Rājavallabha, who in their life of Bhoja speak of Tailapa as king of Telangana. Telangana is the same as the Āndhra circle and the Yādavas succeeded the Calukyas as rulers of the country.

In Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue there is a notice of a Manuscript of the Samgītaratnākara by Śārṅgadeva, in the introduction to which Singhaṇadeva, who appears to have been

the author's patron, is mentioned. A commentary on his work, therefore, written either by himself or some other court dependent may have been dedicated to the king

MISCELLANEOUS

LEKHAPAÑCĀŚIKĀ

Under the heading "Miscellaneous" there are three Manuscripts, one of which possesses a good deal of historical importance. It is entitled Lekhapañcāśikā, or fifty letters or deeds (No 410). The author's name is not given at the end and the first leaf is missing. The work contains forms of letters, deeds, patents, bonds, &c, and is divided into two parts. The names being variable are in most cases represented by the word amuka, i.e., "a certain one" or 'nāma nāmataḥ i.e., "by a certain name". The date, however, used in the forms which constitute the second part, is Monday the 15th of the light half of Vaiśākha, Samvat 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd of that half. This date is meant of course to serve as an example, but the author's having used that in particular may safely be regarded as showing that he wrote his work in Samvat 1288, i.e., in 1232 A.D.

THE AUTHOR'S DATE, SAMVAT 1288

The Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1536 Samvat or 1480 A.D. In a few cases, the names of real persons also are used as examples, wherefore the deeds in which they occur must be considered to be such as it was possible should have been executed

SAMPLE OF A TAMRAŚASANA OR COPPER PLATE GRANT BY LAVANAPRASĀDA

One such deed is a Tamraśasana or a royal deed of grant to be inscribed on copper. In this, the grantor that is introduced is Lavanaprasāda, son of Ānaladeva of the Cālukya family,

and what is represented to have been granted by him is a village, not named, for the worship of Somanātha. Lāvāṇyaprasāda was a Rāṇaka, i.e., a Rāṇa and a Maṇḍalādhipati or a dependent chief. The grant is represented to have been executed in the reign of Bhīmadeva while Bhābhūya was his minister. Bhīmadeva's name is preceded by those of all the Cālukya princes who reigned at Anahilapaṭṭana, and they are as follows —

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| 1 Mūlarāja | 6. Karpadeva |
| 2 Cāmuṇḍadeva | 7 Jayasūmha |
| 3 Vallabhadeva | 8 Kumārapāla |
| 4 Durlabhadeva | 9 Ajayapāla |
| 5 Bhīma or Bṛhadbhīma | 10 Mūladeva |
| 11 Bhīmadeva | |

This agrees with the genealogy given by other writers. Bhīmadeva was the reigning sovereign in Samvat 1288 according to them also, and we see that Lāvāṇyaprasāda, whose grandson Viśaladeva finally took possession of the throne at Anahilapaṭṭana, had at that time acquired sufficient influence to be considered worthy of being introduced as the grantor of a village. He appears to have been the *de facto* sovereign of Gujarath at the time.

SAMPLE OF A TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN SINGHAṆADEVA AND LAVANAPRASĀDA

Another such deed in the work before us, is a treaty of alliance between Siṃhaṇadeva, who is styled Mahārājādhirāja or king of kings, i.e., paramount sovereign, and Lāvāṇyaprasāda who is called a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The place where the treaty is concluded is the "victorious camp", and the provisions are that "each of these two princes should confine himself to his own country as before, neither of them should invade the territories of the other, if a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they

should both undertake a joint expedition against him , if only the general of an enemy did so, troops should be sent to encounter him ; and if a prince from the country of either fled into that of the other taking away a certain valuable thing, 'he should not be allowed quarter and the thing removed by him should be restored "

Singhana who is also called Simhana was the most powerful of the Yādava princes of Devagiri and reigned from '1131 to 1169 Śaka or 1209 to 1247 A D He invaded Gujarath twice at least, once in the time of Lāvanyaprasāda, and on another occasion when his grandson Visaladeva was on the throne Of the first invasion Someśvara gives a graphic account in his Kīrtikanmudī All Gujarath was terrified when the intelligence of Singhana's march against the country was received, and Lāvanyaprasāda, and his son Viradhavala proceeded at once to meet him But being attacked from behind by four princes of Marvad and abandoned by the chiefs of Godraha and Lāṭa, the father and son retreated The army of Singhana, however, did not advance But Someśvara does not give us any reason further than what is involved in the observation, which is simply rhetorical and not historical, that "deer do not follow the path of a lion even when he has abandoned it." The reason, however, is supplied by the document before us.

Though the object of our author was to give the form of a treaty of alliance, he could not have thought of using the names of Singhana and Lāvanyaprasāda unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them, and it should be remembered that Singhana's invasion of Gujarath must have taken place but a short time before the composition of the treatise. Instead of giving a blank form, therefore, the author must be supposed to have here placed before us what might be considered a specimen of a treaty.

Singhana, therefore, did not advance when Lavaprasāda and his son retreated, because the two latter had submitted to him and concluded a treaty of alliance

YĀVANAPARIPĀTYĀ RĀJARĪTI

No. 409 is a work composed by one Daḷapatirāya for a prince named Mādhavasīmha, who is styled Śārvaḥauma or "paramount sovereign" It contains forms of letters and orders from a king to his subordinates written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among Mahomedans, and also Sanskrit equivalents of Mahomedan political terms From the colophon, Mādhavasīmha the Śārvaḥauma appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of the Peshwa Dynasty of Poona

THE JAINA LITERATURE

SŪTRAS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

Of the literature of the Jainas we have sixty-one Manuscripts in Sanskrit and the old Prakrit and eight in the vernacular. There are sixteen of the Sūtras and their commentaries, among which may be mentioned a new commentary on the Kalpasūtra entitled Kalpamañjarī by Sahajakīrti (No. 421) This was composed in 1685 Samvat while Jinarāja was the head of the Kharataragaccha.

INDEPENDENT TREATISES ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

We have also copies of independent treatises on religion and philosophy, among which may be mentioned the Anekāśāstrasārasamuccaya (No 413), which looks like a collection of several small works by different authors, the Vivekavilāsa (No 455) by Jinadattasūri, in which the author gives the principles of several branches of learning, and which also contains moral as well as religious precepts, the Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya (No. 460), giving a brief account of the Brahmanic as well as Jaina and Bauddha systems of philosophy, and the Samayasāraprābhṛta (No 462), a work belonging to the Digambara sect, by Kunda-kundācārya, who was a celebrated teacher of that sect.

SOMAPRABHĀCĀRYA'S SŪKTAMUKTĀVALĪ

The Sūktamuktāvalī of Somaprabhācārya (No. 469), may also be mentioned in this connection

Somaprabhācārya represents himself to be the pupil¹ of Vijayasīmha who occupied the seat of High-priest after Ajitadēva. All these names occur in the succession list of the pontiffs of the Tapāgaccha, and Somaprabhācārya seems to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century¹

GRAMMAR AND LEXICONS

HARṢAKĪRTI'S DHĀTUPĀTHA WITH A COMMENTARY

We have copies of the Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra (No 438), of the Siddhaśabdārnava of Sahajakīrti (No. 466), mentioned above, of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar (No. 458), of the Śabdabhūṣaṇa, a metrical treatise on grammar by Dānavijaya (No. 457), of a Dhātupāṭha or list of roots according to the Sārasvata system together with a commentary by Harṣakīrti (Nos. 439 and 440), all of which belong to the branches of Lexicography and Grammar. In the Vṛtti or commentary on his Dhātupāṭha, Harṣakīrti gives the senses as well as the verbal and other forms of the several roots, quoting the Sārasvata Sūtras, and sometimes mentions idiomatic modes of expression. The work thus resembles, to some extent, Mādhava's Dhātuvṛtti. Harṣakīrti was the High-priest of the Nāgapuriya branch of the Tapāgaccha and was the pupil of Candrakīrti. He mentions the following eminent persons belonging to his sect who were honoured by kings and emperors —

- (1) Jayaśekhara, who was adored by Hammira
- (2) Vajrasena, to whom at the suggestion of Sihaḍa, the emperor Allāvadi gave a valuable garment and Pharmāna (firman) in the town of Rūṇa.

- (3) Ratnasekhara, to whom Perojasaḥi gave valuable garments.
- (4) Hamsakīrti, a Pāṭhaka or reader, whose greatness was manifested before Saḥi Sīkandara.
- (5) Ānandarāya, who obtained the title of Rāya from Humāum
- (6) Candrakīrti, highly honoured by Saḥi Salema.
- (7) Padmasundaragaṇi, who defeated a great Paṇḍita in argument at the court of Akbar and was rewarded by the emperor with a garment, a village, an easy chair (sukhasana), and other things.
- (8) Pacchā, a Pāṭhaka, honoured by Māladeva, king of the Hindus at Yodhapura (Jodhpur)

Of these Hammira was the celebrated Chohan prince who ruled over Mevad from 1301 to 1365 A.D., and successfully resisted the encroachments of the Mahommedans. Allavadi must be Allauddin Khilji who occupied the throne of Delhi from 1295 to 1316 A.D. Perojasaḥi must be Pheroze Shah Taghlak who reigned from 1351 to 1388 A.D., and Saḥi Sīkandara, Sīkandar Shah Lodi (1488—1518 A.D.) Humayun's first reign extended from 1530 to 1540 A.D., Saleem Shah (1545—1553 A.D.) was one of the Delhi Emperors who ruled during the period of his humiliation, and Akbar, the celebrated Mogul prince, reigned from 1556 to 1605 A.D. Māladeva was a prince of the Rāṭhor family who reigned at Jodhpur from 1532 to 1583 A.D. Candrakīrti who was honoured by Saleem Shah was our author's teacher.

PLAYS

KARPŪRAMAÑJARĪ

No. 418 ~ ~ ~ of the first act of the Karpūramañjarī, a dramatic play in the Prakrit in four acts, and No. 419 of the second act. In the colophon of both Manuscripts, the play is

ascribed to a Vācanacārya, pupil of Jinasaṅgara, who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatara" Jinasaṅgara was the first High-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1630 A.D.¹ The Karpūramañjari, however, of which we have two acts here, is the same as that written by Rājasekhara, the preceptor of Mahendrapala, who flourished about the tenth century, and even his name is mentioned in the introduction

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND LEGENDARY WORKS

Among works of a historical, biographical, and legendary nature we have Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha (No 450), Rājavallabha's Bhojacaritra (No 449), Sumatigani's Lives of certain Jaina High-priests originally forming part of his Vṛtta or exposition of Jinadatta's Ganadharasārdhaśataka (No 426), a Gurvāvali or succession list of teachers (No 427), a Pārśvanāthacaritra (No 444), Pāṇḍavacaritra (No 443), Rāmacaritra (No 452), &c

MERUTUNGA'S BHOJAPRABANDHA BHOJA'S DATE

In the Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in Samvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Mālava circle, Bhīma, the paramount sovereign of the Cālukya race, governed Gujārath This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession. According both to Merutunga and Rājavallabha, Muñja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godāvari against the counsel of his aged minister Rudrāditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the Later Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan He was defeated and taken prisoner At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's Inscriptions also Now Tailapa,

¹ Ind Ant., Vol XI, p 250

we know, died in 920 Śaka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed This corresponds to 998 A.D , wherefore Muñja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year A Jaina author named Amitagata tells us at the end of his Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 A D , while Muñja was reigning at Dhārā. Muñja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 A D , or about the year 996 Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty-five years, he must have died about 1051 A D

SUMATIGAṆI'S LIVES OF THE YUGAPRADHĀNAS OR JAINA PONTIFFS

Sumatigaṇi was a pupil of Jinapatisūri, the forty-sixth head of the Kharataragaccha, who died in 1277 Samvat or 1221 A D. His work¹ contains an account of the lives of Vardhamāna, Jineśvara, Jinacandra, Abhayadeva, Jinavallabha, and Jinadatta, who were the High-priests of the sect successively

(A) LIFE OF VARDHAMĀNA

In the account of Vardhamāna that sage is represented to have gone to the court of Durlabha, the Cālukya king of Anahilapattana, who reigned from 1010 to 1022 A D , and held a debate with the Caityavāsins or those Jaina teachers who advocated the propriety of a residence in temples His opponent was Sūrācārya, with whom however he did not hold a controversy in person, but directed his pupil Jineśvara to do so Vardhamāna was victorious and was highly honoured by the king, whereupon the Caityavāsins left the town Jineśvara had the title Kharatara ("very keen") given to him on the occasion of the debate, and when he succeeded his master Vardhamāna, it became the name of the Gaccha or sect which he led.

¹ This Manuscript was read and a short abstract of it prepared for me by Mr Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, M.A. The above is based on that abstract.

(B) LIFE OF JINEŚVARA

Jineśvara is represented to have gone on some occasion to Āśpallī and Dīṇḍiyāpaka on visitation. At the former place he composed in Samvat 1092 or 1036 A D a kathā ("story") entitled Līlāvati. When he was at Dīṇḍiyāpaka, he asked of the Caityavāsins of the place for the loan of some book, which on account of their disagreeable relations with him, they refused. He then wrote the Kathānakakośa in the four rainy months, composing during the last two watches of the night as much as was necessary to read to his audience the next morning.

(C) LIFE OF JINACANDRA

Jinacandra succeeded Jineśvara. He composed the Samvegaraṅgāsāla containing 18,000 ślokaś in Chatravallīpuri in Samvat 1125. In Jāvalīpura he explained the Gāthā beginning with "Civandanamāvāśyaya," and the doctrines taught by him were noted down by a pupil and embodied in a tract entitled Dinacaryā containing 300 ślokaś.

(D) LIFE OF ABHAYADEVA

Jinacandra's successor was Abhayadevasūri, the author of Vṛttis or comments on nine of the Angas of the Jainas. A long story is related as to how he was led to compose these commentaries. He had been afflicted with an incurable disease that rendered him unfit for any work of the kind, but a certain deity appeared to him in a dream and directed him to go to Stambhanakapura (Cambay?) where there was an image of Pārśvanātha. He went there, bowed down before the image, and composed while standing the Namaskāradvātrīṃśikā or "thirty-two bows," beginning with "Jayatihuyapa." The last two of these stanzas he was obliged to omit at the request of the deities, so that the Stotra or hymn now contains thirty only.

(E) LIFE OF JINAVALLABHA

The next head of the Gaccha was Jinavallabha. He had the eight grammars of Pāṇini and others by heart and was conversant

with the Mahākāvyas or great poems, Meghadūta and others, as well as all the other kāvyas or poems, with the works on poetics of Rudraṭa, Udbhata, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha, and others, the eighty-four dramatic plays, the whole of the Jyotiḥśāstra, all metrical works such as those of Jayadeva and others, the Anekāntajayapatākā of Abhayadeva and other works that expounded the doctrines of Jinendra (ie Jainism), and with works of other systems of philosophy such as the Nyāya treatises Tarkakandalī and Kiraṇāvalī, and Śamkaranandana and Kamalaśīla. He was regarded as a man of learning at Citrakūṭa (Chittor), and many people, even such as belonged to other systems of religion, resorted to him and got their doubts cleared. Jinavallabha caused temples of Mahāvira and Pārśvanātha to be constructed at Citrakūṭa, and of Neminātha at Nagapura and Naravarapuri.

On one occasion two Paṇḍitas from a foreign country went to the court of Naravarman, the grandson of Bhoja at Dhārā, and proposed some poetic riddle, which the Paṇḍitas of Naravarman were not able to solve. At the suggestion of a courtier the riddle was sent by the king to Jinavallabha, who solved it at once, and the solution was sent to Naravarman with all despatch. On this account, when after some time, Jinavallabha went to Dhārā, Naravarman received him with great honour and offered him a large sum of money. This he declined to accept, but asked the king to make some endowment to the temples constructed at Citrakūṭa. Naravarman died in 1190 Samvat or 1134 A.D., according to an Inscription deciphered by Colebrooke.

The installation of Jinavallabha in the place of Abhayadeva took place after he had done all that is related above. He did not long survive this event, having died six months after, in the last quarter of the night on the twelfth of the dark half of Kārtika in Samvat 1167, i.e. 1111 A.D.

He wrote the following works — (1) Sūkṣmārthasiddhānta, (2) Vicārasāra, (3) Śaḍaśtī, (4) Śārdhaśataka, a karma grantha,

(5) Piṇḍaviśuddhi, (6) Paṇṣadhavidhi, (7) Pratīkramapaśāṃśārī, (8) Saṃghapaṭṭaka, (9) Dharmasīkṣā, (10) Dvādaśakulaka, (11) Praśnottaraśataka, (12) Śṛṅgāraśataka, and many other kāvyas, (13) Śārasvataśāstasaṃkhyastuti, and (14) Stotras. Several of these exist in the former Government Collections, while, in the present Collection there is a stotra written by him.

(F) LIFE OF JINADATTA

Jinadatta, the author of the work on which Sumatigani comments, succeeded. He was the son of Bāhaḍadevi and Vachika, and was born in Samvat 1132 or 1076 A.D. He read his Pañjikā at the Dharmasālā of Bhāvadācārya and was taught all the Siddhāntas by Harisambhācārya. He was installed in Jinavallabha's place at Citrakūṭa by Devabhadraśācārya. On one occasion he went to Ajayameru (Ajmur), where he was well received by Arjo, the king of the country. At the request of the Śrāvakas of the place the king granted a site for Jain temples, and on a second visit Jinadatta laid the foundation stone. He made many converts to Jainism as well as to his particular sect. He wrote the Gapa-dharasaptati for exorcising a man possessed by a ghost, and also a Cacchari on the precepts engraved by Jinavallabha on the walls of certain temples. He once went to Naravara and thence to Tribhuvanagiri where he preached the truth to king Kumārāpāla.

Besides the works named above Sumatigani quotes from or refers to the following — Pravaśanasāra, a Smṛti, Bharataśāstra, Damādhyāya, a Prayoga, Āvaśyakacūṛṇī, Daśavaikālika, Citrakūṭīyaprasasti by Jinavallabha, and Upadeśamālā. He also quotes some verses which are now found in the Pañcatantra.

RAMACARITRA

The Rāmacaritra in prose was composed by Devavijayagani, pupil of Rājavijayasūri, who himself was a pupil of Vijayadānasūri, the Yugapradhāna or head of the Tapāgaccha. It was written at Śrīmālapura in Marusthali or Marvad in the year 1652 Śaṃvat,

or 1596 A D , in the reign of Akbar The author tells us that in the composition of his work he followed Hemacandra's Rāmāyana and that he wrote it in prose, though there was a Rāmācaritra in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his Karman

EXAMINATION OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES

As to the other branch of the work, the Libraries of the following persons at Nasik have been catalogued this year —

• Sitārāmasāstri Paṭvardhan	Rāmasāstri Chāmdorkar
Nārāyanasāstri Sāthe	Yadnasāstri Takle
• Viṣṇu Gangādhar Māchegan	Devrāv Hosing
Acyutasāstri Dātār	Govindbābā Vaidya

Eighteen Libraries were reported to have been catalogued last year , so that twenty-six in all have been examined at Nasik The printing of these catalogues has now been begun There is very little work left to be done at Nasik and my Śāstri intended to go to Trimbak to catalogue the private Collections existing there But in the month of June last he was carried off by cholera, which prevailed widely at Nasik about that time He was a man of learning and great intelligence and did very good service He possessed much influence with the people at Nasik and hence was able to examine for us so many Collections at the place Otherwise the jealousy as regards one's literary treasures is still so strong that it would not have been possible to do that amount of work there

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTIONS

I will close this Report by a short account of the present state of the Collections in my charge, and the number of Manuscripts collected for Government since 1868-69, and the number lent to scholars, and that forwarded to Germany to be catalogued according to Professor Kielhorn's scheme,

The total number of Manuscripts in the collections is 4,482, of which 78½ have been lent to scholars in Europe, 68 in India, and 13 in America, while 113½ have been sent to be catalogued—22½ to Professor Kielhorn, 33 to Professor Pischel, and 58 to Professor Jacobi. In all 273 Manuscripts are out, and the rest, 4,209, are in the Library.

AGES AND MATERIALS OF MANUSCRIPTS

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

Of the 4,482 Manuscripts about a third bear dates. There are 108 written on Palm-Leaves of which 37 are dated. Three were transcribed in Samvat 1138, 1145, and 1146, corresponding to 1082, 1089, and 1090 of the Christian era, eight, from Samvat 1164 to 1218, i.e., from 1108 to 1162 A.D., twenty, from Samvat 1260 to Kalī 4398, i.e., from 1204 to 1297 A.D., and six, from Samvat 1359 to 1450, i.e., from 1303 to 1394 A.D.

PAPER MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest Paper Manuscript in the Collection was transcribed in 1376 Samvat, corresponding to 1320 A.D., and there are eight bearing dates from 1426 to 1454 Samvat, i.e., from 1370 to 1398 A.D. There are 48 Manuscripts transcribed in the first half of the fifteenth century of the Christian era and 91 in the latter half. In some of the published lists an earlier date than 1376 Samvat occurs against one or two Manuscripts, and one is represented to have been transcribed in Samvat 1401. I have examined the Manuscripts themselves and found all these entries to be erroneous. I have however not been able to examine one Manuscript, the date of which is in the list given as 1415 Samvat, as it has been lent. The rest of the dated Manuscripts were transcribed after the close of the fifteenth century.

Manuscripts written on Palm-leaves are found in Gujarath and Marvad, principally at Cambay, Patan, and Jesalmir. From the above statement it is clear that in Gujarath and Marvad, Palm-leaves

were used as a writing material before the introduction of paper. The earliest Palm-leaf Manuscript we possess was, it will be seen, written in 1082 A.D., and our earliest Paper Manuscript in 1320 A.D. So far as our present researches go, therefore, paper did not come into use till the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and since our latest Palm-leaf Manuscript is dated 1450 Samvat or 1394 A D , it appears that Palm-leaves continued to be used as well as paper till about the end of that century. From the beginning of the fifteenth we find paper only employed.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT¹ ON THE SEARCH
FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING
THE YEAR 1883-84**

ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO PĀṬAN

In the month of December 1883, I paid during the Christmas recess a visit to Pāṭan² in company with my friend Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate of the Gujarat College. We could make only a week's stay there, and consequently were not able to examine minutely the several Jaina Libraries at the place. Still we collected a good deal of information with regard to them, and actually visited some, and compared the Manuscripts contained in them with the lists placed in our hands.

JAINA LIBRARIES AT THE PLACE

Each Gaccha or sect of the Jainas residing in a city possesses a halting place called Upāśraya for their itinerant priests, and each of these Upāśrayas is provided with a more or less extensive Library. This Library is the property of the Gaccha and is in the charge of the prominent lay-members of the sect. When, however, a priest makes an Upāśraya his permanent residence, the Library is always in his charge, and practically he is its owner. The Upāśrayas and the Libraries attached to them are named after the street or ward in which they are situated. Pāṭan contains the following Libraries or Bhāṇḍāras —

1. Bhāṇḍāra of Pophlānopaḍo belonging to the Tapāgaccha.
2. Another (smaller one) in the same ward do do

¹ Originally published in 1887 at the Government Central Press, Bombay.
[N. B. U.]

² In his report for 1874-75 Dr. Bühler calls the place Pāthan, but it should be called Pātan, the Sanskrit form being Pattana, and the name being so pronounced by the people,

3. Bhāṇḍāra of Bhābhānopaḍo belonging to the Vimalagaccha.
4. Do. Samghavinopaḍo.
5. Do. Rājaviṇaya Dayāviṇaya.
6. Do. Limrinopaḍo.
7. Do. Vāḍi Pārśvanātha Mandira.
8. Do. Rūpasāgarjī.
9. Do. Ratanviṇaya, Khetarsī Mahāl.
10. Do. Makāmodi Vāṇiā.
11. Do. Hemacandra in the charge of Svarūpacandra Yati.

Of these No. 7 was not accessible to us, because we were told that one of the keys was with the Śrīpūjya or high priest of the sect to which the Library belonged and he was not in Pāṭan at the time. The owner of No. 8 left the place the day after we arrived there, and the Bhāṇḍāra had been locked up by him. Ratanviṇaya, the practical owner of No. 9, had removed a great many of the Manuscripts to Ahmedabad where he generally resided. Makāmodi Vāṇiā (No. 10) who possessed, it appears, Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves, had, we were told, sent them away somewhere. It is not unlikely that the Tāla-Leaf Manuscripts, added to our Collection in 1880-81, originally belonged to him. Svarūpacandra Yati, who has charge of the Bhāṇḍāra said to have originally belonged to Hemacandra, the great Jaina Scholar of the twelfth century, was as immovable as he was in 1874-75, when Dr. Bühler wished him to show his Manuscripts to him. We paid two visits to him, but he put us off with a variety of excuses and showed us only a few fragments of certain works that he had before him at the time. Rājaviṇaya Dayāviṇaya (No. 5) showed us three or four of his boxes. No. 6 is a small Collection and after we had obtained access to the first four, we did not think it very desirable to examine it, especially since we had little time to spare.

(I) THE LIBRARY IN THE POPHLĪĀNOPĀḌO

The Manuscripts in the Bhāṇḍāra in the Pophliānopaḍo (No. 1) are stowed in 80 boxes (Dābḍās) mostly made of thick paper-boards,

each box containing a list of its contents. The man in charge showed us also a general list in which the title of each Manuscript and the number of folios were given. I got a copy of it made, but owing to some misunderstanding on the part of the man in charge, my copyists were not able to get the numbers of folios of the Manuscripts in about 28 of the Dābdās. We examined some of the boxes at random and compared their contents with the entries in the general list and found the latter to be correct.¹ It will be seen that the number of Manuscripts in the Bhāṇḍāra is 2,801. This appears to be the Bhāṇḍāra of the Tapasgaccha that Dr. Bühler speaks of in his Report for 1874-75. The number of boxes or Dābdās mentioned by him agrees with that found by me; but the number of Manuscripts is given by him as upwards of 1,200. There are several copies of one and the same work in the Collection.

We were very greatly anxious to examine closely this splendid Collection, and spent two days in the work, but were able to effect little. After going over the long list we selected the following for examination, as likely to be interesting and important —

Box No 1

Jaina Kumārasambhava.

Box No 2

Naranārāyaṇānandakāvya.	Pañcamībhaviṣyadatta by
Kandalivṛtti by Balacandra	Dhanapāla.
Karpūraprakarābhidhānakōśa.	Vijayadevamahātmyakāvya.
Dhūrtakhyāne pañcamākhyā-	Ṣaḍbhāṣastavana.
nakam	

Box No. 3.

Balīnarendracarita

| Kumārapālacarita.

¹ This list is printed in the original Report as its Appendix IA (pp. 161-206).
[N. B. U.]

Box No. 5.

Kalpalatā.

Box No. 6.

Śataślokiṭīkā.

Pṛthvisuddhi.

Nyāyāvatāraṭippapikā.

Nyāyasūtra.

Box No. 7.

Mugdhamedhakarī-ālaṅkāra-

vṛtti.

Sūktāvali.

Pāṇḍavi-gītā.

Rāmacandrakāvya.

Muktāvali.

Pramāṇamañjarī.

Box No 10

Bṛhatpañcākhyāna.

Pañcākhyāna.

Nandopākhyāna.

Nyāyamakaranda.

Jainatarkabhāṣā by Jasa-
vijaya.

Hāsasmṛtipurāṇa.

Box No 11.

Bṛhadratnākaravṛtti.

Rāghavanāṭikā (a)—ṭīkā.

Hemaprakṛtadhunḍhi

Kīrtiśoḍaśapāda.

Prākṛtaprakriyāvṛtti

Nyāyavṛtti.

Box No 12

Harivikramacarita

Veda.

Kumārāpalacarita.

Vibhātavibhāvanā, Niśadha-
ṭīkā.

Kālidāsaakṛtakāvya.

Box No. 13

Puñjarājaṭīkā

Dānapradīpa.

Box No. 14.

Nyāyārthamañjuṣā.

Prākṛtaprabodha.

Nyāyavṛtti

Box No. 15.

Kalidasakṛtagrantha.

Box No. 16.

Kumārapālacarita. | Tarkavṛtti.

Box No. 17.

Hitopadeśavṛtti.

Box No. 20

Vastupāla-Tejapālacarita.	Devarājaprabandha.
Dṛṣṭāntaratnākara.	Kīrtikaumudī.
Brahmadattakathā.	

Box No. 29.

Vijayaprasasti | Rājumatiprabodha.

Box No. 32.

Kāvyaaprakāśaṭīkā.	Harivikramacarita.
Mahāvīdyāviṇḍambana.	Śāśadharanyāya.
Raghutīkā.	Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

Box No. 33.

Śaḍdarsanavṛtti.	Kāvyaakāmadhenu.
Vṛttaratnākarakāvya	

Box No. 35.

Mahābhāṣya.

Box No 36.

Cāpakya.	Candrasenanāṣṭakī(?)—praban-
Kumārapālpratibodha.	dha.
Ratnāvalīṭīkā.	Vastupāla-Tejapālprabandha.
Dutāṅgadanāṣṭaka.	Dharmasārmakāvya.

Box No. 37.

Sanatkumhāragītā.

Box No. 38.

Vastupālacarita.
Jñānavidyākāvya.

Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 40.

Ārambhasiddhivartākāvya
Bhūgolaśāstra.
Therāvali

Ratnamālayam Anekārthakośa.
Kumudacandranāṭaka.
Prāsādaavidhiprakaraṇa.

Box No 42

Śrutāyurveda.

Box No 43.

Rāvaṇasaṁvāda.
Nigodavicāra.
Gurṇāracaityapravāḍi
Kumāravihārasātaka.

Māheśvaravāda
Bhāṣyactūrṇi
Harivikramacaritra.

Box No 44.

Mohapatirajoharaṇavicāra.
Laghuśatapadi

Samayasāraparamāgamanāṭaka.
Gurvāvali

Box No. 45

Aśokacarita.

Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 47.

Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

Box No. 48

Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 49

Rāghavanāṭika (a).
Karpūramañjarīṭikā.

Deśikośanāmārtha.
Hemavibhrama.

Box No 51.

Andhrakumāravivāha.

Sukṛtasamkīrtana.

Box No. 65

Vijayaprasasti.

But the examination of so many Manuscripts would have taken many more days than we were able to devote to it, and we had to give up the task after having inspected a few. These are as follows —

1. *Pramāṇamañjarī* (boxes Nos. 7 and 44), folios 9, lines 15, letters 60 in a line, a treatise on the *Vaiśeṣika* system, by *Tārikā Sarvadevasūri*. There is a commentary on this by *Balabhadramiśra*.

2. *Vyutpattidīpikā* or *Prākṛtaprakriyāvr̥ttī* (box No 11), folios 138, lines 15, letters 55. This is a commentary by *Udaya-saubhāgyagaṇi*, pupil of *Saubhāgyasāgarasūri* of the *Tapā-gaccha* on *Hemacandra's Prakṛt Grammar* which forms the eighth chapter of his *Śabdānuśāsana*. Verses from original works are given to illustrate *Hemacandra's* rules, and the verses quoted by *Hemacandra*—especially in the section on the *Apabhraṃśa* dialect—are explained. I have since been able to procure a copy of this work for our Collection. It will be noticed in next year's Report.

3. *Rājimatiprabodha* (box No 29), folios 5, lines 17, letters 58. This is a drama in five acts by *Yāśāscandra*. The hero is *Nemi*.

4. *Vijayaprasasti* (box No 29), folios 279, lines 13, letters 40. This is a poem on *Vijayasena*, the successor of *Hiravijaya*, the 58th high priest of the *Tapāgaccha* according to *Dr Klatt*, but 60th according to a *Gurvāvalī* to be presently noticed. It was composed along with a commentary in *Samvat 1688* by *Guṇavijayagaṇi*.

5. *Kīrtikaumudī* (box No. 30), folios 11, lines 19, letters 61, author, *Gurjareśvarapurohita Someśvara*. This Manuscript was written in *Samvat, 1507* and would, *Professor Kathavate* tells me, have been of great use to him for his edition of the work if he had got it earlier. The Manuscripts he possessed, did not give

satisfactory readings in a good many places and he was in search of a fresh one, but was not then able to procure it.

6. *Mahābhāṣya* (box No. 35) This is an incomplete copy of Patañjali's work with the commentary of Kaiyaṣa. It was transcribed in Samvat 1543.

7. *Gurvāvali* (box No 44), folios 10, lines 18, letters 58. The Manuscript contains 20 Gāthas with a full commentary. It begins with Sudharmasvāmin and ends with Hiraviṣayasūri, the 60th successor. Hiraviṣaya is mentioned as having died in Samvat 1622 on the 12th of Vaiśākha Sudi, at Vaṭapalli. According to Dr Klatt, he was the 58th successor and died at Umnānagara, on the 11th of Bhādra. Sudi, 1652.

8. *Laghuśatapadi* (box No 44), folios 24, lines 17, letters 53. This is a work by Merutunga, and contains at the end a history of the Vaṭagaccha. The date of Jayasimha of the Cālukya dynasty of Pāṭaṇ is given as 1169 Samvat.

9. *Śeṣasamgraha* (box No 44), folios 4, lines 17, letters 48. This is a supplement by Hemacandra to his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.

(II) LIBRARY IN THE BHĀBHĀNOPĀḌO

We next spent a day in examining the Bhāṇḍāra in the Bhābhānopāḍo. The paper Manuscripts are stowed in 27 boxes or Dabḍas, and there is one Manuscript written on Tala leaves. The following came under our inspection —

1. An incomplete copy of the *Abhiśaṭṭhārthacintāmaṇi* by Someśvara, a king of the Deccan Cālukya dynasty.

2. A commentary by Mādhavasarasvatī on Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthi*. From a stanza at the end it appears that Mādhavasarasvatī was a native of the country of Gorāṣṭra in the South, in which is situated Gokarna Mahābaṣa. The country referred to is thus a portion of North Kanara. There is a copy

of this commentary in my Collection for 1879-80, but this verse does not occur at the end.

3. Another commentary on the Saptapdārthi by Bhāva-vidyeśvara, folios 13, lines 13, letters 47

KĀVYAKALPALATĀ AND AMARACANDRA

4 Kāvyaikalpalatāvṛtti, folios 57, lines 17-20, letters 64 ; total quantity 3,357 Anuṣṭubhs. The original work called the Kāvyaikalpalatikā was composed in part by Arisimha and completed by Amaracandra who also wrote the Vṛtti or commentary. Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta of the Vāyadagaccha, who must be the same person as the author of the Vivekavilāsa to be noticed hereafter. He lived, as will be shown, about the middle of the 13th century. Mādhava mentions both him and his work in his account of the Bauddha and Jaina systems in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha. Arisimha was the author of a poem called Sukṛtasamkīrtana and Amaracandra wrote besides the present work the Chando-ratnāvalī, the Kalākalāpa, and the Bālabhārata. They were fellow students and lived, according to the account given by Rājasekhara in the Prabandhacaturvīmśati, in the time of Viśaladeva before he got possession of the throne at Pāṭan, i e., about the middle of the 13th century. Copies of the Kāvyaikalpalatāvṛtti are by no means rare, and there is one in my last year's Collection, while in this year's we have a Manuscript of the original. The copy in this Bhāṇḍāra has the date 1455 of Vikrama corresponding to 1399 A D, which must be the date when the Manuscript was written.

5. Kumārapālacarita, folios 136, lines 16, letters 49. The author's name is Jayasimha. In the first part the genealogy of Mularāja, the founder of the Cālukya line of Pāṭan, is given. The work was composed in 1422 of Vikrama.

6 Sammatitarkaṭikā, folios 502, lines 15 ; total quantity 25,000 Anuṣṭubhs. The author of the original is Siddhasena Divākara, and of the commentary Abhayadeva.

7. *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, folios 252 The author's name *does not* appear. *Umāpati* is adored in the opening stanza

8. *Nyāyakandalīṭikā* by Śrīdhara, folios 124, lines 15, letters 60. The opening stanzas and the *Prasasti* at the end have been given by Dr Bühler under No. 384, *Kāśmīr Report*. The readings, however, in this Manuscript are in several cases better than those given by Dr Bühler

9. *Āptamīmāṃsālakāra* This appears to be the Digambara work of that name

10. Complete copies of Vallabha's and Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa*.

11. A commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* by Dharmamercu, folios 136, comes down to the end of Canto XVII, the first leaf missing. Another copy of the same, to the end of Canto III

(III) RĀJAVIJAYA DAYĀVIJAYA'S LIBRARY

Among the Manuscripts shown us by Rājaviṇaya Dayāviṇaya, there was a copy of Jayasīmaśūri's *Kumārāpālacarita*, the same work as that noticed above, and an abridgement of Haribhadra's *Samarādityacaritra* by Pradyumnācārya.

(IV) COLLECTION IN THE SAMGHAVINOPĀḌO

We devoted a day to the examination of the *Bhāṇḍāra* in the *Samghavinopāḍo*. All the Manuscripts are written on Tila leaves and some of them (such as those of the old works in illustration of the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama and of Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṇya*) are very valuable. They are however not well arranged and it was with difficulty that any desired Manuscript could be found. Dr Bühler had prepared a catalogue of the Collection, and on comparing some of the entries with the corresponding Manuscripts we found them to be correct, so that we did not deem it necessary

to pursue the examination further, especially as the time at our command was short

(V) SECOND LIBRARY IN THE POPHLIĀNOPĀḌO

From the list of the second Bhāṇḍāra in the Pophliānopāḍo put into our hands, it appears that it is made up of several collections belonging to different individuals, and the list gives us an insight into the manner in which these Jaina Bhāṇḍārs have grown up. On entering the room there is to the left a large box which contains 17 smaller ones or Dābḍās, in twelve of which the Manuscripts belonging to Śāntidāsa Devakaraṇa are kept. The list of these was made out in Samvat 1853. Of the rest, Dābḍās 13 and 14 contain Manuscripts belonging to or presented by another individual, the statement about whom occurring in the list is not intelligible, and the list was compiled in Samvat 1836. The Manuscripts in Dābḍās 15 and 16 belonged to Gangaviḷayagaṇi, pupil of Lābhaviḷayagaṇi, and their list was made out in Samvat 1751 (?). Those in the last or seventeenth Dābḍā seem to have been owned by another person. Besides these there are 19 Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves in the same large box, and four more written apparently on paper. Then there is a smaller box which contains the collection belonging to Satyaviḷayanyāsa stowed in fourteen Dābḍās. The list was prepared in 1853 Samvat. In another box, we have nine Dābḍās containing the Manuscripts belonging to —? Viḷeṇi, the list of which was made out in 1853 Samvat. The contents of the tenth Dābḍā seem to have originally belonged to another person who kept them here in Samvat 1860, while Dābḍās 11 and 12 contain the Manuscripts presented to the Bhāṇḍāra by Dipachand Hemachand, in Samvat 1861. There is another Dābḍā in which are stowed the Manuscripts left in the Bhāṇḍāra by Śrīpuṇya Jinendrasūri. There is another large box in which there are two Dābḍās containing the Manuscripts deposited in the house of Śāntidāsa Devakaraṇa by Mohana Viḷaya in Samvat 1853 with a list.

COLLECTIONS OF BRĀHMANIC WORKS

Three Collections of Brāhmanic works were also brought to my notice in Pāṭaṇ. The owner of one of them is Jasvantrai Gopālraī, who belongs to the Rāmānuja sect. As might be expected his Collection contains copies of many valuable works of the Rāmānuja school. I notice the following in the list he was good enough to furnish me with —

1. Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya or Śribhāṣya with the Śrutaprakāśikā.
2. Do. do. without do
- Granthasamkhyā 9,600
3. Vedāntadīpa, an abridgement of the above, Gr. s. 3,000.
4. Vedāntasāra, a brief commentary on the Vedāntasūtra, Gr. s. 1,700
5. Prapañcāmṛta, or Life of Rāmānuja, Gr. s. 5,440.
6. Divyasūriprabhāva, or Lives of the principal Ācāryas of the Sect, Gr. s. 1,200.
7. Bhāṣyas on the principal Upaniṣads, according to Rāmānuja's system.
8. The following Samhitās from the Nārada Pañcarātra
 - (a). Lakṣmī Samhitā, Gr. s. 3,350.
 - (b). Jñānāmṛtasāra Samhitā, Gr. s. 1,450
 - (c). Paramāgamacūḍāmaṇi Samhitā, Gr. s. 12,500.
 - (d). Pauṣkara Samhitā, Gr. s. 6,350
 - (e). Padma Samhitā, Gr. s. 9,000.
 - (f). Vṛddhabrahma Samhitā, Gr. s. 4,533.
9. Guruparamparā from Raṅgācārya to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.
10. Guruparamparā of the Rāmānuja sect.
11. A good Collection of Smṛtis, &c.

The owner of the second Collection is Maṇisamkara Kṛpāsamkara from whom I received but an incomplete list. He is a follower of Śaṅkarācārya's school and as such possesses the most im-

portant works of that system. In his list is mentioned a commentary by Gauḍapāda on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. If the entry is correct it is a rarity

The owner of the third Collection is Trīkamlāl Ānandlāl from whom, however, no list could be procured

KAVIRAHASYA, AND THE HERO OF THE POEM—KṚṢṆA
OF THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA FAMILY

At Pāṭaṇ we came across a copy of the Kavirahasya or Kavīguhya by Halāyudha. It is well known that the hero of this grammatical poem is a king of the name of Kṛṣṇa who is represented as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern India. Professor Westergaard identified this Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century, and this identification seems to have been accepted by Professor Aufrecht. But the copy of the Kavirahasya I found at Pāṭaṇ contains a verse in which the hero Kṛṣṇa is spoken of as "having sprung from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race" (Rāṣṭrakūṭakulodbhavam) In another he is called "the ornament of the Lunar race" (Somavamśavibhūṣaṇa), and we know from the Khārepāṭa plates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled over the Deccan were considered to have belonged to the family of Yadu which was an offshoot of the Lunar race. The Kṛṣṇa of the Kavirahasya, therefore, must have been one of the three Kṛṣṇas of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line who were sovereign lords of the Deccan. The first of them reigned about 775 A D, the second was on the throne in 911 A D, and the third in 956 A D Halāyudha therefore must have lived at a time when the memory of one of these three Kṛṣṇas was still fresh, that is, between the beginning of the ninth to about the end of the tenth century.

And the comparatively high antiquity of Halāyudha is indicated by the circumstance that the text of the Kavirahasya prevailing in one part of the country differs widely from that in use in another. I have since obtained a Manuscript of the work

in the Maratha Country and find on comparison that its text shows as considerable divergences from that of the Pāṭaṇ copy, if not more, as the Nāgarī rescension of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā from the Gaudī. Such divergences are not found in Manuscripts of a work written only three hundred years ago, and I am inclined, on account of this circumstance, to identify Halāyudha's Kṛṣṇa with the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of that name and to refer our author to the beginning of the ninth century. I must, however, not omit to mention that the Maratha copy of the Kavirahasya omits the expression "Rāṣṭrakūṭakulodbhavam" and reads the whole verse very differently. Similarly, instead of "Somavamsāvibhūsanah", we have in that copy "Paralokaḥṛīsayah (yā)." But these must be regarded as later corruptions. For if the names of Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and the Soma race did not exist in the text as Halāyudha wrote it, nobody could have afterwards added them. Corruption must proceed from what is particular to what is general or from one generality to another, but not from what is general to what is particular. There can be nothing to lead a later reader or writer to introduce such a particular name as Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

Probably our Halāyudha was the same as the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā. For, in the first place, the two works are on kindred subjects, and in the next, Halāyudha, the author of the Kavirahasya, is in the last verse of the Maratha copy called "Sadabhidhānanidhāna," or "the store of good names." And he must be supposed to be spoken of thus in two senses, first, in the sense of his name being a good name, and secondly, in so far as he compiled a thesaurus, and probably, by the word Sadabhidhānas "good names" the Abhidhānaratnas or "gems in the shape of names" of which we have a necklace in the Abhidhānaratnamālā, are referred to. In the third place, a connection has been established between both the works and Kavis or poets. The "necklace of gems in the shape of names" was, we are told in the second verse,

prepared for adorning the neck of a Kavi (Kavikapṭha-vibhūṣaṇārtham), and the second work is "the secret [that leads to the success] of a Kavi."

A MUTILATED MANUSCRIPT OF A HISTORICAL WORK

An old and mutilated Manuscript of a curious work written in broken Sanskrit and at the end in Gujarati, also came to my notice. As the owner would not part with it I got a transcript made. I had no opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original, and probably the mistakes of the original have been added to by my copyist. The fragment does not contain the beginning and the work has no chapters. At first we have the story of Jamadagni and Sahasrārjuna, and then the foundation of a town of the name of Puspamālā is mentioned. The building of another town of the name of Ratnamālā, with a river serving as its moat in the front and a fortress behind, is likewise mentioned, and we are then carried to Paṭṭana. There somebody is represented to have expatiated on the strength of Devagiri and its seven fortresses before Siddharāja, who thereupon led an expedition against the place. From Devagiri Siddharāja proceeded to Paithana which submitted to him, and there he is represented to have induced certain families called Virajas or Viravamśajas, who appear to have been silk-weavers, to go with him to his capital Anahilapaṭṭana and settle there. The glories of the city and its previous history were recounted to the Virajas, and this is what is stated —

DATES OF THE CAPOTKAṬA PRINCES

1. Paṭṭana was founded by Vanarāja who reigned for sixty years, up to 862 of the Vikrama Era, or 806 A.D. He was succeeded by

2. Yogarāja who was on the throne up to 897 Vikrama or 841 A.D. After him reigned

3. Kṣemarāja for 25 years, up to 922 Vikrama, or 866 A.D. Then came to the throne

4. Vāṇḍa and Bhuyaḍa who reigned for 29 years, i.e., up to 951 Vikrama or 895 A.D. But the year of Vikrama is not given. He conquered Dvāravātī and the whole country to the west, down to the sea coast. He was succeeded by

5. Virasimha who was on the throne for 25 years, i.e., up to 976 Vikrama, or 920 A.D., though the year is not given, and we have instead 951 Vikrama, which must be the year of his accession. Then followed

6. Ratnāditya who reigned for 15 years, i.e., up to 991 Vikrama, or 935 A.D. But this year is not given, and we have instead of it 976 Vikrama which, as in the last case, must be the year of the king's accession. After him reigned

7. Sāmantasimha for seven years up to 998 Vikrama, or 942 A.D.

This was the last prince of the Cāpotkātā line, and the sovereignty of Gujarath fell into the hands of Mularāja, the son of Sāmanta's sister, who founded the Cālukya dynasty

DATES OF THE CĀLUKYAS

1. Mularāja reigned for 55 years, up to 1053 Vikrama, and was succeeded by

2. Chāmunḍa, who was on the throne for 13 years, till the year 1066 of Vikrama. Then followed

3. Vallarāja, who reigned for six months. Vallarāja is the same as Vallabharāja. His successor is represented to have reigned for eleven years and six months, up to the Vikrama year 1078 (1022 A.D.), but his name is not given. He was Durlabha, as we know, after whom came

4. Bhīma. The date of his ceasing to reign is not given. Bhīma was succeeded by

5. Karna. No date occurs even here Karna was followed by

6. Siddharāja. A date is given here, but two or three letters have dropped away Still it appears to be 1150 Vikrama corresponding to 1094 A D Siddharāja conquered many countries and acquired immense wealth. Thirty-five crores of Tankas of gold were brought and placed before him, and Siddharāja asked his ministers what to do with this wealth They advised him to construct a tank in the city The king then sent for an engineer and ordered him to build a tank with a fortress and a thousand temples of Śiva on the margin and one temple in the centre. The work was completed in five years

After this whole account had been given to the Virajas they agreed to go to Paṭṭana, and did accordingly A great deal of wealth was given to them and a site for building houses was granted in the north-eastern part of the city. After they settled in Paṭṭana, silk-manufacture began to flourish in the town. But the Virajas, being foreigners could not get wives there and they carried their complaint before Siddharāja It was ascertained that they belonged to the Kṣatriya caste While Paraśurāma was carrying on his work of the destruction of the Kṣatriyas, some members of that caste gave up their trade of war in fear and became weavers, and from them these Virajas derived their descent Intermarriages appear then to have been arranged between the new settlers and some of the Kṣatriya tribes in Gujarath, and thus in time the Virajas came to have 84 distinct families. The names of these are then given in the Manuscript and thus the main story ends

7. Siddharāja is then spoken of as having been succeeded by Kumārapāla whose mother Ratnasenā was, it is stated, the sister of Siddharāja. He reigned for 31 years and introduced the Jaina religion, which is "the path of universal love." His reign lasted, it is said, till 1199 Vikrama, but that must be the year of his accession Then we have a mere list of the kings

that followed with the dates of their accession. But the first line in which Mula the younger is spoken of as having come to the throne in Samvat 1230, must have crept in through some mistake, for in the third line that same prince is represented as having got possession of the throne in Samvat 1233, and in the second, Ajayapāla is stated as having begun to reign in Samvat 1230. The first line being then struck out, the list is as follows.—

8. In Samvat 1230 (1174 A.D.), Ajayapāla succeeded and reigned for 3 years.

9. In Samvat 1233 (1177 A.D.), Mula the younger succeeded and reigned for 2 years.

10. In Samvat 1235 (1179 A.D.), Bhīma the younger succeeded and reigned for 63 years.

11. In Samvat 1298 (1242 A.D.), Tihunapāla (Tribhuvanapāla) succeeded and reigned for 4 years.

"Thus there were 11 princes of the Calukya line, and they reigned for——years" The total number of years is given as 3,400 but there is evidently a slip here, 304 must have been meant.

THE VĀGHDELAS

1. In Samvat 1302 (1246 A.D.), Visaladeva succeeded and reigned for 18 years.

2. In Samvat 1320¹ (1264 A.D.), Arjunadeva succeeded and reigned for 13 years.

3. In Samvat 1333 (1277 A.D.), Sarangadeva² succeeded and reigned for 20 years.

¹ This date is not given in the Manuscript. The figure 10 occurs in the place of the date, and this is certainly a mistake either of my copyist or of that of the original from which my transcript was prepared. But the date is got by adding 18 to 1302.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

4 In Samvat 1353 (1297 A.D), Karna the younger succeeded and reigned for 7 years

Thus for 58 years the Vaghela family was in possession of the sovereignty. Then Suratrāpa (Sultān) Alla-ud-din's army came from Delhi, and the Hindus lost their kingdom The Turkas came.

The names and dates of the kings of Gujerath here given agree with those mentioned by the chroniclers Merutunga and others There are a few inaccuracies as we have seen, but these are rather to be attributed to the bad condition of the Manuscript than to the author's imperfect information The name of Tihunapāla or Tribhuvanapāla, which is omitted by the chroniclers, but which occurs in a grant dated 1299 Vikrama translated by Dr Buhler, is, we see, given by our author But the duration of his reign was unknown before, and Dr. Böhler simply inferred it was very short Here we see it distinctly stated that he reigned for four years Our author states the number of the Calukya princes to have been 11, from which it appears that in common with some other writers he includes the six months' reign of Vallabha in that of his brother Durlabha

The accession of Visaladeva to the throne of Pāṭap is placed in the Vikrama year 1302, while in the Vicāśreṇī it is represented to have taken place in 1300 The Vicāśreṇī and our author agree as regards the duration of the reigns of Visaladeva, Aṇunadeva, and Karna the younger, and as regards the date of the extinction of the Vaghela line which took place in 1360 of Vikrama. But a reign of 22 years has been assigned to the third prince Śarangadeva in that work and of 20 years by our author Hence it is that the author of the Vicāśreṇī has pushed Visala's accession two years backwards, and thus according to him the dynasty was in power for 60 years, while our author expressly states that it lasted for 58 years The statement of our author is correct and the Vicāśreṇī is wrong ;

for the dates given by him agree with those given by Dharma-sāgara in the Pravacanaparīkṣā as will be hereafter seen

WORTH OF THE VICĀRASREṆĪ

The Vicārasreṇī appears to me to be a curious composition. It places the foundation of Paṭap in 821 Samvat instead of 802, the accession of Mularāja in 1017 Samvat instead of 998, omits the reign of Āmūṇḍa, assigns fourteen years to Vallabharāja instead of six months, represents Viśaladeva to be a brother of Viradhavala instead of a son, and contains several other mistakes. It is therefore not entitled to our confidence at all, though Dr Buhler follows it in giving the dates of the Vāghelā princes.

The list in our Manuscript then goes on thus —

MUSSULMAN SOVEREIGNS OF GUJARATH

- Samvat 1393 (1337 A.D.) Udekhām, reigned for 25 years.
- Do. 1418 (1362 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Mudāpar, reigned for 18 years
- Do. 1436 (1380 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Ahimud, reigned for 32 years, 7 months, and 7 days Founded Ahimudābād
- Do. 1468 (1412 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Kutabadin, reigned for 10 years, 5 months, and 6 days
- Do. 1479 (1423 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Daudasāh, reigned for 36 years.
- Do. 1515 (1459 A.D.) Magha Śudī 12th, Pataśāh Mahimud.
- Do. 1568 (1512 A.D.) Margaśīrṣa Śudī 4, Suratrāṇa Madafa(r)
- Do. 1582 (1526 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Śakandar, reigned for 8 days
- Do. 1582 (1526 A.D.) Jyestha Vadi 5, Thursday, Pataśāh Mahimud, reigned for 1 month and 10 days.
- Do. 1582 (1526 A.D.) Śrāvana Śudī 2, Pataśāh Bāhādar, reigned for 10 years.

He conquered a large portion of the country. Then came Pataśāh Humān who was a Mugāl. He stayed for 8 months in Gujarath. Then came Bahādar. He died in the sea.

Samvat 1593 (1537 A D) Pataśāh Mahimud, reigned for 17 years. He was killed by the murderer Baharā. (By mistake this date is put down as 1583)

Samvat 1610 (1554 A D) Pataśāh Mahimud, reigned for 10 years. This date is put down as 1600

THE MOGHULS OF DELHI

Samvat 1617 (1561 A D), Vaiśākha Śudi 6, Pataśāh Mudāfar. The kingdom lost, the country destroyed. Then came Akbar, the son of Humān in 1628 (1572 A D), and having established his power in Gujarath went back to Delhi.

If the date 1583 in the case of the last Sultān but two, and 1600 in the case of the last but one, had really been meant by the author, he would have given 1610 for the last instead of 1617. The first therefore must be 1593, the second 1610, and the duration of the reign in the second case, 7 instead of 10. In this way only does the last date come out right.

Then Akbar came back on the 2nd of Mārgaśīrṣa Śudi. (There is a lacuna in the place of the date)

Samvat 1682 (1626 A D), Magha Śudi 5, Pataśāh Jahāngir, reigned for 21 years.

(Lacuna) Śudi 7, Śāh Jhām (Jehan), reigned for 31 years.

Samvat 1714 (1658) (lacuna), Pataśāh Aurangjib

The first of these Mahomedan princes is not mentioned in Forbes' Rāsamālā or Prinsep's Table, and Mahammadshah, the third according to these, is not mentioned by our author. The dates also of Muzafar and his three successors given above do not agree with those given in the two works. From Mahamud

Begarra, however, who began to reign in 1459, the dates and the names agree But in Prinsep's Table, Mahammad Faruki of Malwa is brought in two years after Bahadur's accession. He is omitted by our author Bahadur's corpse having been found in the sea is confirmed by our author's statement that he died in the sea. The prince who came to the throne in 1554 A D , is Ahmadshah in Prinsep's Table, while he is called Mahammad in our Manuscript The date Samvat 1682 or 1626 A D is the date of Shah Jehan's accession put in the line above by a mistake of the scribe, while he has left a lacuna against the name of that emperor The date of Aurangzeb and the duration of the reigns of his two predecessors are given correctly by our author ¹

A PAṬṬĀVALĪ WITH A LIST OF DATES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

I also came across a slip of paper on which the Paṭṭāvalī or Succession list of the High-priests of one of the Gacchas or sects of the Śvetāmbara Jainas is given, along with dates in a few cases The slip is probably three hundred years old and the Paṭṭāvalī appears to be that of the Vāṭa Gaccha Below the Paṭṭāvalī is a list of important events together with their dates. I quote some of the important dates —

Vikrama Samvat 1084 Kharataragaccha.

Samvat 1159 Pūrṇimāpakṣa

Samvat 1159, the establishment of Añcalagaccha, a branch of the Candragaccha

Samvat 1285, doctrine of the Tapāgaccha, establishment of the Gaccha through Vastupāla

Samvat 1532, the doctrine about the disuse of images

¹ Extracts from this "Historical Work in Broken Sanskrit" are given at pp. 314-319 of the Original Report under Appendix III L. [N B. U]

Vikrama 585, Haribhadrastūri, son of Yākinī.

Vikrama 800, birth of Bappabhaṭṭastūri, 895, went to heaven, converted Āmarāja.

Vikrama 802, Paṭṭana founded by Vanarāja. An image of Pañcāsara Parśvanātha was placed in the Rāyavihāra.

Vikrama 1096, 84 Ācāryas were consecrated under a Banyan (vaṭa) tree

Vikrama 1088, construction of Vimalavasatī (Vimala's temple) and the placing of a brass image of Ādinātha

Vikrama 1166, Hemācārya raised to the dignity of Śūri

Vikrama 1199, reign of Kumārapāla.

Vikrama 1198, Rudramālā erected by Jayasinha.

Vikrama 1288, Vastupāla placed an image of Kasoṭi in the temple of Luṇṇiga on Mount Abu

Vikrama 1298, death of Vastupāla, and 14 years afterwards, death of Tejappāla.

Vikrama 1302, temple of Śatrumjaya by Candadeva of the Śrīmāla caste

Vikrama 1315, three years' famine, Viśaladeva being king.

Vikrama 1441, rise of Merutungaśūri.

YASOVARMAN, BHAVABHŪTI, ĀMA, AND VĀKAPTI

We learn from Rājasekhara's Prabandhakośa that the Āmarāja converted by Bappabhaṭṭi was the son and successor of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj. A king of the name of Dharma who was a hereditary enemy of Āma, ruled over the Gauḍa country at that time, and Lakṣaṇāvati was his capital. He had Vākpatirāja, a poet, in his service, who composed a Prakrit poem entitled Gauḍavadha or Goḍavaho, after his patron had been killed by a neighbouring prince of the name of

Yasodharma. It would thus appear that Vākpatirāja belonged to the next generation after Yaśovarman, and I have given reasons in the introduction to my edition of *Mālatīmādhava* to believe that he belonged to the next generation after Bhavabhūti also. The *Rājataranginī* speaks of both the poets as having been patronized by Yaśovarman, wherefore it must be concluded that Vākpatirāja first came into prominence in the latter part of his reign, while Bhavabhūti belonged to the first part. Rājasekhara gives 807 Vikrama as the date of Bappabhaṭṭi's initiation as a Jaina monk and 811 Vikrama as the date of his being raised to the dignity of a Śūri. These dates are hardly consistent with the date of his birth given above and generally accepted by the Jainas. But this latter seems to have been arrived at by an inference from the statement that when Bappabhaṭṭi was first seen by his Guru Siddhasena, he was only six years old and was soon initiated, and it is not given by Rājasekhara at all. It must therefore be pushed backwards. Similarly the date of his death must be considered as very doubtful.

Bappabhaṭṭi met Āma for the first time soon after his initiation, while the latter was living as a voluntary exile in Gujarath, being displeased with the treatment he had received from his father, and was made a Śūri at the request of Āma after he had succeeded to the throne on his father's death. Yaśovarman thus died between 807 and 811 of the era of Vikrama, i.e. about the year 753 A.D. Lalitāditya of Kashmir who subdued Yaśovarman reigned from 693 to 729 A.D., according to the chronology of *Rājataranginī* as interpreted by General Cunningham by the use of the key furnished by Kalhana himself, viz., that Śaka 1070 corresponded with the Kashmir year 24. The date of Yaśovarman's death now determined agrees well enough with this, at least it does not furnish any reason for supposing an error in Kalhana's dates and applying

a correction to them as General Cunningham afterwards did, though even the corrected date of Lalitāditya, 723-760 A.D., would be equally consistent with it. And Bhavabhūti must be referred to the last quarter of the seventh century and the first of the eighth

Before proceeding I must here give expression to my deep sense of obligation to Mr Ramechandra Dhonddev Velankar, the Subordinate Judge of Patan, without whose assistance we should have been able to do nothing. The good man has since died and cannot now receive my thanks, but I feel it to be a duty to place on record the valuable service rendered by him to the cause of Oriental Research

AHMEDABAD

We left Patan and returned to Ahmedabad. I could make only two days' stay there, but with the assistance of Professor Kathavate and an old pupil Mr Sarabhai Maganbhai Hatesing, I was able to make good use of the short time at my disposal.

LIBRARIES AT AHMEDABAD

The principal Jama Bhāṇḍāras at Ahmedabad are the following —

- 1 Bhāṇḍāra of Dehalāno Upāśraya
- 2 Bhāṇḍāra of Dayā Vimala
- 3 Lohvānī polanum Bhāṇḍāra
- 4 Mulchandji's Bhāṇḍāra
- 5 Jaysing Hathesing's
- 6 Premābhai Hemabhai's

A PORTION OF THE LIBRARY IN THE DEHALANO UPĀŚRAYA

The first Bhāṇḍāra has now been divided into three parts, one of them being deposited in the Upāśraya, another in Hamsanāthji's temple belonging to Umābhai Hatesing, and

the third being in the charge of a private individual. The second we were able to see. The list was placed in our hands and I took a copy of it.¹ The Bhāndāra contains 53 Dabḍās, and on examination we found that the entries in the list and the contents of the Dabḍās agreed. Sometimes however there were two Dabḍās with the same number and this appeared to us to be due to some confusion that must have taken place on the occasion of the distribution of the original Bhāndāra. As at Patan, we went over the list and selected certain Manuscripts for examination. Though the examination was short, it yielded not unimportant results. The following Manuscripts were seen by us —

1 Rūpamañjarināmamālā (box 31), fols 7, ll 12, vv 120, a thesaurus by Rūpacanda, the son of Gopāla, composed in the reign of Akbar in 1644 Samvat or 1588 A D

2 Anarghyarāghavaṭippanaka (box 31), fols 36 ll 21, letters 53, commentary on Mūrāri's Anarghyarāghava, by Naracandra-sūri, pupil of Malladhārin, seven acts. MS transcribed in 1434 Samvat. The date of this Manuscript shows that the commentary itself was composed before the end of the fourteenth century. The original, therefore, must be considerably older. It will hereafter be shown that Mūrāri flourished before the thirteenth century.

3 Śrutasabdārtha-mahānīvasamuccayaḥ, (box 47), fols 32, ll 17, Gra. s 1508, composed by Someśvara pupil of Yogeśvaracārya.

4 Mugdhabodha (box 47), fols 18, ll 19, letters 54. A thesaurus composed in 1450 Samvat. Date of MS. Samvat 1517.

5 Nalodaya (box 47). This is usually attributed to Kalidāsa, but in this Manuscript the name of the author is given

¹ Not printed here. It forms Appendix IB to the Original Report, pp. 206-255. [N. B. U.]

as Ravidēva, son of Nārāyaṇa. There are one or two Manuscripts in our Collection in which also the same name occurs

6. Bhāvadhyotanikā (boxes 47, 49, and 52). A commentary on the Naiṣadhacaritra by Śeṣa Rāma, pupil of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa , cantos 1-13, 15, 17, 18, 20-22

7 Vidvadbhūṣana by Bālakṛṣṇa, with a commentary entitled Mañjubhāṣinī by Madhusūdana (box 47), fols. 38, ll 19 ; the original 68 vv , total Gr s 2,332, Sam 1740 There is a copy of it in this year's Collection

8 Kārikāṭikā by Upādhyāya Sucarita (box 49), fols 109, ll 12, letters 43 This is a commentary on the Ślokaṭīkā of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and the Pratīka 'Viśuddhoti' is the first word of the first Kārikā But of this more hereafter

9 Nyāyasāra (box 49) fols 14, ll 12, letters 34, three Paricchedas, by Bhāsarvajña It follows the system of Gautama Manuscript written at Devagiri by Ānandayaśogani in Samvat 1505.

10 Kumārapālprabandha (box 49), fols 58, by Jinamandanasūri Composed in Samvat 1492

11 Prabandhakosa by Jayasēkhara, which must be a work of the same nature as Rājasēkhara's Prabandhakosā or Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi

12 Śīśuḥitaṣṣṇī, a commentary on the Kumārasambhava by Vyāsavatsa (box 52), fols 63, ll 13 , comes down to the end of the eighth canto

13 A Manuscript of the Prakrit anthology with a Chāyā or Sanskrit translation and a few notes also came to my notice. There are two copies of the work in our Collections also It is called Prakrit Padyalaya which title is in several places transcribed as Vidyālaya Vajjā (Padya) is explained by the author as Paddhati and a collection of Gāhā or Gāthāḥ on the

same subject is called *Vajjālaya*, written often as *Vajjālaggā*. The author's name is *Jayavallabha* who was a *Śvetāmbara* Jain, and that of the author of the *Chāyā* is *Ratnadeva*. The number of *Gāthās* or verses is 704 and the *Granthasamkhyā* of the whole work is 3,000. The Collection embraces 48 subjects and these are given in four *Gāthās*. The names of the works from which the 704 *Gāthās* are collected are unfortunately not given, but I observed some verses from the *Gaudavadha*, and some quoted in the *Kāvya prakāśa*. The *Chāyā* was composed by *Ratnadeva* in the year 1393, which must be of the *Vikrama* era though it is not stated, at the instance of *Dharmacandra*, pupil of *Haribhadrasūri*, the successor as High-priest of the *Prthagaccha*, of *Manabhadrasūri*.

14 We found in this *Bhāṇḍara* a large portion of a commentary on the *Kāvya prakāśa* by *Bhānucandra*, and a complete copy of *Jayanta's Kāvya prakāśaḍipikā*. In 1875-76 Dr *Bühler* came across a Manuscript of this last, and got a transcript made for our Collection, but it is only a fragment. I have therefore got the complete Manuscript found at *Ahmedabad* copied for Government. It is besides valuable in consequence of its giving the date of *Jayanta* and some particulars about him. *Jayanta* calls himself a *Purohita* and was the son of *Bhāradvaja* who was *Purohita* or family priest to the minister of *Sarangadeva*, sovereign of *Gujarath*. He finished his work on Sunday, the 3rd of the dark fortnight of *Jyēṣṭha* in the *Samvat* year 1350, in the triumphant reign of *Sarangadeva*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, while his victorious army was encamped near *Āṣapalli*. *Jayanta* bestows very extravagant praise on his father, and tells us that the king of *Gujarath* threw himself prostrate at his feet. *Sarangadeva*, as we have seen, was the third of the *Vaghela* sovereigns who reigned at *Patan* and was on the throne between *Vikrama* 1333 and 1353, i. e., 1277-1297 A D. The Manuscript was transcribed in 1475 (*Samvat*)

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE VIKRAMĀṆKACARITA
THE SECOND YET DISCOVERED

15 We discovered in box 43 a Manuscript of Vikramāṅka-devacarita or life of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127 A D), by Bilhana. A copy of this highly valuable historical poem written on Palm-leaves was discovered by Dr Bühler at Jessalmir in Marwar in 1874-75, and his edition of the work is based on that Manuscript. Our Manuscript is a fragment beginning with the second line of stanza 62 of the first canto, and coming down to the end of the seventh canto. But I feel almost sure that if I had had time enough, and if the men in charge of the Bhāṇḍāra had been more patient as regards this our laying hands on their treasures, and more confiding, I should have been able to trace the whole work. This Manuscript is in the list put down as Vikramacaritra, and there is another with the same title in box 48, and a third called Vikramādityacaritra in box 34. One portion of the commentary on the Naiṣadhacaritra by Śeṣa Rāma, noticed above, was found in one box and two other portions in two other boxes. It is therefore extremely likely that one or both of the other Manuscripts, the titles of which begin with the name of Vikrama, contain the remaining part of the Vikramāṅkacaritra. There is still another Manuscript entitled Vikramacaritra in box 31, but on examination I found it to be a legendary account in prose of Vikrama the celebrated king of Ujjayini.

I have compared the Manuscript with Dr Bühler's edition and give its readings in Appendix III (R).¹ Dr Bühler's Manuscript was written on Palm-leaves and must be older than mine, and on the whole it is much better. But there are many cases in which my readings are better, while Dr. Bühler's do not yield any sense or good sense, and consequently they must be the correct or original readings.

¹ Not here printed. [N B U]

A POEM ENTITLED SURATHOTSAVA BY SOMEŚVARADEVA

16 I have also to announce the discovery of a Mahākāvya or poem, hitherto unknown, by Someśvaradeva whose Kirtikaumudī has now been before Sanskrit scholars for some years and whose Rāmaśataka was mentioned by me in my last Report.¹ The poem is called Surathotsava and contains fifteen cantos. The plot is the same as that of the Saptasatī or Devīmāhātmya contained in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. At the beginning, the poet addresses various deities devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā. He then renders his obeisance to him who "in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rāma" and to "the son of Satyavati," as well as to their works, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Then are mentioned with admiration the following poets —

1 Guṇādhyā, the author of the Bīhātkathā, whose Prakrit composition surpassed the Sanskrit composition of other poets

2 Subandhu

3 Kālidāsa

4 Māgha

5 Murāri and others. This Murāri must be the author of the Anaighyaṛāghava, a Manuscript of a commentary on which transcribed in Samvat 1434, has been already noticed.²

CANTO I

The poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry, good men, wicked men, &c. and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers. The first canto ends with the mention of his Viśvaviṣaya or conquest of the world.

1 Ante, p 10 [N B U]

2 Ante, p 83 [N B U]

CANTOS II AND III

At the beginning of the second, some of Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom. Suratha then betook himself to a forest where he met a Muni or sage to whom he recounted his misfortunes. He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (tapas) in order to propitiate Bhavāni, and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess. Śumbha and Niśumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman, and through the virtue of that boon, they made themselves all-powerful and oppressed all creatures. The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva, and laid their complaints. Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the Demon (Daiṭya) had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavāni and entreat her to kill Śumbha. Thus ends the third canto.

CANTOS IV—XI

The gods then went to the Himālaya, a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the fourth canto. A description of the seasons, all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march, follows in the fifth, and a description of a moon-rise in the sixth. The seventh canto opens with a description of a sunrise and then Bhavāni is represented as going out to gather flowers. Thence she goes to the Gangā to bathe, and as she is returning, the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises. They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the Daiṭya Śumbha. She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon.

In the eighth canto, Bhavāni transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the Himālaya.

The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the Himālaya, and reaches the ears of Śumbha. He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself. Bhavāni tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion. The messenger goes back to Śumbha and informs him of this. Śumbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhūmrilocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow, and, if she remained still obstinate, to use force and bring her away. Dhūmrilocana goes to Bhavāni and while about to execute his master's commands, he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess.

Then in the ninth canto Śumbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army, the fight between them is described in the tenth, and the death of Śumbha in the eleventh.

CANTOS XII—XIV *

Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavāni from the mouth of the Muni, Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities. These are described in the twelfth canto, and in the thirteenth Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness, but he is proof against her blandishments, and goes on with his religious exercises. Then in the fourteenth, Bhavāni is pleased, and manifests herself to Suratha, she pronounces a benediction, and promises him supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu, after the present or seventh is over, in a future life.

In the meanwhile such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him, destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out. One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising

austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors. They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Umā

CANTO XV

THE HISTORY OF SOMĒSVARA'S FAMILY

In the fifteenth canto Someśvara gives the history of his family and his own, and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla. "There is a place called Nagara where reside Brahmins and which is rendered holy by the sacred fires kept by them and the sacrificial rites they perform. The gods themselves, seeing the holiness of the place and the prosperity conferred upon it by Śiva, live there as it were assuming the forms of Brahmins." At that place dwelt a family of the name of Guleva (?) belonging to the Gotra of Vasistha. In that holy family was born Sola, who was created by Mularāja, (the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of Patan), his family priest. He performed the Vajapeya sacrifice and attained great influence over the king. His son Lalja was the spiritual adviser of Cāmunda, and his son Muñja, of Durlabha.

Muñja's son was Soma by whose blessings Bhīma became victorious everywhere. Āma, the son of Soma, was the family priest of Karna. He performed the seven kinds of Jyotiṣoma and obtained the title of Samrāj, and spent the wealth received from the Cālukya prince in building temples of Śiva, digging tanks of water, and making gifts to Brahmins. When the Cālukya prince harassed the territory of the king of Dhārā, the priest of the latter conjured up, by means of charms, an evil spirit (Kṛtyā) for the destruction of his master's enemy. But by countercharms, Āma succeeded in turning

back the evil spirit against the conjuror himself who was instantaneously killed by it

Āma's son was Kumāra, and it was in virtue of his good wishes that Siddharāja made the king of Sindhu a captive though he was a man of great prowess, cast into prison the ruler of Mālava along with his family, and made the proud king of the country of "a lac and a quarter"¹ bow his head to himself. Kumāra performed sacrifices, and built tanks. His son was Sarvadeva who knew the essence of the laws laid down by Manu. He was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, performed sacrifices like his predecessors, and was too proud to beg money of others. After his death, his son Āmiga took his place. Āmiga had four sons, Sarvadeva, Kumāra, Muñja, and Āhaḍa(?). The relation of the elder Sarvadeva and his son Āmiga to the Cālukya princes is not stated. Probably Kumārapāla, the successor of Siddharāja, being a Jaina, had very little to do with them.

But after Kumārapāla's death, Sarvadeva the younger, threw his bones according to Brahmanic rites into the Ganges and gratified the Brahmins of Prayaga and Gayā by his gifts. Sarvadeva constructed tanks in many places, worshipped Śiva every day, and was hospitable to all Brahmins.

Kumāra was offered heaps of jewels by the king, the son of Kumārapāla, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, but he did not accept them. He propitiated Śiva in the form of Kātukeśvara and cured the severe wounds received by Ajayapāla in a battle. When in consequence of a famine, the people were reduced to mere skeletons he interceded with Mularāja and obtained for them a remission of the assessment on land. He was made chief minister by Pratāpamalla, who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and, being entrusted

1 The country about the Sambhar lake in Rajaputana was so called.

with the charge of the army by the Calukya prince, achieved victory for his arms by defeating his enemies. He fought a battle with the king of Dhārā, who after receiving a wound skin-deep, left the battle-field though puffed up with pride, and Kumāra, destroying a town named Gogasthāna (?) belonging to him, sank a well in the place where his palace stood. He plundered the Mālava country and took away all its wealth though he did not find gold or silver, and gave gold and silver to Brahmans when he performed a Śrāddha at Gayā. He defeated an army of the Mlecchas near the Queen's lake, gratified the manes by performing Śrāddhas on the bank of the Ganges, and brought down rain in rainless districts. As a Brahman, he performed his sixfold duty, and as a soldier, he had recourse to the six modes of dealing with foreign princes, his fame reached the three worlds and he always repeated the three sacred words (Bhūr, Bhuvār, Svar), he manifested his knowledge of the Śāstras¹ in sacrificial matters as well as of the Śāstras (weapons) of war, and he had the holy Brahmanic thread on his bosom and held the thread of power in his hands.

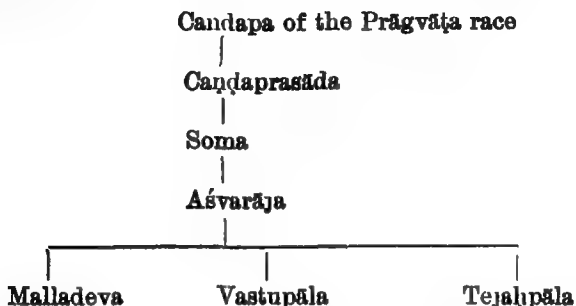
The name of his wife was Lakṣmī and they had three sons, the eldest of whom was Mahādeva, the second Someśvara, and the youngest Vijaya. The great poets Harihara, Subhāṣa, and others knowing the great qualities of Someśvara spoke of his poetry in terms of his highest praise. By means of a drama composed in an hour and a half, and a poem depicting the highest sentiment, he pleased the hearts of the attendants of King Bhīma's court.

A PANEGYRIC ON VASTUPĀLA

Then follows a panegyric on Vastupāla, in whom, according to the poet "learning" which, after the death of Hemacandra had

1 This and other sacrificial terms are explained in the section on sacrificial literature., [later in this Report]

been without a resting place, found an abode, and also the vow of universal benevolence, which after Prahlādāna left the world had not been assumed by anybody Vastupāla's genealogy is thus given —



In an Inscription in a temple on Mount Abu composed by Someśvara, Luniga is mentioned as the eldest brother, but as he is said to have died young, his name is omitted here Prahlādāna was a chief of the Paramāra race who ruled over the country about Abu, and was a feudatory of the Calukyas of Anahilapattana Someśvara wrote this poem while Vastupāla was alive

This Manuscript of the Surathotsava was transcribed in Samvat 1495

NOTICES OF MANUSCRIPTS

I will now proceed to notice the Collection of Manuscripts made for Government this year The funds were equally divided between Professor Peterson and myself Rs 3250 fell to my share, and about the end of the year, I drew Rs. 476 more out of the unexpended balance of the allotment for Inscriptions Out of the total of Rs. 3,726, Rs 2,265 were paid for the Manuscripts collected in Gujarath, Rajaputana, and Delhi, and Rs 930-5-6 for those collected in the Maratha Country The salaries and travelling expenses of the agents, and sundries absorbed Rs. 530-10-6.

The Gujarath and Rajaputana Section of the Collection comprises 325 Manuscripts (Nos. 1-325), and the Maratha Section 412 (Nos. 326-737). In the Gujarath section there are a good many Kashmir Manuscripts purchased at Delhi, most of which are written in the Śāradā character, and 28 of works belonging to the Dīgambara sect of the Jainas. The Manuscripts have as usual been arranged in classes according to the subjects.

VEDAS INCLUDING UPANIṢADS

In this class there is an incomplete copy of the first part of the Sāmāsamhitā and of the Pada text of the second part, as well as a Manuscript of one of the song-books in the Gujarath section, and copies of the Sāmans sung in connection with various sacrificial rites in the Maratha section.

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE KRAMA TEXT OF THE VĀJASANEYA MANTRABHĀGA

This last contains a Manuscript of the Krama text of the Mādhyamdina rescension of the Samhitā of the white Yajurveda, as well as of the Pada text (Nos 354 and 353)

Krama, Jaṣā, and Ghana are certain arrangements of the Padas or words of a Mantra the nature of which has been explained by me in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, [pages 132 ff] These schemes or arrangements as well as the Samhitā and Pada texts are learnt by a Brahman who devotes himself to a religious life from the mouth of a Guru or teacher. But since Manuscripts are of use to the pupil and they serve to refresh the memory at an advanced age, they also are resorted to. Every first class Vaidika or reciter of the Veda must know by heart the first or Mantra portion of a Veda, usually called Samhitā, in these five forms, and actually one meets with many reciters especially of the Taittirīya and Mādhyamdina rescen-

sions of the Yajurveda who know it in this way But while we have many Manuscripts of the Samhitā and Pada texts we have but a few of the other forms No 354 contains the Krama of thirty-seven out of the forty chapters of the Vājasaneyā Samhitā and Jaṭā of a portion of the twenty-eighth chapter

ATHARVOPANIṢADS

No 1 (Gujarath Section) contains a copy of the Āśvāmopaniṣad and of the Gaṛbhupaniṣad written in the Śāradā or Kashmiri character At the end the names of the fifty-two Upaniṣads usually attributed to the Atharva Veda are thus given —

1 Munda	20 Dhyānabindu	37 Keri(e)ś(ī)ta.
2 Prasna	21 Tejobindu	38 Nārāyana.
3 Brahmanāyā	22 Yogasikha	39 Bṛhad Nārāyana.
4 Ksurikā	23 Yogatattva	40 Bṛhad Nārāyana
5 Culikā	24 Samnyāsa	41 Saivopaniṣatsāra
6 Śūlas	25 Āruneṣya	42 Hamsa
7 Śikhā.	26 Kanthasiṭṭi	43 Paramahansa
8 Gaṛbha.	27 Pinda	44 Ānandavallī
9 Mahop	28 Ātma	45 Bhṛṅgavallī
10 Brahma	29 Nṛsimhapānīva-	46 Gāruda
11 Pīṇāgnihotā	tāpanī	47 Kālāgnirudra
12 Mandūkā	30 Tāpanīyī Maho	48 Rāmopaniṣatā-
13 Vaitathya	31 Tāpanīya Maho	pānīya
14 Advaita	32 Tāpanīya	49 Rāmottaratā-
15 Alātasānti	33 Nṛsimhatāpanī-	pānīya
16 Nīlarudra	Maho	50 Karvalya
17 Nāḍabindu	34 Uttarātāpanī.	51 Jābala
18 Brahmanāḍu	35 Kāṭhāvallī	52 Āśrama
19 Amṛtabindu	36 Kāṭhāvallī [U]	
	ttaravallī	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIST

The list is introduced with the observation that the first fifteen Upaniṣads from the Munda to the Alāta belong to the Śaunakīyas,

and the remaining thirty-seven from the Nīlarudra to the Āśrama, to the Paippalādas and others.

This list differs from that given by Professor Weber in his Catalogue (p 95) in the latter part, but agrees perfectly with that given by Colebrooke. He only calls both the 6th and the 7th Atharvāsiras, while the latter should be called Atharvāsūkha, as it is here. That this group is not arbitrary but represents some fact of literary history is shown by the circumstance that we have many Manuscripts in which these Atharvaveda Upaniṣads are written exactly in the order in which they are given in this list. Thus No 328 (Maratha Section) which is but a fragment contains the first thirty-three, and No 10 of last year's Collection, forty-seven. No 140 of 1879-80, which is also a fragment, begins with the thirty-fifth in the list and comes down to the forty-seventh, after which we have the Jabāla and Kaivalya, the two Rāma-tāpinis being omitted. After Kaivalya we have the Ātmabodha and the Śvetāśvatara.

Some of the names, however, in the above are not correctly written. Upaniṣad No 12 is called Mandūka, but Maṇḍukya is the name of all the four from 12 to 15 it should therefore be called Āgama, the first of the four parts of the Maṇḍukya. In Manuscript No 10 of last year, all these four are included in Upaniṣad 12. Nos 29 to 33 in the above ought to be named Prathama Maho, Dvītiya Maho &c., all the five constituting the Nṛsiṃhapūrva-tāpinī. These five and also the thirty-fourth are included in Upaniṣad 26 of No 10 of 1882-83. Nos 35 and 36 are the two chapters of the Kāthopaniṣad called Atharvavallī in last year's No 10, and included in Upaniṣad 27, Nos 39 and 40 together constitute the Mahanārāyaṇa Upaniṣad or the 30th of the latter Manuscript, and Nos 44 and 45 are included in the 34th. Of these, the two Atharvavallīs or Kāthavallīs are the same as the Kāthopaniṣad of the Black Yajurveda, the two parts of the Bṛhad Nārāyaṇa or Maha-

nārāyaṇa the same as the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad of that Veda, and the Ānandavallī and Bhṛguvallī, the same as the Taittirīya. There are of course various readings.

VEDĀṄGAS AND WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUALS

SŪTRABHĀṢYAS

In the Gujarath Section we have a copy of a fragment of the Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana's Śrautasūtra by Siddhāntin (No 8.) A copy of three chapters of the work was purchased by me for our Collections in 1879

No 19 is a Manuscript of Dhūrtasvāmī's Bhāṣya on the Sāmānyasūtra or general sacrificial topics, forming a part of the twenty-fourth Praśna of Āpastamba's Sūtra, and No 14 is a copy of Bhavasvāmī's Bhāṣya on Bandhāyana's Sūtra on the Cāturmāsya rites. All these three are very old authors as will be shown below

No 10 is an incomplete copy in the Kashmira character of Kātyāyana's Śraddhasūtra with a commentary In the Maratha Section we have a Manuscript of chapters X and XXV of Devayājñika's Bhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra (Nos. 367 and 368)

ŚRĀDDHAKĀŚIKĀ

No. 382 is Śraddhakāśikā, which is a very full commentary on Kātyāyana's Śraddhasūtra, by Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was the son of Viṣṇu whose father was Atisukha and grandfather Nityānanda Kṛṣṇa states in the beginning that this Sūtra was expounded by Karka in words the sense of which was deep The exposition therefore was difficult to understand and hence another commentary was written by Halāyudha This also did

not render the sense of the Sūtra plain, and therefore he wrote his commentary to dispell "the darkness in the shape of a mass of doubts." The commentary abounds with quotations from the Purāṇas and Smṛtis. The author also quotes a work called Dharmapradīpa which must be the work of that name written by an author of the name of Draviḍa (See below).

MAHĪDHARA

No 363 is a commentary on Katyāyana's Śulvasūtra by Mahīdhara. At the end we are told that Mahīdhara composed it at Benares "on Sunday the 13th of the light half of—, in the year 1646," at the command of his Guru or master Ratneśvaramiśra, the son of Keśava, after duly studying the Bhāṣya, the Vṛtti composed by Rāma, and the Sūtras themselves. The commentary itself is based on the Bhāṣya and the Vṛtti. The date 1646 refers to the Samvat or Vikrama era. For at the end of a Manuscript of the Mantramahodadhī together with a commentary composed by Mahīdhara (which forms No 26 of our Collection of 1868-69) there is a statement to the effect that the work was composed in 1645 of the Vikrama era. This Mahīdhara must be the same person as the author of the Vedadīpa or commentary on the Saṁhitā of the white Yajurveda.

No 383 is a commentary on Keśava's Śikṣā by a man of the name of Alanṭirimañci, and No 371, on Katyāyana's Snānasūtra, by one who calls himself Trimallatanaya or son of Trimalla.

THE HAUTRAKARIKAS OF NṚSĪMHAYAJVAN

Among works on the Sacrificial Ritual, there are some deserving of notice. No 25 is a copy of the Hautrakarikās by Nṛsīmhayajvan, which appear to form part of a larger work entitled Prayogaratna. The first four folios are missing. The work explains the duties of the Hotṛ priest in the smaller

sacrificial rites beginning with the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and ending with the Cāturmāsya

At the end of each section the author gives a short history of himself. But in our Manuscript the opening words only are given and the complete verses must have existed in the leaves which are lost. Gangādhara Śāstri Datar of Poona, however possesses a copy of the work and the verses are there given in an entire form. The author therein tells us — "There is a village of the name of Varurvālu in the Hosala country where flourished Nṛsimha whose son Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of the Atri race went to Kāśī, and he and Ammayī gave birth to a son, the learned Gopinātha. Gopinātha's younger brother Nṛsimha composed the Prayogarātna." The Hosala country must be Mysore. For, in an Inscription dated 1277 Śaka or 1355 A.D., published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Bukkarāya, probably the same as that who founded the Vijayanagara dynasty, but who was only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or minor prince at the time, is represented to be ruling at his capital Hosapaṭṭana in the Hoysala country. And the Hoysala Yadavas ruled over the country of Mysore and the surrounding districts, and the country probably derived its name from theirs, or *vice versa*, they derived theirs from that of the country.

PRĀYAŚCITTA KĀRIKĀS OF GOPĀLA

No. 27 is a Manuscript of the Prāyaścittakārikās based on the Sūtra of Baudhāyana by Gopāla, and No. 397 of the Maratha Section contains his Kārikās on the Soma sacrifice. Gangādhara Śāstri Datar tells me that Gopāla is quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa portion of the Baudhāyana-sūtra. Gopāla, therefore, must have lived before the fourteenth century. The Prāyaścittapradīpa, of which No. 428 is a copy, and which is regarded as a work of great authority though the

author's name is unknown, mentions Gopāla in the introductory verses as the expounder of the Prāyaścittas laid down by Baudhāyana. The author of the Prāyaścittapradīpa professes to follow Bhavasvāmin in the decision of the knotty points concerning his subject

TRIKĀṆDAMAṆḌANA'S KĀRIKĀS

An important work belonging to this sub-division is the Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikās by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Bhāskara Miśra, the son of Kumārasvāmin. The work consists of four parts. The first is called Adhikāra-kāṇḍa in which the requisite qualifications of one who has to keep the sacrificial fire and perform the several rites are discussed. The second is called Pratimdhikāṇḍa, wherein are considered what times for the performance of the sacrificial rites and what materials should be chosen, when the principal ones that are laid down in the scriptures, cannot be availed of. In the third part which is called Punarādhānakāṇḍa, the circumstances and manner in which the old sacrificial fire becomes either polluted or destroyed, and in which it should be resumed, are discussed. In the fourth part, which is called Ādhānakāṇḍa, the inauguration or first assumption of the sacrificial fire, the initial Iṣṭi after the inauguration, the treatment of the fire when the keeper goes on a travel, the Iṣṭi consisting of the first offering of the grain of the season to the gods (Āgrayana), and such matters are considered.

There is a Manuscript of the first three Kāṇḍas in the Collection of 1871-72 (No 22), and others are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of Tanjor Manuscripts. But Manuscripts of the fourth or last Kāṇḍa are extremely rare. No. 21 is a copy of this fourth or last Kāṇḍa. Gangādhara Śāstri possesses a Manuscript of the whole work including the last Kāṇḍa also.

TRIKĀṆḌAMAṆḌANA QUOTED BY HEMĀDRI

Quotations from the second or Pratinidhikāṇḍa of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana occur in the Kālanirṇaya of Hemādri about the end of the work. Thus, verse 150 of the former according to Gangādhara Śāstri's copy, is quoted on folio 360b of the Manuscript of the Kālanirṇaya, No 237 in my Collection A of 1881-82, verses 159 and 160 on f. 361b and verses 161 and 162 on f. 362b. In his introduction to these quotations Hemādri calls the author Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana. Hemādri, we know, was a minister of Mahādeva, the king of Mahārāṣṭra, of the Yādava dynasty, who reigned at Devagiri from 1260 to 1271 A D, and for a short time, of his nephew and successor Rāmacandra. Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Bhāskaramiśra, therefore, must have lived one or two hundred years at least before him, and may have lived still earlier. His work abounds with references to previous works and writers on sacrificial subjects, whose views on different matters are succinctly stated.

No. 21 which is a small Manuscript of 34 leaves containing matter equal to about 850 Anuṣṭubhs contains the following names —

AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED BY TRIKĀṆḌAMAṆḌANA
(ĀDHĀNAKĀṆḌA)

I.—VEDIC ŚĀKHĀS OR WORKS

- Kāthāḥ or Kāṭha-(compounded)¹ 1b 2, 17b 3, 19b 2, 32b 2, 33b 4.
 —aśruti 15a 3
 Kauṣṭhikāśruti 13b 1, 2, 3
 Bahvrcaḥ 18b 3, 19b 5
 Maitrāyaṇyakaḥ 14b 4
 Vajinaḥ 4b 1, 5b 7, 34b 1
 —as Vājasaneyinaḥ 13b 6
 Sāmkhyāyana 13b 5, 17a 7

¹ The number in Italics shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page.

II—AUTHORS OF SŪTRAS

Araṇyanivāsi-Matsya 10b 2

Āpastamba 1b 2, 11a 3, 13a 2, Āp—pāṭhaḥ 25b 3.

Āśvalāyana 2a 2, 8a 3, 14b 4, 17b 4, 20a 3, 20a 4, 27a 4, Āśv—
pāṭhe 11a 4

Upavarṣa 5b 1, Upav—pāṭhataḥ 11a 6

Kātyāyana 6a 8, 8a 5, 8b 1, 9a 7, 10b 2, 10b 4, 21b 4, 27a 3,
29a 2, 31a 2, 33b 2

Pāṇiniya 17a 2

Baudhāyana 8a 3, 10b 2, 12b 3, 14b 2, 15a 5, 17b 2, 19a 1, 3,
19b 3, 21b 1, 25a 5, 30a 5, 32b 2, 33b 3, 34a 4, Grhya 34a 5

Bhāradvāja 1b 2, 14a 4, 17b 4, 19a 7, 19b 3, 23b 2, 25a 5, 26a 3,
29a 3, 33a 1, 33b 2

Laṅkāṣi 6a 2, 10b 2, 17b 4, 21a 2, 33b 2

Satyāśāḍha 1b 2, 12a 4

————as Hiranyakeśin 31a 3

III—AUTHORS OF COMMENTARIES ON SŪTRAS
AND OF PRAYOGAS

Rṣideva 14a 4, 19b 4, 22a 2, 23b 1, 4, 33a 1

Karka 6a 8, 14a 1

Keśava 16b 6, 18a 2, 28b 1, 2, 4, 29b 2, 30a 1, 30a 6, 30b 4, 32b 1.

————as Keśavasvāmin 33b 2

————as Keśavastūri 8a 1

Draviḍa 8b 2, 9b 3, 19a 1

Dhūrta 14a 4, 17a 5, 17b 2, 18a 2, 23b 2, 30b 3, 32a 5

————as Dhūrtasvāmin 34a 2

Nārāyaṇa 2a 2, 12a 2, 24b 3.

Bhavanāga 2a 2, 13a 4, 20a 1.

Bhavasvāmin 7a 6, 15a 7, 23b 3.

Bhāradvājīyabhāṣyakṛt 26a 4.

Varāha 19b 1.

Vidhuratnakṛt 14a 3, 22a 2.

Vṛddha 23b 2, 23b 3, 26b 3, 34a 2.

— as Vṛddhacārya, 18b 6, 31a 5

Śabara 17b 7

Samkarsakāṇḍasyabhaṣyakāra 26a 4

Siddhāntin 20a 2, 27a 3

IV—OTHER AUTHORS

Garga 26a 5.

Jaimini 7a 5

Śaṅkha as author of a Dharmasāstra 26b 5.

V—WORKS

Ātharvāṇasūtra 7a 2

Kātya Dharmasāstra 27a 5

Kātyāsūtra 5a 7

Karkasya Paddhati 17b 6.

Kūrmapurāna 12b 3.

Chandogapariśiṣṭa 16a 1

Tārksyagrantha 20b 5

Dharmadīpa 28a 4

Bhavabhāṣya 17b 7

Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 12b 2, 19a 4, 20a 5, 34a 1

Laugākṣinimittasūtra 9a 6

Vidhiratna 9b 2

Viṣṇusmṛti 27a 5

Vṛddhagrantha, 19b 4

Samkarṣa Kānda 23a 1, 27b 3

Sūtranibandha, by the author (asmatsūtranibandhaśca) 22a 3.

Smṛtidīpa, 34b 1

By the word Kāṭha in the first group of names it is probable that in some cases at least the Sūtra of the Kāṭhacarāṇa is meant; for in the first of the references to that name, Āpastamba, Bhāradvāja and Satyāśādhā are associated with Kāṭha.

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS
REFERRED TO ABOVE

• (1) UPAVARṢA

The name Upavarṣa as that of the author of a Sūtra is new ; but there is no question that Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana means to speak of him as such. For we are told "Upavarṣa and others have laid down that when one has performed the ceremony of the inauguration of the sacred fire, he should feed a hundred (Brahmans), but this is not prescribed in other Sūtras." Similarly, in discussing the relations between the Gotras, the lists of which are different in the different Sūtras, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana says "the Uśijas, Vāmadevas, and Dirghatamasas are Gautamas, i.e., branches of the Gautama race according to the reading of Upavarṣa and others, and consequently they should not intermarry but may have connection with the Bhāradvājas."

But Upavarṣa as the author of a Vṛtti or commentary on the Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta Sūtras is spoken of in terms of reverence by Śaṅkarācārya in his Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras, (III 3 53). And the name occurs in the story of Kātyāyana narrated in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathā, along with others which are historical. Upavarṣa was the father of Upakośā, the wife of Kātyāyana, and the brother of Varṣa, the teacher of the latter. Like Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi, and Pāṇini, who figure in the story, Upavarṣa too must have been a historical person and the author of the Sūtra mentioned by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, or of the Vṛtti, or of both, must be the person intended to be spoken of.

(2 and 3) LAUGĀKṢI AND BHĀRADVĀJA

The Sūtras of Laugākṣi and Bhāradvāja are often referred to in other works and are well known, and one of our author's references is in express words to the "Sūtra composed by

Laugākṣi." Copies of Bhāradvāja are also to be met with though rarely.

(4) MATSYA

The name Matsya, supposing Aranyanivāsin to be an epithet signifying Muni or a sage living in a forest, is unknown. It occurs in a compound of which those of Baudhāyana, Laugākṣi, and Kātyāyana are the other members, and therefore was probably borne by the author of a Sūtra. As to Pāṇiniya the words of our author are "So much is stated in the Ātharvana Sūtra by Pāṇiniya," wherefore, if there is no error here, that too must be the name of the author of a Sūtra.

(5) KARKA

Of the names in the third group, Karka is of course the commentator on Kātyāyana's Sūtra and our author indicates that, when in one of the two places in which he refers to him he says, "Kātyāyana calls that (sacrificial vessel) Vajra which is like a sword without mentioning any particulars, and Karka explains it so." In the other place also there is a similar statement. Karka is also mentioned in the Śraddhanirṇaya of Hemādri and his views on certain points are discussed and refuted.

(6) KEŚAVASVĀMIN

Keśava or Keśavasvāmin must, I think, be the author of the Prayogasāra, an incomplete copy of which was purchased by me for Government in 1879 and which is noticed in my Report for that year. A copy of it is mentioned in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjore Manuscripts.

(7) DHŪRTASVĀMIN

Dhūrta or Dhūrtasvāmin is the author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Āpastamba, but copies of the whole work are not

available. Besides the Manuscript of the commentary on a portion of the 25th Praśna noticed above, I have recently procured a copy of that on the first seventeen Praśnas.

(8) NĀRĀYAṆA

Nārāyaṇa is the author of the Vṛtti on the Śrautasūtra of Āśvalāyana. For, in the first of the three places in which his name occurs, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana says "Āśvalāyana lays down that the inauguration or assumption of the sacred fire may be made in any season of the year. Nārāyaṇa has stated that this precept applies only to such persons as are in difficult circumstances and cannot wait till the advent of the season prescribed in the previous Sūtras." This is exactly what we find stated in Nārāyaṇa's comment on Āśv Śr., II 1 14. (p. 80 Bibl. Ind. Ed.).

In the second instance in which Nārāyaṇa's name occurs, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, in explaining the duties of the keeper of the sacred fire when travelling, gives Nārāyaṇa's definition of travelling which is "going from the village (Grāma), in which one's fires are, to another village (Grāmāntara)", and observes that the word "village" occurring in this definition is not to be taken in its literal sense. Whether he goes to another village, or a town, or a hamlet, or anywhere else, after having crossed the boundary [of the place where his fires are], it is travelling. Now this definition of travelling with the word Grāma or village used twice occurs in Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti under Āśvalāyana II 5 1. (p. 109 Bibl. Ind. Ed.)

(9) BHAVANĀGA

In connection with Nārāyaṇa's explanation of the Sūtra in the first of these two instances, our author says that Bhavanāga takes the Sūtra in its literal sense, i.e., does not limit its scope as Nārāyaṇa has done, thus indicating that Bhavanāga was either the author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana or of a Prayoga or sacrificial manual based on it.

(10) BHAVASVAMIN

Bhavasvāmin is the author of a commentary on the Sūtra of Baudhāyana, a fragment of which in the present Collection is noticed above. The author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Bhāradvāja and the Bhāṣya itself are, it will be seen, mentioned by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana, but he does not give the author's proper name.

(11) DRAVIDA

What author is meant by Draviḍa I cannot say with certainty, but he may be the author of the Smṛtipradīpa mentioned by Śrīdhara in the Smṛtyarthasāra, and perhaps the Smṛtidīpa mentioned by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana may be the Smṛtipradīpa

(12) ŚABARA

Śabara must be the author of the Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra of Jaimini.

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE WORKS
REFERRED TO ABOVE

(1) SAMKARSAKĀṆḌA

A Sūtra from the Samkarṣakāṇḍa is quoted by Śamkarācārya in his Bhāṣya or dissertation on the Vedānta Sūtra III 3 43, and Govindānanda, one of the commentators, explains it as "Daivatyakāṇḍa". Ānandajñāna also says it is the "Devatākāṇḍa" and it is called Samkarṣakāṇḍa, because in it whatever has remained to be spoken of relating to the Karmakāṇḍa is stated succinctly. With reference to it Śamkarācārya calls that Kāṇḍa first or previous Kāṇḍa which contains two Sūtras which he quotes under III. 3. 44, and 50, and which are found in Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā. Samkarṣakāṇḍa is, therefore, the second part or appendix of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, and there is a copy of it, Gaṅgadhara Śāstri tells me, in Poona, and another at Alibag.

Our author speaks of a commentator on it. Siddhāntin must be the same as the author of the Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana's Sūtra mentioned before.

(3) VIDHIRATNA

Vidhiratna is quoted as I learn from Gangādhara Śāstri in the *Prayogapārijāta*. Of Varāha and Vṛddha or Vṛddhācārya nothing is known. Perhaps the latter is an epithet, but whose epithet it was, cannot be said. The Vṛddhagrantha referred to by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana in one case was probably the work of Vṛddhācārya.

DATES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS MENTIONED ABOVE

All these authors thus appear to have flourished, and these works to have been written, previous to at least the twelfth century. One of them—Keśavasvāmin—speaks in the introduction to his *Baudhāyanaprayogasāra*, of Nārāyaṇa and other previous authors of *Prayogas*, and professes to follow the views of Bhavasvāmin. Whether the Nārāyaṇa meant is the author of the *Vṛtti* on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, or another person, is doubtful, but there can be no question that the Bhavasvāmin he speaks of must be the author of the Bhāṣya on the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*, since Keśava's *Prayoga* is based on that Sūtra. Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Vṛtti*, mentions Devasvāmin as the writer of a comprehensive Bhāṣya on *Āśvalāyanasūtra*, which he seems to have followed.—By the way, it seems strange that Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana should not mention him in the work before me, but the explanation probably is that Nārāyaṇa's work being a sort of abridgement of Devasvāmin's, he considered the view of the latter to be represented when he quoted from Nārāyaṇa's work.—Now, if Keśavasvāmin, because he is quoted by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana, must have flourished before the twelfth century, Bhavasvāmin must have flourished before the tenth century, since he is spoken of as an established authority by him, and

to acquire that position, he must at least have been two hundred years old at the time. The same may be said with reference to Devasvāmin.

• THE TITLE SVĀMIN INDICATIVE OF THE AUTHOR'S DATE

It is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title Svāmin attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Ācāryas, Yajvans, Dīkṣitas, and Yājñīkas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a certain period and been given to Mimāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore. At the head of these stands Śābarasvāmin, the author of the Bhāṣya on Jaimini's Mimāṃsā Sūtra. Then we have Agnisvāmin the commentator on Lāṭyāyana's Śrautasūtra, Bhavasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin, Keśavasvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a Svāmin and a Bhaṭṭa. Karka is mostly Upādhyāya and rarely Svāmin.

THE TITLE OCCURS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
SEVENTH CENTURY

Certain Inscriptions of the early Calukyas of the Deccan, to one of which Professor Weber has already called attention, and one Valabhi Inscription, carry the period during which the title Svāmin was used, up to the seventh century. In an undated copperplate Inscription of Vikramāditya I, who ceased to reign in 680 A.D., the names of some of the donees are Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin¹, in another dated 700 A.D., the grantee is Dāsasvāmin son of Jannasvāmin, and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Dīkṣita, and we have Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others in a third dated 705 A.D.², while the Valabhi Inscription

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. vi, 77.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. vii, pp. 128, 136.

which is dated 326 of the Valabhi-Gupta era or 645 A.D., has Mankasvāmin¹ Two of these names, it will be seen, are the same as those borne by two of our authors. But the period extends still higher into antiquity

ŚABARASVĀMIN'S APPROXIMATE DATE

Śabarasvāmin is expressly mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya, whose usually accepted date is the end of the eighth century, as the author of the Mīmāṃsābhāṣya (III 3 53), and the work of Kumārila who has been placed about a hundred years before, but who certainly lived after Kālidāsa (a verse from whose Śakuntalā—Satām hi samdeha &c—he quotes in the Tantravārtika) is based on the Bhāṣya Śabara therefore must have flourished before the seventh century at least, but how long before we have not the means of determining He may have lived two or three centuries earlier, and some of the authors of the Bhāṣyas, Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Bhavasvāmin probably flourished about the same period

CLASSES OF SACRIFICIAL RITES

All the varied sacrificial rites of the Brahmans may be distinguished into four kinds

- 1st, Sāyamprātaragnihotra—on the morning and evening offerings of milk and ghee to Sūrya and Agni respectively, which are thrown into the sacred fires kept in the house,
- 2nd, Iṣṭi or a complete sacrificial performance consisting of offerings of ghee, Purodāśa or cake of flour, and Caru or boiled rice to certain deities, some of which are the Pradhāna or chief deities of the sacrifice, and the others minor or subordinate,
- 3rd, Paśu or animal sacrifice,

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 16.

and 4th, Soma or the sacrificial performance in which Soma juice is extracted and offered to the gods

The animal sacrifice properly belongs to the second species, but it is convenient to distinguish it from the ordinary Iṣṭis. There are independent Iṣṭis and animal sacrifices, but these often form Angas or parts of larger sacrifices, such as the Oṭurmāsya and Soma. The Iṣṭis performed on the new and full moon days are considered the type of others and hence they are first explained in all Kalpasūtras, and their Mantras first given in the Yajurveda

But the very first rite to be performed is, of course, the inauguration of the sacrificial fires. No 386 is an incomplete copy of what appears to be a full commentary on Kātyāyana's Sūtras on this ceremony. Nos 446 and 447 are Manuscripts of the ritual of the daily morning and evening offerings according to the Vājasaneyins

THE DIFFERENT IṢṬIS DESCRIBED

THE INTRODUCTORY IṢṬI

Immediately before the first full-moon Iṣṭi after inauguration, another called the Anvārambhaniya or introductory Iṣṭi has to be performed. No 20 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this according to Baudhāyana, and No 338 of that according to the Vājasaneyins. Then follow the Darśa-Purnamāsa or New and Full Moon Iṣṭis

THE NEW AND FULL MOON IṢṬIS

In No 26 the duties of the Brahman priest on the occasion of these sacrifices are mentioned in accordance with the injunctions of Āśvalāyana, and in Nos 408-10, those of the Hotṛ. Nos 403 and 404 are copies of manuals for the use of the Adhvaryu, the Agnidhra, and the Yajamāna or the sacrificer in these Iṣṭis, compiled in accordance with the Sūtra of Baudhāyana

Generally when the Yajamāna or sacrificer is a Ṛgvedin or student of the Ṛgveda, his Adhvaryu and Agnidhra as well as he himself follow Baudhāyana in the performance of their duties, the Hotṛ and the Brahman performing theirs in accordance with the rules laid down by Āśvalāyana Nos. 403 and 404 are therefore manuals compiled for the purposes of a Ṛgvedin Yajamāna.

ATHARVAVEDA MANUSCRIPTS OF THESE RITES

No 405 is a copy of a manual of the New and Full Moon rites for the use of a sacrificer who is an Atharvavedin or student of the Atharvaveda, and in No 407 the duties of the Brahman priest of such a sacrificer are explained in accordance with the Kauśikasūtra of that Veda

THE ĀGRAYANA ISTI

Then the keeper of the sacred fire (Agnihotrin) has to perform three Istis called Āgrayana in three seasons, viz, the rains (Varṣāp), autumn (Śarad), and Vasanta (spring), or one as a substitute for them all in the autumn He has on those occasions to offer to the gods the new grain of the season, Śyamāka, Vrihi (rice) and Yava (barley) No 391 is a manual giving the details of this rite according to the rules laid down by Baudhāyana

THE NIRŪDHAPAŚU

The Agnihotrin has also to perform a Paśu or animal sacrifice once in six months or once every year This Paśu is called Nirūdhapaśu There are other kinds of Paśus some of which are, like the Nirūdhapaśu, independent Istis to be performed under certain circumstances, and others form parts of larger sacrifices such as the Soma. But the Nirūdhapaśu is obligatory on the keeper of the sacred fire

No. 424 is a copy of a work describing the manner prevalent among the Vājasaneyins of performing this sacrifice; and

No. 416 gives the duties of the *Matrāvaruṇa* priest in that sacrifice in accordance with *Āśvalāyana's* rules.

The *Paśu* or animal sacrifice consists of three parts, (1) the *Vap̥yāga* or the offering of the peritoneum, (2) the *Puroḍāśāga* or the offering of the cake, and (3) the *Angayāga* or offering of certain other parts of the animal

CĀTURMĀSYĀNI FOUR RITES

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE RITES

Another set of sacrificial rites that must be gone through is that called *Cāturmāsyāni*. These are four different performances styled *Parvans*. The first is called *Vaiśvadeva*, the second *Varuṇapraghāsa*, the third *Śakamedha*, and the fourth *Śunāsiriya* or *Śunāsriya*. The second is to be gone through on the fifth Full Moon day after the first, that is, at the end of the fourth month, the third at the end of an equal interval after the second, and the fourth after the third. Thus these rites were originally called *Cāturmāsyāni* because they were performed after an interval of four months in each case, and they were spread over a whole year.

A *Paśu* or animal sacrifice to *Indrāgni* forms part of the whole ceremony and it is to be performed at the end of the second month after *Varuṇapraghāsa*. These are the intervals between the different rites making up the *Cāturmāsyāni* laid down by *Āśvalāyana*, *Āpastamba*, *Hiranyakeśin*, and *Kātyāyana*; but *Baudhāyana* allows of all the parts being performed within twelve days, or even within so many as the rites actually occupy, i.e., five days. In the first case, the *Vaiśvadevaparvan* should be gone through on the first day, the *Varuṇapraghāsa* on the fourth, the *Śakamedha* which occupies two days on the ninth and tenth, and the *Śunāsiriya* on the twelfth.

Bhāradvāja also, in a passage quoted by *Rudradatta*, limits the period to twelve, though he differs from *Baudhāyana* as

to the particular day when each of the parts should be performed. In the second case, the first Parvan or part should be performed on the first day, the second on the second, the third on the third and the fourth, and the last on the fifth. This five days' performance is laid down in the Sūtra of the Kāthas also.

There can be little doubt that the spreading of the Cāturmāsyaṇi over the whole year by performing each of the four parts every four months was the ancient practice. The name itself shows this, and the twelve days' performance, which must have come in later, also indicates the same thing. For the twelve days are taken to represent the twelve months, and this is actually stated in the passage from Bhāradvāja referred to above. The five days' performance must be still later.

COMPARATIVELY LATER DATE OF BAUDHĀYANA

The Baudhāyanasūtra, therefore, in which the period for the performance of the Cāturmāsyaṇi is thus shortened, must be later, as is also shown by its mentioning many other such later developments and ceremonies not laid down in the other Sūtras. The same may be said of Bhāradvāja's Sūtra also.

MANUSCRIPTS OF WORKS ON THE CĀTURMĀSYANI

No 398 is a manual of Cāturmāsyaṇi as laid down by Kātyāyana. No. 399 describes the same rites in accordance with the rules of Hiraṇyakeśin, and No 400 gives the duties of the Hotṛ priest in these sacrifices. In No 22 of the Gujarath Collection, all the rites from the inauguration of the sacred fire to the Cāturmāsya are described according to the Sūtra of Baudhāyana.

ALL THE CĀTURMĀSYANI PERFORMED ON THE SAME DAY

In No. 394 a mode of performing the Cāturmāsyaṇi in a single day is given. It consists in grouping the deities of the four

Parvans together and offering oblations to them one after another. The Pitryeṣṭi and the Tryambaka which form parts of the Śakamedha are alone separately performed. The one whole year therefore laid down by the older writers for the Cāturmāsyaṇi is thus reduced to a single day. The manual is intended for a Vājasaneyin sacrificer, but a Sūtra from a work not belonging to that school, is quoted as an authority for this particular mode of shortening the ceremony.

• NITYA NAIMITTIKA AND KĀMYA RITES

The Sacrificial rites are divided into Nitya, Naimittika, and Kāmya. Nitya are those which should be regularly performed and the omission of which constitutes a sin, Naimittika are those which are to be performed on the occurrence of a certain event but are as obligatory as the others, and a Kāmya rite is gone through only when the keeper of the sacred fire, entertains a certain desire, the fulfilment of which, that particular rite possesses the virtue of bringing about.

The rites I have hitherto noticed are Nitya, the Iṣṭi to be performed when a son is born is a Naimittika rite, and No. 23 contains the ritual of this according to Baudhāyana.

KĀMYA RITES

THE PAVITREṢṬI

A rite called Pavitresṭi is performed for destroying sins. The Pradhāna or peculiar deities which are invoked and to which offerings are made are —1 Agniḥ Pavamānaḥ, 2 Sarasvatī Priyā, 3 Agniḥ Pavakaḥ, 4 Savitā Satyaprasavaḥ, 5 Agniḥ Śuciḥ, 6 Vāyuḥ Niyutvān, 7 Agniḥ Vratapatiḥ, 8 Viṣṇuḥ Śipiviṣṭaḥ, 9 Agniḥ Vaiśvānaraḥ, 10. Dadhikrāvā.

No. 423 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this rite according to Baudhāyana. No. 422 is the same ritual intended for the followers

of the Vajasaneya Veda ; but the author states that this rite is not laid down in the Sūtra belonging to his Veda, and therefore follows Baudhāyana and others in the preparation of his manual.

The Pavitrestī is a Kāmya Iṣṭi, but since every body wishes to be free from sins and commits them again and again, this rite is generally, though not always, performed every year.

THE MRGĀREṢṬĪ

A more effective rite for the cleansing away of sins is the Mrgāreṣṭī. The duties of the Hotṛ-priest in this are given according to Baudhāyana in Nos 28 and 434, and of the Adhvaryu in No 433

No. 396 which is a copy of a manual for the use of the followers of Satyaśāḍha Hiranyakeśin contains at the end the ritual of this Iṣṭi. The author therein states that the Mrgāreṣṭī is not taught by Satyaśāḍha but by Baudhāyana, still since according to the Mimāṃsakas all Sūtras must be considered as laying down but one harmonious system of rites, the rites laid down by the author of one Sūtra might be adopted by the followers of another. He therefore proceeds to explain the ritual for the followers of Hiranyakeśin

The deities of the Mrgāreṣṭī are —1 Agniḥ Amhomuk, 2. Indrāḥ Amhomuk, 3 Mitrāvaruṇau Āgomucan, 4. Vāyusa-vitārau Āgomucan, 5 Aśvinau Āgomucan, 6 Marutaḥ Enomucaḥ, 7 Viśve Devāḥ Enomucaḥ, 8 Anumatī, 9. Agniḥ Vaiśvānaraḥ, 10 Dyāvapṛthivyan Amhomucan

THE PUTRAKĀMYEṢṬĪ

No 425 is a copy of the ritual of an Iṣṭi to be performed by one who desires to have a son born to him. It is intended for the Vajasaneyins, and the Pradhāna or the principal deities are —1. Agniḥ Putravān, and 2. Indrāḥ Putrī. Āśvalāyana lays down this Iṣṭi, but the deity according to him is only one viz., Agniḥ Putrī.

MANY KĀMYA IṢṬIS LAID DOWN BY HIRANYAKEŚIN
AND BAUDHĀYANA

Such Kāmya Iṣṭis are innumerable Āśvalāyana mentions only a few, but other authors principally Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana, prescribe a great many. No 395 gives 134 such Iṣṭis according to Hiraṇyakeśin All these Iṣṭis are, as above remarked, performed in the manner in which the New or Full Moon Iṣṭi is performed, the Pradhāna or principal deities, and the Anuvākyā and Yājyā (which are verses to be repeated in praise of them and in throwing oblations into the fire in their names) as well as the materials used for the oblations, being only peculiar in each case In No 395, therefore, these peculiarities only are given

PAVITREṢṬI

ITS ANUVĀKYĀS AND YĀJYĀS

The Pratīkas or opening words of the Anuvākyās and Yājyās used in the case of the several deities in the Pavitreṣṭi and the Putrakāmyeṣṭi are as follows —

- For No. 1. Anuv.—Agnā śyūṃṣi, Rv X 66 19, from a triplet to Agni, Taitt. S I 3 14 8 Yājyā—
Agnē pavasva svapā, Rv. X. 66 21, from a triplet to Agni, Taitt. S. I 3 14 8
- „ No 2 Anuv.—Uta naḥ priyāḥ, Rv VI 61 10, from a hymn to Sarasvatī, Taitt. Br II 4 6. 1 Yājyā—
Imā juhvānā yuṣmad, Rv. VII. 95. 5, from a hymn to Sarasvatī, Taitt. Br II 4. 6. 1
- „ No 3. Anuv.—Agnē pāvaka rocāṣa, Rv V 26. 1, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I. 3. 14. 8. Yājyā—
Sa naḥ pāvaka didivo, Rv. I. 12. 10, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I. 3. 14. 8.

- For No. 4. Anuv.—Ā viśvadevam satpatim, Rv. V. 82. 7
from a hymn to Savitr, Taitt. S. III 4. 11. 2.
Yājyā—Ā satyena rajass, not in Rv., Taitt.
S. III 4 11 2
- „ No. 5 Anuv—Agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ, Rv. VIII. 44. '21,
from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I. 3 14. 8.
Yājyā—Ud Agne śucayas, Rv. VIII 44. 17, from
a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I 3 14. 8
- „ No. 6 Anuv—Vāyur agregā, not in Rv, Taitt. Br. II.
4 7 6 Yājyā—Vāyo śukro, Rv. IV 47 1,
from a hymn to Vāyu and Indravāyu, Taitt.
Br. II. 4. 7. 6.
- „ No. 7 Anuv—Tvam Agne Vratapā, Rv. VIII. 11. 1,
from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I 1. 14 Yājyā—
Yad vo vayam, Rv. X 2. 4, from a hymn to Agni,
Taitt. S. I. 1 14
- „ No 8. Anuv—Pra tat te adya, Rv. VII 100 5, from a
hymn to Viṣṇu, Taitt. S. II 2 12 5 Yājyā—
Kim it te Viṣṇo, Rv. VII 100 6, from a hymn
to Viṣṇu, Taitt. S. II 2. 12 5
- „ No 9 Anuv—Vaiśvānaro na utya, not in Rv, Taitt.
S. I 5 11 1, and IV 4 12 5 Yājyā—Prṣṭo
divi prṣṭo, Rv. I 92 2, from a hymn to Agni
Vaiśvānara, Taitt. S. I 5. 11 1, and IV 4. 12. 5
- „ No 10. Anuv—Dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam, Rv. IV 39. 6,
from a hymn to Dadhikrāvan, Taitt. S. I 5 11 4.
Yājyā—Ā Dadhikrāḥ, Rv. IV 38. 10, from a
hymn to Dyāvapṛthivyaḥ and Dadhikrāvan;
Taitt. S. I 5. 11. 4

PUTRAKĀMYESTI

For No. 1	Anuv.—Yas tvā hrda, Rv V 4. 10, from a hymn to Agni Yājyā—Yasmai tvam sukṛte, Rv V 4. 11	} All these occur in Taitt. S. I 4 46. 1 and the Iṣṭi in II 2.4 4
No. 2.	Anuv.—Tve suputra, Rv VIII 92 14, from a hymn to Indra Yājyā—Uktha ukthe, Rv VII 26 2, from a hymn to Indra.	

It will be seen from this that a verse which in the Rgveda Samhitā forms a part of a hymn is given in a detached form in the Yajurveda Samhitā or Brāhmaṇa. Two verses, one of which is an Anuvākya and the other the Yājyā corresponding to it, are given together in the Yajurveda texts, but occur in separate hymns in the Rgveda Samhitā, and are connected by context with the other verses in those hymns. Three of the above verses do not occur in this last Samhitā at all, while they are given in the Yajurveda books. Similarly the Anuvākyās and Yājyās of the Mṛgāreṣṭi, which of course are Ṛks, do not occur in the Rgveda Samhitā but are given in the Samhitā of the Yajurveda (Taitt. S. IV 7 15)

YAJURVEDA, MERELY A SACRIFICIAL BOOK

From this it follows—what indeed is well known—that the Collection of the hymns comprised in the Rgveda was made with a literary object, while the Yajurveda is in its nature a compilation for sacrificial purposes, not only of the prose formulas called Yajumṣi but of the Ṛks repeated in the performance of the rites, whether they occur in the Rgveda or not. And this difference in the original idea is pointed to by the practice of modern Vaidikas or reciters of the Vedas, of whom, those who are Rgvedins, must necessarily be able to recite the literary Vedāṅgas, viz, the Nighaṇṭu, the Nirukta, the

Chandas, and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, while the reciters of the other Vedas have nothing to do with them

And the statement, that in a sacrifice the duties of the Hotṛ priest are performed by means of the Ṛk and those of the Adhvaryu by means of the Yajus, is true only in the sense that what the former has to repeat are verses, and the latter prose formulas, but it is not true in the sense that the Hotṛ priest should be a Rgvedin or student of the Rgveda, or that the duties of the office should be performed in accordance with the Sūtras attached to that Veda. And as a matter of fact, a Yajurvedin sacrificer uses at the present day the Haudra or Hotṛ ritual as prepared from his own Veda and Sūtra, and employs a Yajurvedin Brahman as his Hotṛ in all rites up to the Caturmāsya, and in the Kāmya sacrifices mentioned above

RGVEDA ONLY RESTORED TO FOR THE HIGHER SOMA SACRIFICES

In a Soma sacrifice, however, the Haudra of which is not contained in his Veda, he has to employ a Rgvedin or get the ritual of the Hotṛ priest performed in accordance with a Sūtra belonging to the Rgveda.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

It also appears clear that those rites, in which the Yājyās and Anuvākyaś are taken from different hymns of the Rgveda, must have been developed long after the period in which the hymns were composed. A great many of the smaller sacrifices are of this nature, and the principle followed in framing their ritual, was to adapt for use such Ṛks as were appropriate, that is, yielded a sense having some bearing, howsoever remote, on the nature and object of the sacrifice performed. This principle is laid down clearly in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,¹ a fact which shows

1 एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमुपनिबध्ति । Ait. Br II 2.

that the conscious manufacture of rituals had been in full force even when that work was written. That process of manufacture has ever continued and the same principle has been followed in preparing the rituals not only of the Śrauta sacrifices, but of all the rites performed on the Gṛhya or domestic fire and Laukika or ordinary fire

But in later times—when the total number of rites increased, and occasions for new ceremonies, hardly within the range of the ideas prevailing in Vedic times, presented themselves, and still it was sought to sanctify them and raise their importance, by connecting them with Vedic texts—it was deemed enough if the appropriateness of the Rk to the particular rite was merely verbal. Thus in invoking the planet Śukra or Venus in the ceremony called Grahamakha, the Rk used is Śukram te anyad yajatam te anyat¹ (Rv VI 58 1) which is really addressed to Pūṣan and has nothing to do with the planet, and the sole reason is that it contains the word Śukra which is the name of the Planet. Similarly in invoking Ketu or the Moon's Node, the Rk used is Ketum kṛvannaketave (Rv. I. 6 3), simply because it begins with the word Ketu.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RELIGION OF THE HYMNS AND LATER SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The epithets such as Amhomuḥ, Āgomuḥ, and Enomuḥ, i e., "deliverer from pollution, transgression, and sin," and Putravat and Putrin, i e., "having sons", given to the old Vedic deities to adapt them for the particular rites, would also show that these rites were developed in later times. That sacrificial rites in some shape were in use at the time when the Vedic hymns were composed cannot be questioned, but the worship of the several gods was more spiritual, real heart-felt prayers and praises were

1 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prayogaratna Grahamakha.

offered to them and their blessings invoked, and the offerings of Soma and other things were prompted by pious motives. But some time before the Brāhmaṇas (including the Brāhmaṇic portions of the books of the Black Yajurveda) were composed, the old Vedic religion had degenerated into the coldest formalism, the idea that the mechanical repetition of certain formulæ and verses, and manual operations had a religious efficacy, took firm hold of the Brahmanic mind, and mysticism usurped the place of spiritual worship.

All the rites were reduced to a system, nothing connected with them was so unimportant that it was not necessary to regulate it by specific rules, the number of rites vastly increased, and the sacrificial ritual became so complicated and so extensive, that no one who does not devote a number of years to its exclusive study, can now master it. It was impossible that this stupendous system should not have been attacked, and it has had very powerful and uncompromising enemies from the remotest time, in the shape of the Śramaṇas of old and their successors the reformers of later ages, and also in the ranks of the Brahmans themselves, and it has had a varied fortune, but has not been completely destroyed yet.

THE NAKṢATRA SATTRA

No. 412 contains the ritual of the Nakṣatra Sattra. It is called a Sattra because it is a series of 37 Iṣṭis. The first fourteen have the fourteen Devanakṣatras or lunar mansions associated with the gods, beginning with Kṛttikā and ending with Viśākhā for their Pradhāna or principal deities. Then follows an Iṣṭi in honour of the Pūrṇamāsī or the Full Moon day. The next fourteen are held for the propitiation of the fourteen Yamanakṣatras beginning with Anurādhā and ending with Bharanī and including Abhijit. The Pradhāna deities of the last eight are —1 Amāvāsyā or New Moon day, 2 Candramas or moon, 3. Ahorātra or day and night,

4. Uṣas or dawn, 5 Nakṣatra or lunar mansion generally, 6. Surya or sun, 7. Aditi, and 8 Viṣṇu With each of these deities Agni and Anumatī are associated, Agni preceding the Nakṣatra deity and Anumatī following. The Anuvākyaś and Yājñaś of the 37 principal deities are given in the first three Anuvākas of the first Prapāṭhaka of the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Agni and Anumatī have the same Anuvākyaś and Yājñaś throughout the 37 Iṣṭis and these also are given in the same place in the Brāhmaṇa.

The Nakṣatra Iṣṭis are prescribed by Baudhāyana as a Prāyaścitta or penance for any omission or fault in the performance of the usual sacrificial rites or for a life of sin ; but they are also to be performed by one who desires a long life, and by their means the sacrificer avoids death before the natural term of his life and attains the likeness of the heavenly bodies.

KṚTTIKĀ, THE FIRST LUNAR MANSION

It will be seen that the first lunar mansion here mentioned is Kṛttikā, and in several other places also in the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa, the list of the Nakṣatras begins with that constellation

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT NOT TO BE NEGLECTED

I do not agree with those who attach no significance to this fact, and believe that at the time when the system of these lunar mansions came into use, the vernal equinox occurred in the beginning of Kṛttikā. This must have been the case in 1428 B C , and the position of the solstices given in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa leads to 1186 B. C These dates have been declared to be worthless for historical purposes, on the grounds that the Hindus are in their nature rude or careless observers, and cannot be supposed to have the means of accurate observation at that

early period. But they are simply a priori grounds which no man with a scientific spirit will assume to enable himself to explain away facts which his predispositions will not allow him to admit. And the grounds are altogether insufficient, and the first is certainly untrue and unjust and will appear to be so, to one who does not forget how careful the philological observations of the Hindus have been and how solicitous they have been about their Vedas and their sacrificial worship, for which essentially the astronomical observations were necessary

THE PERIOD INDICATED BY THE FACT IS THAT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The two observations therefore might, I think, be considered correct within about a degree. A degree is equivalent to 72 years, so that somewhere about 1350 and 1110 B C, these observations must have been made. The Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa which mention the Nakṣatras with Kṛtikā at their head must be later than 1350 B. C, but to this period must be referred that development of the sacrificial ritual to which a definite shape was afterwards given by the composition of that Samhitā and of that and other Brāhmaṇas. The composition of these I would place between 1200 and 900 B C, and these dates will tally with those which from an observation of the grammatical literature we have to assign to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. But I must reserve a full discussion of the question of these dates for another opportunity.

THE SVARGA SATTRA

Nos. 450 and 451 contain the ritual of the series of Iṣṭis called Svarga Sattra. They are twelve in number, divided into two groups of seven and five, but the twelve are also regarded as forming one group. These Iṣṭis are laid down in the twelfth Prapāṭhaka of the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Yajyās and Anuvākyās are also there given.

Heaven has twelve gates; the first seven called Divaḥśyenayonuvittayaḥ being guarded by (1) Āśā or Hope, (2) Kāmaḥ or Desire, (3) Brahman or the Essence of sacrificial worship, (4) Yajñāḥ or Sacrifice, (5) Āpaḥ or Waters, (6) Agnir Bahmān or the fire who receives all oblations, and (7) Anuvitta or Discovery, and the other five called Apādyānuvittayaḥ, by (1) Tapaḥ or Mortification, (2) Śraddhā or Faith, (3) Satyam or Truth, (4) Manaḥ or Mind and (5) Caranam or Action or Foot. The first seven are the Pradhāna or principal deities of the seven Iṣṭis of the first group, which are after the name of the gates called Divaḥśyenayaḥ; and the next five, of the Iṣṭis of the second group which are called similarly Apādyāḥ. When these deities are propitiated by the performance of Iṣṭis, the gates of Heaven are flung open and the sacrificer is admitted. The principal deity in the case of each Iṣṭi has, as in the case of the Nakṣatra Sattra, two associates, one Agni before, and the other Anumati after. The epithet Kāmaḥ is however affixed to Agniḥ in the case of the first group.

This series of Iṣṭis presents a curious development in the ideas involved in the sacrificial religion. The things and feelings concerned in a man's pursuit of Heaven, such as Faith, Hope, Desire, Truth, Mind, Action, Sacrifice, Sacrificial Essence, and Agni—the receiver of all oblations, are themselves believed to be deities or presided over by deities, and these are worshipped in order that those things and feelings may be in a condition to render the pursuit fruitful.

WORKS ON THE SOMA SACRIFICES

It now remains to notice the Manuscripts of works on the Soma sacrifices. The Soma sacrifices are the most important of all, on account of the time occupied, the number of priests employed, and the solemn and imposing manner in which the whole service is conducted.

THE SEVEN AND FOUR SAMSTHĀS OF THE JYOTISTOMA

One general name by which they are designated is Jyotistoma.

The Jyotiṣṭoma has what are called seven Samsthās or modes, viz., Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Śoḷasīn, Vājapeya, Atirātra, and Aptoryāma. Sometimes the Samsthās are considered to be four only, viz., Agniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Śoḷasīn, and Atirātra. Of these the first or Agniṣṭoma is considered the Prakṛti, or original type and the rest as Vikṛtis or varieties. The Soma ceremonies constitute the essential part of the Agniṣṭoma, but they are preceded by a good many preparatory rites.

On the first day is performed what is called the Dikṣāpiya Iṣṭi and the Yajamāna is anointed, or Dikṣā given to him. This Dikṣā ceremony is sometimes repeated three or four times (Āśv. IV 2. 17, Āp X 15 1), that is, is performed on three or four successive days, but usually it is performed on one day only.

On the day after the Dikṣā or Dikṣās are over, the Prāyāpiya or introductory Iṣṭi is gone through. Then on the same day the ceremony of the purchase of Soma (Rājakraya) is performed, and after that what is called the Ātithya Iṣṭi, which is regarded as a rite of hospitality in honour of the guest, viz., the Soma purchased. Then follow the Pravargyas and Upasads. One Pravargya and one Upasad are performed before noon and another pair in the afternoon. At the Pravargya ceremony a cow is milked and certain ceremonies performed with the milk, and on these occasions a great many Rks are repeated. The Upasad is a sort of Iṣṭi.

The Pravargyas and the Upasads are repeated the next, i.e., the third day, if the Dikṣā has been done on one day only, and also on the fourth, but on this day both rites of each species are performed before noon. Then follow on the same day the ceremonies of carrying the Agni, Soma, and the carts on which the offerings are placed, from the part of the sacrificial enclosure called the Prāgvainśa to that which is called the Uttaravedī where all the later ceremonies are performed. Then late in the afternoon of this day, is performed an animal sacrifice in honour of Agniṣoman which is called Agniṣomiyapaśu.

RITES PERFORMED ON THE PRINCIPAL OR THE SUTYA DAY
(1) PRĀTASSAVANA

Early in the morning of the next or the fifth day begins a ceremony called (1) the Prātaranuvāka which consists of what are called three Kratus, Āgneyakratu, Auśasyakratu, and Āśvinakratu. The essential feature of these Kratus is the repetition of a large number of hymns from the R̥gveda addressed to Agni, Uśas, and Āśvins. (2) Then follows an offering of three Grahas or cups of Soma to three deities. The Grahas are made of wood and resemble liquor glasses in shape. (3) After this the Sāma-singers sing the first or Bahispavamāna-stotra. (4) Then we have an animal sacrifice called Savantiyapaśu, which is performed up to the ceremony of throwing the Vapā or peritoneum into the fire. (5) The ceremony done next is what is called Upasthāna in which the Dhiṣṇyas, i.e., things such as the sacrificial post, and places such as that on which fire is produced by friction, are praised. (6) This is followed by the Aindra Puroḍāśas which consist of Dhānās or fried grains of barley, Karambha or flour of Saktu mixed with curds, Payasyā or the caseine of milk separated from the serum by mixing hot milk and curds together, and cakes of flour. (7) Then we have the offering of Soma in Grahas to pairs of deities, viz., Vāyu and Indravāyu, Mitrāvaruṇau, and Āśvinau. (8) This is followed by the repetition of what are called Prasthītayājyās, or certain verses by six out of the seven Hotṛ priests, and the offering of Soma to the deities and drinking it. (9) Afterwards, the remains of the Soma, offered to the pairs of deities before, are drunk by the priests. (10) Then comes in the Acchāvāka who goes through certain ceremonies including the repetition of his Prasthītayājyās. (11) This is followed by the R̥tuyājās, which consist of the offerings of Soma in a vessel called R̥tupātra, which has two compartments. (12) Then the Hotṛ repeats the first or Ājyāśāstra, after which another Stotra is chanted by the Sāma-singers, and then follows the second Śāstra of the Hotṛ which is called Pra u ga,

The Śāstras are certain arrangements of couplets, triplets, and whole hymns from the Ṛgveda Samhitā interwoven with certain formulas called Nivids, detached verses called Puroruks, and others known as Dhāyyās. The arrangements are varied and no one of the Śāstras resembles another perfectly. Each Śāstra is followed by the pouring of the Soma juice into the fire and the drinking of a portion of it by the priests. Thus ends the first or Prātaḥsavana.

(II) THE MĀDHYĀMĪNA-SAVANA

The Mādhyamīna or Mid-day Savana begins by (13) a priest called Grāvastut entering and performing certain rites including the repetition of a hymn. (14) This is followed by a ceremony called Dadhigharma, and then (15) the Puroḍāśa or cake in connection with the animal sacrifice performed in the morning, which, as explained before, forms a necessary adjunct of the animal sacrifice, is thrown into the fire. (16) After that, we have the Aindra Puroḍāśa and (17) Prasthitayājyās as in the morning, and then (18) is given Dakṣiṇā or remuneration to the priests. This is followed by (19) the Marutvatīyagraha or offering of a cup of Soma to Marutvat, and then we have (20) the Stotras and Śāstras of the Mādhyamīnasavana.

(III) THE TṚTĪYA-SAVANA

At the beginning of the third or Tṛtīya-Savana, (21) a cup of Soma is offered to Aditi (Ādityagrahayāga), and after the Sāma-singers have chanted the Ārbhāvapavamāna, (22) the Angayāga or the casting into the fire of the other parts of the animal whose Vapa was offered in the morning, follows. Then we have (23) the Aindra Puroḍāśas and (24) the Prasthitayājyās as in the last two Savanas, and afterwards (25) the offering of Soma to Savitr (Savitragraha), and (26) the Stotras and Śāstras. After this is over we have the concluding ceremonies called (27) Yajñapuccha or the tail of the sacrifice, (28) Avabhṛtha in th

course of which offerings are made by the priests while standing in water, (29) Udayaniyā or the concluding Iṣṭi corresponding to the Prāyāñiyā with which the sacrifice began, (30) Aunbandhyapaśu, or an animal sacrifice to Maitrāvaruṇa, in which the beast to be slaughtered is according to Kātyāyana a sterile cow or an ox (X. 9. 12, and 14), but now only a goat, or in the absence of an animal, a Payasyā or the offering of the caseine of milk, and (31) Udayasāñiyā which is performed to the north of the sacrificial enclosure and in which fire is newly struck by rubbing the Arāṇis or logs of wood. According to the rules laid down in the Sūtra all these ceremonies should be performed on the same day, i.e., the fifth, but now it is usual for the last four to be performed on the next or the sixth day. This is a short description of a very complicated sacrifice.

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE RITUAL OF THE SOMA SACRIFICE

No. 449 is a manual of the Agniṣṭoma for the Adhvaryu and his assistants, and the duties of these priests are therein laid down in accordance with the Sūtra of Hiranyakeśin.

No. 436 contains the duties of the Maitrāvaruṇa, the first assistant of the Hotṛ, in the animal sacrifice in honour of Agniṣṭoma on the fourth day of the Agniṣṭoma, and in the Sutyā ceremonies of the next day. The Maitrāvaruṇa has to give Praśas to the Hotṛ after he receives similar ones from the Adhvaryu, that is, to communicate the Adhvaryu's order to the Hotṛ. He has also to repeat the Anuvākyas and some other Mantras, a hymn when Soma is poured into the smaller cups (Camasa) at each of the three libations, and also Śāstras.

No. 437 is an incomplete copy of the Maitrāvaruṇa's manual of the Agniṣṭomyapaśu.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEVERAL SAMSTHĀS

(1) AGNIṢṬOMA

In the Prātaḥ-Savana or morning libation of the Agniṣṭoma, the Hotṛ has, as above stated, to repeat two Śāstras, the first of

which is called Ājyasastra, and the second Pra u ga. No. 392 contains these two. The Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇacchamsin and the Acchāvāka have each to recite one. At the Madhyāhṇina-Savana or the noon-libation the Hotṛ has two Śāstras called the Marutvatiya and Nisikevalya, and the other three priests one each as in the morning, while at the evening libation or Tṛtiya-Savana, the Hotṛ alone repeats two Śāstras called Vaiśvadeva and Āgnimāruta. Thus in the Agniṣṭoma, the Hotṛ has on the principal day to repeat six Śāstras and the three minor priests, six between them, the total number being twelve.

The Śāstras of the Hotṛ are given in No. 401 with the exception of the last or Āgnimāruta, and of the Maitrāvaruṇa in No. 439 as well as in No. 436. Those repeated by the Acchāvāka together with the other things assigned to him, are given in No. 387, and No. 432 contains the Śāstras of the Brāhmaṇacchamsin as well as other directions for his guidance. The duties of the Neṣṭṛ and Potṛ in an Agniṣṭoma are given in Nos. 417 and 426.

(3) ATYAGNIṢṬOMA

The Atyagniṣṭoma differs from the Agniṣṭoma so far as the Śāstras are concerned, only in assigning one more Śāstra called the Ṣoḷasīn to the Hotṛ at the evening libation, in addition to the Vaiśvadeva and the Āgnimāruta. Of this Nos. 443 and 444 are copies.

(3) UKTHYA

In the Ukthya one Śāstra is assigned to each of the three minor priests, Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇacchamsin, and Acchāvāka, at the third savana or evening libation. In other respects it is exactly like the Agniṣṭoma. There are thus fifteen Śāstras in all.

(4) ṢOḶASĪN

The Ṣoḷasīn is like the Ukthya except that the Hotṛ has one Śāstra more which is called the Ṣoḷasīsastra at the end. Thus in all there are sixteen Śāstras.

(5) VĀJAPEYA

The Vājapeya differs from the Śolaśin in having some of its Mantras different and assigning one more Śastra called Atirīktoktha to the Hotṛ at the evening libation

(6) ATIRĀTRA

In the Atirātra the Śolaśīśastra is sometimes repeated at the evening libation, and then it is like the Śolaśin variety, sometimes not, when it comes to be like the Ukthya. In the night however each of the four Śastra-reciting priests, Hotṛ and others, repeat one Śastra in turn, then there is another round, and a third. Each of these rounds is called a Paryāya, and thus there are three Paryāyas and twelve Śastras, and these are given in No 440. The Hotṛ has then another Śastra called the Āśvināśastra. There are thus in all 29 or 28 Śastras.

(7) APTORYĀMA

The Aptoryāma is like the Atirātra, but there is a good deal of difference in the Mantras used, and the so-called Nyūnkhas or sixteen Os are inserted in the Śastras. In the third Savana the Vālahilyas (Rv VI 49-59) are inserted in the Śastra assigned to the Maitrāvaruṇa, and the Vṛṣākapiśūkta (Rv. X 86) and others, in that recited by the Brāhmaṇacchamaṇ. The Evayāmarutsūkta (Rv V 87), and others are interwoven with the Śastra of the Acchāvāka, and of the Śastra so enlarged No. 393 is a copy. The other hymns beside Rv V 87 which are inserted are Rgveda II 13, VII 100, I 156, and VI 69. And last of all, in the third Savana there is the Śolaśin assigned to the Hotṛ and not optional here as in the Atirātra. Then at night we have the three Paryāyas or rounds of the Atirātra as well as the Āśvināśastra of the Hotṛ, and thereafter one additional Śastra called Atirīktoktha has to be recited by each of the four priests. In this manner we have in this variety of the Jyotiṣṭoma 33 Śastras in all. No 390 contains some of these

No. 441 gives the duties of, and the Sāmāns or songs to be sung by, the Udgātṛ at the Vājapeya sacrifice ; and No. 442, the same as well as those referring to the Aptoryāma. The author of this manual is one Govardhana who, however, says nothing about himself.

SARVATOMUKHA SACRIFICE

No. 445 is a manual for the Udgātṛ at a sacrifice called Sarvatomukha. The Sarvatomukha is so called because in four enclosures in four directions—East, West, North and South—four Jyotusoma sacrifices of different Samsthās or varieties are performed at one and the same time.

DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS OF THE SOMA SACRIFICES

Soma sacrifices are divided into Aikāhika, Ahina or Ahargana and Sāmvasarika. The Sutyā being the principal part of the sacrifice, the Aikāhikas (literally, such as last for one day) are those that have one Sutyā. Ahinas are those which have more Sutyās than one. Sāmvasarikas are those in which the Sutyā is performed every day for one or more years. The Prakṛti or original type of an Aikāhika is the Agniṣṭoma, of an Ahina the Dvādasāha, in which the Sutyās are twelve, and of a Sāmvasarika the Gavāmayana in which the Soma sacrifice is performed every day for one year. The Dvādasāha and Gavāmayana are not simply combinations of a certain number of one or more of the four Samsthās before described. There are many peculiarities. An Ahina or Sāmvasarika, in which all the priests undergo the Dikṣā or anointing ceremony and are Yajamānas or sacrificers, is a Sattrā.

ITIHĀSAS, PURĀṆAS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

KĀŚMĪRAMĀHĀTMYA

In the Gujarat Section which, as I have already stated, comprises Kāśmīr Manuscripts purchased at Delhi, there is a copy of what is in the first and the last leaf and in the margin,

called *Kāśmīramāhātmya*. In the colophon we have "Sarp-
pūrpamīdārī Nilamataṁ." On comparing it with the extracts
given by Dr. Bühler in his Report for 1875-76 on the *Kāśmīr*
Manuscripts from the *Nilamatapurāṇa*, I find that this is identical
with that and does not contain the additions made by Sahebram
which Dr. Bühler encloses within brackets. The Manuscript
has no lacunæ such as those Dr. Bühler speaks of in his *Śāradā*
copies, and is altogether a good copy. The date is put down at
the end as *Samvat* 4872 which I believe refers to the *Saptarṣi*
era current in *Kāśmīr*, and subtracting from it 3154, which
according to Dr. Bühler is the interval between the initial date
of that era and the *Śaka*, we get 1718 *Śaka* as the date of the
Manuscript. If however the era is that of the *Kaliyuga*, the date
corresponds to 1693 *Śaka*. Dr Bühler calls the work *Nilamata-*
purāṇa, but the correct title appears to be *Kāśmīramāhātmya*,
according to *Nilamata*

STUTIKUSUMĀÑJALI BY JAGADDHARA

No. 40 is a copy of *Stotras* I, II and a part of III from the
Stutikusumāñjali in the *Śāradā* character, and No. 41 is a copy
of the entire work with a commentary, some leaves of which
are however missing. They are put here as coming under
the head of *Stotras*; but perhaps it would have been more
appropriate to place them under *Kāvya*s or *Philosophy*. The
author of the *Stutikusumāñjali* was *Jagaddhara*, the son of
Ratnadhara, who himself was the son of *Gauradhara*. *Gauradhara*
is spoken of as having composed a sort of commentary on
the *Yajurveda*. The father of *Jagaddhara* the commentator on
Mālatīmādhava, was *Ratnadhara*, but his grandfather's name
was *Gadādhara*, and not *Gauradhara*, wherefore the author
of the *Stutikusumāñjali* appears to have been a different person.

OTHER STOTRAS ETC.

No. 42 is a copy in *Śāradā* character of a series of twenty
Stotras by *Utpalacārya*.

In the Maratha Section there are two copies (Nos. 470 and 471) of a work entitled Śivamahātmya forming a portion of the Brahmottarakhaṇḍa which itself is called a part of the Skandapurāṇa.

No. 475 is an incomplete copy of a Purāṇa entitled Mudgalapurāṇa purporting to be narrated by Mudgala to Dakṣa. The glories of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati are narrated in the work.

VĀRIJĀKṢACARITRA

No. 467 is a copy of a curious work called Vārijākṣacaritra. It is represented to be the Uttara or third Kāṇḍa of a work entitled Prajñānakumudacandrikā which is referred to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. The names Skandapurāṇa and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are not the names of any definite works, but any Mahātmya or Caritra of a holy place or a god that happens at any time to be written, is referred to either of these to confer sanctity on it.

The Vārijākṣacaritra cannot be a very old work. Vārijākṣa was the name of an Avatāra of Viṣṇu different from Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. But he is sometimes called Vāsudeva, and is identified with Śiva also. He belonged to a family of Gauḍasārasvata Brahmans the name of which was Śrīkaṇṭha, and was the son of a mother named Yamunā. His wife's name was Jvalnī, and he had two sons Avya and Sauvra.

Among the many stories told of Vārijākṣa is his having held a sacrificial session for twelve years, i.e., a Dvādaśavārṣika Sattrā. In connection with that a pretty good description is given of the sacrificial ritual, and in the list of guests or visitors who attended the Sattrā, we have all modern names. A Yati named Bhavānandasārasvatī who was a Gauḍasārasvata Brahman came to see it from Kāśī, with his pupil Saccidānanda. So also the pupil of this last Śivānandasārasvatī, Rāmānandasārasvatī, Sadānandasārasvatī and Pūrṇānandasārasvatī, each of whom was the pupil of the

preceding, attended the Sattrā. Then came Sivanandasarasvati from Tryambaka and several others. All these Yatis belonged to the Gauḍasārasvata caste. Yatis of the Draviḍa caste also, Śaṅkarācārya and others came. There were Ācāryas of the Gauḍa caste among the guests, such as Mahesvarācārya, Śambhācārya, Rāmcandrācārya, Keśavācārya, &c., and also ordinary Brahmans and men of learning, such as Rāma, Ananta, Śrinivāsa, Bhikṣu, &c. Draviḍācāryas also bearing the names of Bhīmācārya, Kṛpācārya, Trimangalācārya, &c., were present.

VILIFICATION OF KARHĀḌĀ BRAHMANS

• Seven Karhāḍaka or Karhāḍā Brahmans of the names of Nānūka, Phānasa, Bākara, &c., also came, but they were driven out of the sacrificial enclosure. For the Karhāḍas were not true Brahmans, they were men of low origin, administered poison, hated true Brahmans, and murdered them and especially their own sons-in-law. Popular estimation still credits the Karhāḍas with the administration of poison and murder. Then is given an indecent account of the low origin of that caste. At the end of the work we are told that "those are excellent Vaiṣṇavas who always remember with devotion Vārījākṣa who dwells in the Tapas world and is Śiva himself in another form. Those Vaiṣṇavas also are stainless who worship Viṣṇu dwelling in Vaikuṇṭha without hating Śiva."

VILIFICATION OF THE MADHVAS

But those others who allow heated Mudrās (seals) to be pressed on their body, and advocate duality, are heretics and resemble carcasses, and are neither Vaiṣṇavas nor Śaivas. Those who allow heated Mudrās to be pressed on their bodies should not even be touched, and if one happens to do so, he should look at the sun to be free from the sin. The preceptor of those wicked men who call the glorious Śaṅkarācārya a Daitya, was a sinful and asinine villain." Such are

the amenities to which the sect of the followers of Madhva is treated; and the book is a specimen of those which under the name of the old R̥sis have been written in modern times to pour vile abuse upon rival sects and castes. The narrative in the work purports to be communicated by Agastya to Kauleya, and as in the case of the Purāṇas, the Sūta and the R̥sis are introduced, but the real author of the work must have been a man of the Gauḍasārasvata caste living among Karhḍa Brahmins between whom and his caste there was not, as there is not at present, a good understanding, who hated the Madhavas, and was himself one of that large body of people in the Maratha country who worship both Śiva and Viṣṇu, reverse Śaṅkarācārya, and adhere generally to his doctrines. Vārijākṣa must have been some local deity.

In this class there are Manuscripts of Mahātmyas, Kavacas, Śāntis, &c., which were not purchased on their own account but were included in the large lots containing copies of valuable works, which because they contained such Mahātmyas &c, were paid for at a much lower rate; so that even if these had been rejected the valuable Manuscripts would at a higher rate have cost as much as the whole lots.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA

GUJARATH SECTION

SMṚTIS AND COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have, of the Smṛti branch of the literature of this subject, Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra (No. 47), Caturvīṃśatmatam (No 48), Manusamhitā-Kaśmīr text-(No. 53), the Ācāra and Vyavahāra of Yājñavalkya with Aparāditya's commentary (No. 54), a copy of the Śrāddhaprakaraṇa of the same (No. 55), and Vṛddhavanigṭha, Chaps. I—X. (No. 60).

THE ĀCĀRA BRANCH

Of Digests and Manuals belonging to the Ācāra branch of the Hindu law, the first to be noticed is Śrīdharaśācārya's

Smṛtyarthasāra (No. 64) This work is quoted in Hemādri's Śraddhaprakaraṇa. At fol. 538a of a Manuscript of this last work purchased since, the view of the author of the Smṛtyarthasāra is stated along with an unfavourable criticism on it by the author of the Smṛticandrikā, so that Śrīdharācārya must have flourished before the author of the Smṛticandrikā, and both before Hemādri, i.e. before the thirteenth century. This reference I owe to Gangadhara Śāstri Datar. The Smṛtyarthasāra is also mentioned in the Madanapārijāta, written, as will be hereafter shown, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. The verse in which Śrīdharācārya mentions Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kedāra (Pādādi is my reading), Lollaṭa, and others as previous writers on the subject, and Kāmadhenu, Pradīpa, Abdhī, Kalpavṛkṣa, and Kalpalatā as previous works, is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue.

SMṚTISĀRA

No. 63 is a seemingly incomplete copy of a work entitled Smṛtasāra written in the Śārada character. Vācaspati mentions a work of that name in his Dvātanīrṇaya.

MADANAPĀRIJĀTA

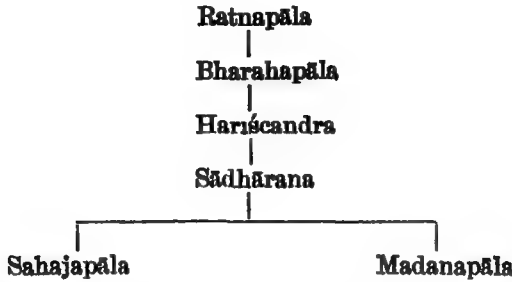
No. 52 is a copy about three hundred years old of the Madanapārijāta by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. Last year's Collection also contains a copy of the work, but it is undated. Since I wrote last about Madanapāla,¹ the prince of the Tāka race who patronised the author of the work and reigned at Kaṭhā or Kaḍhā on the banks of the Yamunā, north of Delhi, my assistant Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar has been able to discover his date.

DATE OF MADANAPĀLA

In the Collection of 1873-74 made by Dr. Bühler, there are two copies of a work called Madanavinodamṅghaṭṭu (Nos. 109

1 [Ante, pp 6f.]

and 110). The author—or patron of the author—of this was the same Madanapāla as the patron of Viśveśvara, as is evident from the genealogy given at the end of the work which is as follows:—



This agrees with the pedigree given in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta. It may however be remarked that Professor Aufrecht, in his notice of this and another work of the author, seems to take Karavimukta as the name of the father of Madanapāla. But that word does not occur in the Madanavinoda, and we have only the name Sādhārana in the first verse referring to that prince, as we have it in the corresponding verse in the Madanapārijāta.

At the end of the Prasasti in the Madanavinoda occurs a verse in which we are told that the work was composed by Madana on Monday, the 6th of the light half of Māgha, in the year of Vikramārka, Brahmayugayugenduganite. Now the Manuscript No 110 in which the verse occurs, it being omitted in No 109, is very incorrect, and in this particular case the metre requires that the ga of the first yuga should be prosodially long, but it is not. Yuga however may be a mistake for yuge or yugād, but whatever it may be, the word represents the place of *tens* in the date, while it is the numeral in the place of *hundreds* that is very important, and as to that there can be no doubt. Since the day of the week and of the fortnight are both given, I referred this point to Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak, Head Master, High School, Dhulia, who for a con-

siderable time has been studying Hindu Jyotiṣa, asking him to calculate and ascertain whether the 6th of the light half of Magha falls on Monday in the year 1441 of Vikrama. His reply is that it falls on Monday in the year 1431. Thus yuga in the verse is a mistake for a word meaning "three", and the date is 1431 Vikrama or 1375 A. D.

In a Manuscript of the Madananighaṇṭu recently purchased, the expression is Brahma-jagadyugenduganīte, where we have jagad for yuga and the requirements of the metre are satisfied. Jagad is the same as loka, and since the lokas or worlds are three, the jagats also are three. Besides, we often meet with the expression jagattraya, as in Dṛṣṭis-tṛipīkṛtajagattrayasattvasāra, Uttara Rāmacarita, Act VI, Jagattrayigīṭayāśahprasāstīḥ, etc., Hemādri's Prasāstī of King Mahādeva, etc. Thus the date is 1431 Vikrama, and Mr. Modak's calculation has proved true.

ĀCĀRĀDARŚA BY ŚRĪDATTĀ

No. 44 is a copy of the Ācārādarśa by Śrīdatta, and No. 45 is a commentary on it by Gaurīpati, son of Dāmodara. The commentary was finished by the author in Kāśī on Sunday, the 13th of Āśvina, in the year 1696 of Vikrama, corresponding to 1640 A. D. No. 44 was transcribed in Samvat 1690 or 1634 A. D., i.e., six years before the commentary was written by Gaurīpati. The Ācārādarśa is quoted by Kamalākara in the Nirṇayasindhu which we know was written in Samvat 1668 or 1612 A. D., and also by Vācaspati. Besides the Purāṇas and the authors of many Smṛtis, Śrīdatta mentions the following digests or their authors.—

Harihara fol. 31b, 36a, 48a, 52a.

Kalpatarukāra 37b, 55a

Kāmadhenu 27a, 47a

Of these, Harihara is quoted in Hemādri's Śrāddhaprakaraṇa many times, and Kāmadhenu in the Smṛtyarthasāra.

ŚRADDHAVIVEKA BY RUDRADHARA

No 61 is Śraddhaviveka by Rudradhara. It is quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Dvātanirṇaya of Vācaspati; also by Raghunandana

Of the remaining works belonging to this branch, No 46 is 'on a special subject. No 51 which is in the Śāradā character, and No 62 are general, and the rest are tracts on the ritual of particular rites, of which Nos. 66—68 relate to the Rāmānuja sect.

THE VYAVAHĀRA BRANCH

VIVĀDACANDRA BY SANMĪŚRA MIŚARU

No 57 is a copy of the Vivādacandra by Sanmīśra Miśaru. In the introduction which is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue, the author states that he composed the treatise under the orders of Lakṣmīdevī, the queen of Candrasimha. Candrasimha was the son of Darpanārāyaṇa and Hīrādevī, Darpanārāyaṇa of Harasimha, and he of Bhavēśa. This Harasimha must have been the same as the prince of Mithilā of that name, under the superintendence of whose minister Candēśvara, a work called Ratnākara was, according to Dr Hall (Edn. of Sāmkhyapravacana, p. 36), composed in Śāka 1236 or A.D. 1314. Miśaru wrote his Vivādacandra about 50 years later and quotes the Ratnākara.

RAGHUNANDANA'S DĀYATATVA

No 50 is a large fragment of the Dāyatattva by Raghunandana whose date has been fixed by Professor Aufrecht between 1430 and 1612 A.D.

VIVĀDĀRṆAVABHAṢJANA

No. 58 is a copy of the Vivādarṇavabhaṣjana which wants about four leaves at the end. The author's name does not occur; but the work is the same as No 364 of Dr. Bühler's Collection of

1875-76. Dr. Bühler gives Gaurikānta as the name of the author ; but it appears to be the work of many men, from the passage at the end of his copy, though it is corrupt. In the introductory verses the authors speak of having consulted the works of the following writers —

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Caṇḍeśa | 8 Dharmaratnakṛt |
| 2. Dhāreśvara | 9. Śrīkara |
| 3. Viśvarūpa | 10. Śulapāṇi |
| 4. Mitākṣarā (kṛt.) | 11. Govinda |
| 5. Halāyudha | 12. Lakṣmidhara |
| 6. Śrīkṛṣṇa | 13. Tattvakāra |
| 7. Vācaspati | 14. Ācāryacūḍāmaṇināca (?) bhāṭṭa. |

The Tattvakāra here mentioned must be Raghunandana noticed above, since he calls his works on different subjects the Tattvas of those subjects.

WORKS OR AUTHORS QUOTED IN THE WORK

The following are most of the Nibandhas or their authors quoted in the body of the work —

- Ratnakāra—32*b*, 33*a*, 37*b*, 38*a*, 50*a*, 54*a*, &c
 Dīpakalikā—32*b*, 33*b*, 35*a*, 37*b*, 89*b*, &c
 Pārijāta (?)—33*a*, 55*b*, 56*a*, 66*b*, 74*b*
 Caṇḍeśvara—33*b*, 35*a*, 39*a*, 49*a*, 54*a*, &c.
 Vācaspati—35*a*, (with Miśra) 59*b*, 75*a*, 80*a*
 Miśra—35*a*
 Dhāreśvara—38*b*
 Śulapāṇi—39*a*, 40*a*
 Kalpataru—40*b*
 Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkalankāra—41*a*, 42*b*, 44*a*, 44*b*, 51*a*
 Smārtabhāṭṭācārya—41*a*, 42*b*, 72*b*
 Jimūtavāhana—41*a*, 42*b*, 49*a*
 Miśrabh—41*b*, 52*b*, 62*a*, 73*a* & *b*, &c.
 Govindarāja

Kalpataru—53a, 60b

Lakṣmīdhara—53a, 84b, 90a

Kullukabhaṭṭa—54a, 55b, 57a, 58b, 59a, 97b

Vivādacintāmaṇi—55a, 55b, 60a, 69b, 74a & b, &c.

Prakāśakāra—56a

Medhatīthi—57b, 59a, 60b

Mīrabhaṭṭācārya—68b

Halāyudha—68b

Mitākṣara—72a, 96a, 100b

Vivādaratnākara—79b, 80a, 100b, 101a & b

Viśvarūpa—87a

Harihara—89a

The authors of this work must thus have lived after Candēsyara, or the author of the Ratnākara, Madanapāla, and Raghunandana; and if one of them Gaurikānta was the same as Gaurīpati, the commentator on Śrīdatta's Ācārādarśa, he flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century.

MARATHA SECTION

Nearly all of the Manuscripts in the Maratha Section belong to the Ācāra branch of Dharma. Some of these are works on (1) Ācāra generally, and others (2) on particular species of it or points connected with it, while the rest are (3) Prayogas or Paddhatis or books containing the ritual of various rites.

ĀCĀRA GENERAL

No. 588 is a copy of the first chapter of the Mitākṣara, which bears no date but looks old. No 561 is a Manuscript of the Nirṇayasindhu transcribed in 1581 Śaka which corresponds to 1716 Samvat, while Kamalākara wrote the book in 1668 Samvat, so that our copy was made 48 years after the work was composed. No. 558 is an incomplete copy of the Dharmasindhu.

NIRṆAYĀMṬA OF ALLĀDANĀTHA

No. 562 is a Manuscript of the Nirṇayāmṭa written by Allādanātha, son of Lakṣmaṇa, under the orders of Sūryasena, a prince of the Chohan race, who reigned in the city of Ekacakra on the banks of the river Yamunā.

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYASENA

In the introduction the author gives the genealogy of his patron. From the famous race of Cāhuvāṇas sprang Śarṭpa, who destroyed all his enemies. His son was Karpadeva, and his Uddharapa. Uddharana is represented to have performed some exploits at Delhi and to have wounded the elephants of the "Lord of the Śakas." He established himself at the city of Ekacakra by which flowed the "daughter of the Sun." He was succeeded by his son Candrasena, and Candrasena by his son Sūryasena. Sūryasena had a younger brother of the name of Pratāpasena, and a son of the name of Devasena. I have not been able to find any trace of this line of princes elsewhere. General Cunningham identifies Ekacakra with Arā, but that town is in Behar while Ekacakra was situated on the Yamunā.

WORKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

Allādanātha speaks of his having consulted the following works in the composition of his treatise —

Manusmṛti	Mātsya
Viṣṇusmṛti	Kaurma
Parāśarasamṛti	Vārāha
Āpastambasmṛti	Vaiṣṇava
Mitākṣarā	Vāmana
Aparārka	Mārkaṇḍeya
Arṇava	Bhaviṣṣyottara
Parijāta	Hemādri's Parīśiṣṭa
Smṛtyarthasāra	Anantabhāṭṭiya
Smṛticandrikā	Gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa

Kalādarśa	Saṁvatsarapradīpa
Cintāmaṇi	Bhojarājīya
Tridaṇḍin	Devadāsīya
Kṛtyakalpataṛu	Rūpanārāyaṇīya
Dhavalapurāṇasamuccaya	Vidyāvedapaddhati
Durgotsava	Mahādevīya
Rāmakaṭuka	Viśvarūpa's Nibandha

The Nirṇayāmrta is quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, also by Raghunandana, and by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Tithinirṇaya. Bhaṭṭoji flourished, as will be presently shown, in the middle of the seventeenth century, and Raghunandana's works are quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu. If the Pārijāta occurring in the above list is the Madanapārijāta about which however there is no reasonable doubt, Allāḍanātha and Sūryasena must have flourished after 1375 A D, and before the close of the sixteenth century. A copy of the Nirṇayāmrta is noticed by Professor Weber in his Berlin Catalogue.

ACARA PARTICULAR

Among the treatises written to determine the proper times for the performance of the ordinary ceremonies and the observance of fasts, festivals, &c, the first to be noticed is Mādhava's Karikā (No 526), which he tells us he wrote after he had finished his commentary on Parāśara and as a sort of supplement to it. No 521 is another copy of the same with a commentary by Vaidyanātha.

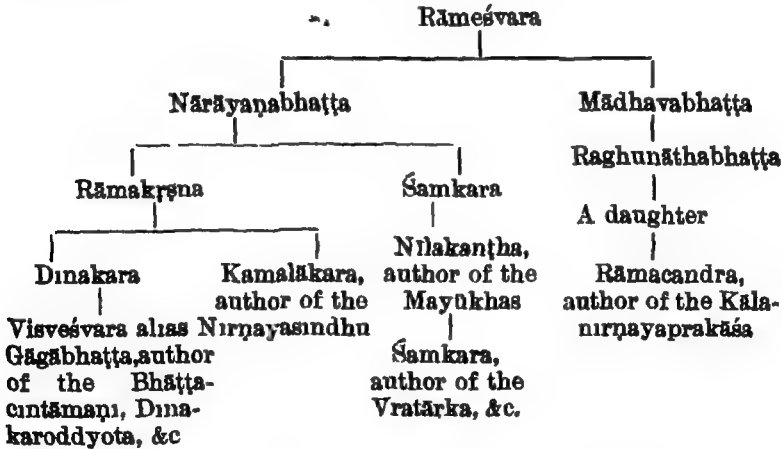
COMMENTARY ON THE KĀLANIRṆAYADĪPIKĀ

No. 524 is an incomplete copy of the commentary on Rāmacandrācārya's Kālanirṇayadīpikā by his son Nṛsiṃha. This Rāmacandrācārya is the same as the author of the Prakriyākaumudī on Pāṇini's grammar which was superseded by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhāntakaumudī. His history and date

will be given hereafter The *Kalanirṇayadīpikā* is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in the *Tithinirṇaya* ; and I have verified the quotation. It is also quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu*

KĀLANIRṆAYAPRAKĀŚA BY RĀMACANDRABHAṬṬA

No 525 is a Manuscript of the *Kalanirṇayaprakāśa* by Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa whose family name was Tatsat and who was the son of Viṭṭhala and grandson of Balakṛṣṇa. The book is held in great estimation. Gangadhara Śāstri has ascertained that Rāmacandra was on his mother's side connected with the family of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, as represented in the following genealogical tree, to which I have added two branches in order to determine Rāmacandra's relation with the other authors of the Bhaṭṭa family.



It will thus be seen that Rāmacandra belonged to the generation next after the authors of the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Mayūkhas*, and to the same generation as Gagābhaṭṭa and Śaṃkara the author of the *Vratārka* Rāmacandra quotes among other authors his *Mātāmaha* or mother's father, i.e., Raghunāthabhaṭṭa.

KĀLASIDDHĀNTA BY CANDRACUḌA

No. 528 is a fragment of the Kālasiddhānta by Candracuḍa, son of Umapabhaṭṭa and Jānaki, and surnamed Paurāṇika. Candracuḍa quotes among others Mādhava, Govindārjuna, Madanaratna, Dīpikā and Tīthitattva. The last is probably the Tīthitattva of Raghunandana.

No 523 also is a fragment of a work entitled Kālanirṇaya-candrikā by Divākara, son of Mahādevabhaṭṭa whose family name was Kale. Divākara quotes the Nirṇayasindhu, wherefore he is a recent author.

TĪTHINIRṆAYA BY BHATṬOJĪ DĪKṢITA

No 548 is Tīthīnirṇaya by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the son of Lakṣmidhara and the author of the Siddhāntakaumudī and other grammatical works. In this work Bhaṭṭojī mentions among others the following authors and works —

Anantabhaṭṭa	Madanapārijāta
Aparārka	Madanaratna
Kāśādarśa	Mādhava
Jyotirṇibandha	Rāmārcanacandrikā
Tristhalīsetu	Viśvarūpabandha
Nārāyaṇa	Sarvajñānārāyaṇa
Nārāyaṇavṛtti on Āśvalāyana	Smṛticandrikā
Nirṇayadīpikā	Smṛtidarpaṇa
Nirṇayāmṛta	Smṛtiratnāvalī
Prthvicandrodaya	Smṛtisamgraha
Pratāpamārtanda	Smṛtyarthasāra
Prayogapārijāta	Haradatta
Bhārgavarcanacandrikā	Hemādri

BHATṬOJĪ'S DATE

Of these, the Nirṇayadīpikā is the Kālanirṇayadīpikā of Rāmārcandrācārya, and I have, as already stated, verified the quotations. Rāmārcandrācārya flourished as will be shown

hereafter about the middle of the fifteenth century. The *Tristhaṭṭsetu* is the work of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa whose dates are Samvat 1612, 1624, and Śaka 1457, (see Mandlik's *Vyavahāramayūkha*, Upodghāta) The earliest of these is 1535 A.D., and the latest 1568 A.D. Bhaṭṭoji therefore lived after the third quarter of the sixteenth century. But a still closer approximation may be made to Bhaṭṭoji's date Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, the grandson of Bhaṭṭoji, and Vitthalrao Ganesha Patavardhan, who died in 1871, belonged, as appears from the table given by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, to the fourth generation of teachers and pupils after Nāgojibhaṭṭa, and consequently to the seventh after Bhaṭṭoji, that is, including Bhaṭṭoji there were eight generations up to 1871. Allowing 30 years to each generation Bhaṭṭoji's literary activity must have begun at the earliest about the year 1631 A.D., i.e., he might safely be understood to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century. This conclusion tallies with the date 1713 A.D., assigned to Nāgojibhaṭṭa by Dr Hall in the preface to his edition of the *Sāmkhyasāra*, (p. 37 note). Kamalākara does not quote Bhaṭṭoji in the *Nirṇayasindhu* written in 1612 A.D., or in the *Śūdra-dharmatattva*, though these books contain a large number of names, which circumstance might be regarded as corroborative of this view. According to Professor Weber (*Berlin Catalogue*), this same *Tithinirṇaya* contains a mention of the *Nirṇayasindhu*, but I have not found it. I believe Bhaṭṭoji and Kamalākara were nearly contemporaries, the latter being the elder of the two.

No. 532 is a small tract, written for the purpose of determining the proper time for the rite laid down by Pāraskara, called *Kesānta*.

DĀNAVĀKYĀVALĪ BY VIDYAPATI

No. 553 is a very old Manuscript transcribed in Samvat 1539 or 1483 A.D., of a work entitled *Dānavākyāvalī*. It was

composed by Vidyapati at the requisition of Dhīramatī, who was the queen of Narasimhadeva, King of Mithilā. Narasimhadeva is styled "the ornament of the family of Kāmeśvararājapaṇḍita" The name Narasimhadeva occurs in the lists of kings of Tīrhut published by Kirkpatrick and Hodgson, (Prinsep's Tables). General Cunningham states that these princes were Brahmans by caste, (Arch. Survey Reports, Vol XVI), and the name Kāmeśvararājapaṇḍita perhaps points to that fact. The last, Harasimhadeva, who was the third in descent from Narasimhadeva, was subdued by the Emperor of Delhi and compelled to abandon his capital in 1323 A D. Narasimhadeva therefore must have been on the throne about 1230 A.D. If he is the prince mentioned in our Manuscript, of which there appears every likelihood, the Dānavākyaśālī was written about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Harasimhadeva, son of Bhavēśa mentioned by Misart and by Dr Hall must have belonged to another line of Mithilā princes reigning over some other part of the country.

NANDAPANḌITA'S SAMSKĀRANIRŪPA

No 612 is Samskāranirūpa by Nandapaṇḍita, the son of Rāmapaṇḍita, the Dharmādhikārin. The first leaf is missing. The work was composed at the request of prince Harivaṃśavarman, son of king Mango, and the "crest-jewel of the Mahendra race"

GĀGĀBHATTA'S ĀCĀRĀDARŚA

No. 502 is Ācāradinakaroddyota, completed (purita) by Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhata, whose pedigree has already been given. It consists of an Āhnikā or "the daily religious duties of a pious Brahman" only. Probably Gāga's father wrote a work on Ācāra generally, and his son added this Āhnikā to it.

OTHER ĀHNIKAS

No. 512 is an Āhnikā by Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, son of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa. This Raghunāthabhaṭṭa must have been the father of

the mother of Rāmacandra, the author of the *Kālanirṇaya-prakāśa* mentioned before. No. 511 is in the colophon called an *Āhnika* in accordance with the *Sūtra* of Gotama (*Gotamasūtre*). No. 503 is the *Āhnika*-section of the *Ācārapradīpa* composed by Kamalakara who was a native of the village of Kūrpara (*Kopergaum*) on the Godāvari and afterwards went to and settled in Kāśī where he wrote the treatise. No. 518 is a work of a similar nature

A MADHVA ĀHNIKA

No. 510 is an *Āhnika* for the followers of Madhva written in accordance with his *Sadācārasmṛti* by Challāri Nṛsimhācārya, son of Nārāyaṇa. This forms one of the four *Tarangas* or "waves" of his *Smṛtyarthasāgara* or "ocean of the doctrines of the *Smṛtis*," and one more—the *Kālataranga*—is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford catalogue

VIṬṬHALA'S KUṆḌAMAṆḌAPASIDDHI

No 529 is a Manuscript of the *Kuṇḍamaṇḍapasiddhi* by Viṭṭhala Dikṣita. The work is noticed by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue. The *Kuṇḍas* or altars and the *Maṇḍapas* or enclosures—the form, measure, and modes of construction of which are given in this tract—are intended for the performance of certain *Smārta* religious rites, therefore this and other works of that nature are put in this class. Viṭṭhala was the son of Būba, of the *Atri*gotra and a student of the *Madhyamīna* branch of the *Yajurveda*. The Manuscript contains also a commentary written by the author himself. The work was finished in Kāśī on Sunday, the 12th of the light half of *Phālguna*, in the Śaka year 1541, i.e., 1619 A.D. The Manuscript was transcribed in 1690 Śaka by Viṭṭhala Śrotriya. No. 530 is another incomplete copy of the same work, and No. 531 is a fragment of another work on the same subject.

No. 599 is a copy of the *Vratarāja*, a modern work by a *Cittapāvana* Brahman named Viśvanātha, the son of Gopāla, who

lived at Kāśī on the Durgāghāṭa. The work was compiled in Samvat 1793 and Śaka 1658 corresponding to 1736 A D A very large number of Vratas or fasts and observances are detailed in the book.

JĪVADEVA, ANANTADEVA, ĀPADEVA AND THEIR WORKS

No 507 contains the Āśaucanīrṇaya by Jivadeva and an incomplete copy of the Samskāra-kaustubha by Anantadeva. Jivadeva was the son of Āpadeva who lived at a place situated on the banks of the Godāvarī. In the colophon the work is called Āśaucadīdhiti or "A ray in the form of Āśauca of the Kaustubha". The Kaustubha meant must be the Smṛtikaustubha, of which the Samskāra-kaustubha and Rājakaustubha are parts. The author of these is Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, Jivadeva therefore must be a brother of this Anantadeva. The name of Āpadeva's father was also Anantadeva, so that the author of the Samskāra-kaustubha was named after his grandfather, as men are often so named among the Marathas. Āpadeva is the author of the Mimāṃsānyāya-prakāśa, usually called Āpadevī, which is highly valued as an excellent introduction to the study of the Mimāṃsā. I possess also a commentary on the Vedāntasāra by this same Āpadeva.

Jivadeva quotes the Nīrṇayasindhu several times as well as the following among others —

Mitākṣarā	Antyeṣṭi by Bhaṭṭa, i.e.,
Aparārka	Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa
Mādhava	Śuddhitattva
Smṛtyarthasāra	Hemādri
Śulapāṇi and other Gauḍas	Madanapārījāta
Haradatta	Madanaratna

These three authors therefore lived in very modern times. The Samskāra-kaustubha also contains the name of Haradatta.

There are also in the collection little tracts on other branches of the Ācāra division of the Dharmaśāstra which do not call for any special observation

THE PRAYOGAS

ĀŚVALĀYANAGRHYAKĀRIKĀ

There is a large number of works descriptive of the ritual to be observed on various occasions. And the first to be noticed among these is the Āśvalāyanaghyapaddhatikārikās attributed to Kumārīlabhaṭṭa. The Manuscript is dated Samvat 1816 and Śaka 1681 No 492 is a copy of the ritual of the Agnimukha or Ājyatantra, which is an introductory ceremony to all rites performed on the Grhya fire. The ritual is intended for the followers of the Atharvaveda

GAṄGĀDHARA'S PADDHATIS

Nos. 570 and 623 are fragments of Gangādhara's Prayogapaddhati, and Nos. 613 and 614 of his Samskārapaddhati. In these last Gangādhara speaks of himself as the son of the son of Rāmāgnihotrīn. He appears to be one of the oldest writers on the ritual followed by Mādhyamīnas, for in last year's Collection there is a copy of the Samskārapaddhati which was transcribed in Samvat 1650 or 1594 A D, and No. 613 also appears very old though it bears no date

PADMANĀBHA AND HIS DARPAṆAS

Another writer on this subject for the Mādhyamīnas is Padmanābha, son of Gopāla, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa. No 576 is a small fragment of his Prayogadarpaṇa, and No 575 of his Pratiṣṭhādarpaṇa which contains the ritual to be observed in the consecration of images

TĀNA PĀTHAKA

A third writer is Tāna Pāṭhaka of whose Samskāramuktāvalī, No. 615 is a Manuscript. It comes down to the end of Vivāha or marriage,

. **ĀPASTAMBA PRAYOGAPADDHATĪ**

No. 577 is a copy of the Prayogapaddhatī for the followers of Āpastamba by an author of the name of Peñjalla Jhūṅgayya, son of Peñjalla Mañcanācārya. This is a South Indian name, and probably the author was a Tailāṅga Brahman. Followers of Āpastamba are mostly to be found in the Tailāṅga country, while in Mahārāṣṭra there are a few families living on the borders of the two countries.

The other works in this group are on special rites and ceremonies and do not call for any particular notice

THE PRĀYASČITTA AND VYAVAHĀRA BRANCHES

As referring to the Vyavahāra branch of the Dharma, we have in the Maratha division only the second chapter of the Mitakṣara (No. 589), transcribed in Śaka 1572. There are also three small tracts belonging to the Prāyāścitta branch (Nos 551, 555, and 621).

POEMS, PLAYS AND FABLES

VALLABHADEVA'S COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have complete copies in the Śārada character of Vallabhadeva's Commentaries on the Raghuvamśa (No 83) and the Meghadūta (No 82), and of that on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasambhava (No 72). The name of Vallabhadeva's father was Ānandadeva

No. 71 is a complete copy of Jonarāja's Commentary on the Kīrātārjunīya composed as stated in the introduction in Śaka 1370 (Kharṣivīśvamite Śake) corresponding to 1448 A. D., in the reign of Jainollābhādēna. This prince is the same as Zainul Abuddīn whose name occurs in the table of Kāśmīr Kings given at the end of Prinsep's Essays, and who ascended the throne in 1422 A. D., and reigned up to 1472 A. D.

VIṢṆUBHAKTIKALPALATĀ WITH A COMMENTARY

No. 86 is a copy of the eighth Stāvaka or canto of Puruṣottama's Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā with a commentary by

Maheśvara, son of Virūpākṣa. There is a Manuscript of Stabakas I, II, IV, and V of the poem with the same commentary in my Collection of 1879-80 (No 81), and of the whole or eight Stabakas with the commentary of Mahidāsa in that of 1881-82 (No 320) The present Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1667 and Śaka 1533, so that the commentary is at least 275 years old

DATE OF THE COMMENTARY

But the date of its composition is given at the end of the Manuscript as Thursday, the 3rd (Mukhyajayātithau) of the light half of Mārgaśīrṣa, in the year of Vikrama Aśvāmbudhi-rāga-bhūmi. The first two words represent 47 and the last 1, and in the place of hundreds we have rāga. But the word Rāga is not used to denote a numeral, nor is the sense of the word such as to make it fit for such a use. In all probability therefore Rāga is a mistake for Rāma which word is used to express the numeral (3), for there were three Rāmas, Bhārgava Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, and Bala-Rāma. The date therefore is 1347 Vikrama, corresponding to 1291 A D. According to Mr Modak's calculations, however, it is 1447 Vikrama. But the word Rāga cannot be so understood or corrected as to mean "four"

(The word rāga is sometimes used to express 'six', as Pandit Durgaprasada tells me. Rāga means 'a musical mode' and there are six principal modes, the use of the word therefore to express 'six' is perfectly possible. The date of the Commentary is thus 1647 Samvat, and according to the Pandit's as well as Mr. Dikṣit's calculation the 3rd of the light half of Mārgaśīrṣa falls on a Thursday in that year)¹

In the commentary of the eighth Stabaka contained in the

1 The matter included in the brackets was added by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in the "Notes, Corrections and Additions" appended to the Original Report.—[N. B. U.]

Manuscript before me the following lexicons are quoted from:—

Amara

Halasyudha

Viśva

Mahipa

There is a copy of Mahipa in my last year's Collection. The Bhāgavata also is mentioned. The commentary of Maṛḍaṣa mentioned above was composed in the year 1654. The era is not given.

THE MAHĀNĀTAKA WITH A COMMENTARY

No 96 is a Manuscript of the Mahānāṭaka with a commentary by Balabhadra, son of Kāśinātha and grandson of Kṛṣṇadatta. The commentary was composed on the Rāmanavamī day or the 9th of the light half of Caitra in the year 1638, the cyclic year being Vyaya. The era to which the date refers is not given, but it must be the Samvat. Balabhadra mentions a previous commentary, the Candrikā.

PRABODHACANDRODAYA AND COMMENTARIES ON IT

No 77 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrodaya transcribed in Samvat 1601 corresponding to 1545 A.D. and No 78 is a commentary on the play by Rāmadāsa, son of Bhaṭṭa Vinayaka. Among Manuscripts written in the Tailāṅga character received in 1882 from the Government of H. H. the Nizam through the Government of Bombay, there was a commentary on the play entitled Candrikā and the report that I made on it under date the 8th of February 1883 is as follows —

'The first of these (i.e., the Candrikā) was composed by the minister of a king of the name of Nāḍillayappa. In the introduction, the author tells us he was a nephew (sister's son) of Sālvatimma, the minister of Kṛṣṇarāya, king of Vijayanagara, and had an elder brother who was Sālvatimma's son-in-law as well as nephew. He gives a short history of Kṛṣṇarāya who is called "king of Karnataka." Kṛṣṇarāya was, we are told, the son of Narasimha and was a powerful monarch who governed the

whole southern peninsula. He married the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati (king of Orissa) Among the Mackenzie Manuscripts is one of the name of Kṛṣṇarāyacaritra or "an account of Kṛṣṇarāya," and what is stated there with regard to the king as well as what has been gathered from Inscriptions, agrees with the account given by our commentator Kṛṣṇarāya reigned from A D 1508 to 1530'

BĀLAKRṢṆA AND MADHUSŪDANA

No. 85 is a commentary on a number of verses composed by one Bālakrṣṇa who lived at Gokula on the river Yamunā in the Aṭṭarvedi or the Doab The author was Madhusūdana, pupil of Bālakrṣṇa, and son of Mādhava who himself was the son of Narasimha. The commentary was composed in 1700 The era is not given but must be the Samvat, since the Manuscript itself was copied in 1774 Samvat

ANTHOLOGIES

Nos. 79, 91, 92 and 93 are Manuscripts of Anthologies The first is but a fragment containing the Nītiprakaraṇa, the first of the twenty-one sections into which the compilation is divided.

The author is Haridāsa who was the youngest of four brothers, the sons of Puruṣottama who lived at Khārāghāṭa The anthology was compiled in the year 1614 The era is not given, but it must be the Samvat

A KĀŚMIR ANTHOLOGY

No 91 is also a fragment without beginning or end, about one-half of which is written in the Śāradā character and the other half in the Nāgarī The names of poets are in most cases given at the end of the verse or verses attributed to them, but in some places they are not The Śloka 'Ayaṁ bandhuḥ paro v'eti,' &c., is attributed to Bhaṭṭa, but it occurs in the Pañcatantra and may have been older, and 'Durjanaḥ parihartavyo vidyayālambakṛto,' &c., to Vālmiki, but we find it in Bhartṛhari's

Nṛsīṅgataka. Such mistakes are by no means uncommon in anthologies, and therefore, the mere fact of the occurrence of the name of a certain poet after a certain verse in a Manuscript of an anthology, ought not without corroborative evidence to be made the basis of far-reaching historical conclusions.

For instance, the stanza, one Pāda of which—Varatanusampravadanti &c., is quoted by Patañjali, is fully given by Kṣemendra and attributed to Kumāradāsa, and this fact has been used as a reason for bringing down the date of Patañjali. But the same Pāda is attributed by Rāyamukūṭa to Bhāravi (p. 479), to whom also the whole stanza as given by Kṣemendra is ascribed in the Chandomañjarī. This throws such a doubt on the authorship of the stanza as to make it of little use in determining Patañjali's date. And supposing that it belongs to any one of the two, that does not, by any means, make Patañjali later than either. Another explanation is quite possible, viz., that the Pāda was taken from Patañjali, and three other were composed and added by either of the later writers, in the way of what is known as Samasyāpūraṇa.

The following poets are mentioned in No 91

Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa 2a	Śrī-Varāhamihira 7b
Viśāvrta 2a	Vijaya-Mādhava 7b
Jagaddhara 2b	Gaṇapati 8a
Harṣadatta 3b	Sūravarmaṇ 9a
Caṇyaka (Cāpaka ?) 3b	Paṇḍita-Śrīvāṅka 11a
Jīva 4a	Paṇḍita-Jagaddhara 11a
Bhaṭṭācūṭa 4b	Jaya-Mādhava 14a
Amṛtadanta 5a	Vallabhadeva 15a
Ānandavardhana 3b, 6a, 8a,	Varāhamihira 15a
24a, 34b, 37b, 42a	Vālmikisūri 17a
Amṛtavardhana 6a	Kṣemendra 17b, 23b, 25ab,
Manoratha 6a, 7b	33a
Vibhūti-Mādhava 6b	Kusumadeva 21b
Candrasvāmin 7a	Prakāśavarṇa 22b, 28a, 34b

Vallabha 24a	Haribhaṭṭa 35b .
Valmiki 24b	Śrīharṣa 36a
Murāri 26a	Śankuka 36b
Prthvidhara 26a	Paṇḍitayājaka 37a
Dāmodh(d)aragupta 28a	Bhaṭṭa 37a, 37b, 38a
Bhaṭṭa 28b, 30a, 31a, 33a,	Prakāśadatta 37a
34b, 35	Dhārādharma 38a
Jayavardhana 28b	Kalidāsa 38a
Haragupta 29a	Kalāsaka 38a
Bhāravi 29a	Bhavanīnandana 38b
Śivasvāmin 29a	Dyutidhara 39b
Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva 29b, 41a	Śrī-Śuka 40a
Vyāsadaśa 30b	Śrī-Muktāpīḍa 40a
Vararuci 31b	Śrī-Jonarāja 41a
Bhaṭṭo(d)bhaṭṭa 33b	Ratisena 42a
Dharmagupta 34a	Jalhana 42b
Vikramāditya 34a	

SUBHĀSITARATNAKOŚA BY KṚṢṆA

No. 93 is a copy of Subhāṣitaratnakōśa by Kṛṣṇa. A few leaves are wanting at the end. The names of the authors of the excerpts are not given, but the selections are very good.

VERSES ABOUT PARTICULAR POETS

In the section on Kāvya and Kavis we find verses in praise of Bāṇa who is like "a lion that breaks the globes on the temples of the elephants in the shape of other poets," of Mayūra, Magha, Bhāravi and Murāri. Valmiki is in a verse spoken of as poet No 1, Vyāsa as No 2, and Daṇḍin as No 3. In another, Haribhaṭṭa is admonished not to be boastful as "Madana is the goad of elephants in the shape of poets", and Madana is in his turn bid "to remember the former deeds of Hara (Śiva) and hold his tongue." Here there is a play on the word Madana which means the god of love and was the name of a poet, whose full name was Madanakīrti. Madanakīrti is mentioned by Rājasekhara in his

Prabandhacaturviṃśati, and both he and Harihara were the contemporaries of Someśvaradeva, the author of the Kīrtakaumudī and Surathotsava.

No. 92 is an anthology the subject of which is Śṛṅgāra or love, and which contains long extracts from the Mahānāṭaka, the Meghadūta, the Kumārasambhava, and other poems. The Manuscript was transcribed in 1612 Samvat

VYĀKARAṆA OR GRAMMAR

KĀTANTRALAGHUVṚTTI

No 97 is Kātantralaghuvṛtti. A few leaves are missing. The Vṛtti is different from Durga's Vṛtti published by Dr Eggeling. The Pūrvārdha or Nāmaprakaraṇa agrees with No 279 of 1875-76; and the Ākhyātavṛtti of the Uttarārdha agrees with the corresponding portion of No 280, but the Kṛdvṛtti somewhat differs.

KĀTANTRAPARIBHĀṢAS

No 98 contains the Sūtras of the Kātantra together with the Paribhāṣas. Most of these last are the same as those laid down by Pāṇini or applicable to the grammar of Pāṇini.

OTHER WORKS

No 103 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrikā by Vaijāla, son of Vikramāditya, belonging to the Cāhuvāna or Chohan race, and king of Candrāvātī, the modern Jhalrapattan. The tract contains verses giving the rules of grammar along with instances having reference to the story of Rāma.

No. 104 is Mahābhāṣyagūḍhārthadīpini containing notes on difficult passages in the Mahābhāṣya by Sadāśiva, pupil of Kamalakara Dīkṣita. The first chapter and a small portion of the second are wanting. The Manuscript was transcribed or perhaps the book was written in Śaka 1589 or A. D 1667. In either case it is evident that the author flourished before Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

KĀSĪKA

No. 99 is a copy of the last five chapters of the Kāśikā. The Manuscript contains no date but looks very old. In the colophons at the end of Chapters IV and V, the name of the author is not given, but at the end of Pādas I, II, and III of Chapter VI, the title is given as Vāmana-Kāśikā. At the end of the fourth Pāda of the same chapter no name occurs, but at the end of the eighth chapter, we have Paramopādhyāya-Vāmanakṛtāyām Kāśikāyām Vṛttau, and of the seventh Vāmana ...tāyām Kāśikāyām Vṛttau. It would appear from this that Vāmana was the author of the last three chapters. But on the evidence of Kāśmīr Manuscripts collected by Dr Bühler in 1875-76, Jayāditya is now believed to be the author of the first four chapters and Vāmana of the last four. But there is the evidence of Rāyamukuta and Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in favour of assigning the fifth chapter to Jayāditya, and the seventh and eighth to Vāmana.

Under the word Śarkarā in the Amarakośa, Rāyamukuta derives the four forms of the word from Pāṇini V 2 105, with a reference to Jayāditya, and mentions Saikato ghaṭaḥ or Śarkaram madhu as counter-examples given by him, and these we find in the Kāśikā under that Sūtra. Under the word Pāṇḍura, Rāyamukuta defends Jayāditya against an attack by the author of the Bhāṣavytti for having included the word Pāṇḍu in the Vārtika beginning with Naga on V 2 107. In commenting on his own explanation of ekavacanāt in Pāṇini, V 4 43 as a "word signifying a measure" and directing the application of the suffix Śas to such a word, Bhaṭṭoji observes in the Manoranā that he has followed Jayāditya in so explaining it, but according to Vāmana, that termination may be appended to ordinary common nouns also, since under the Sūtra VII. 1 20 he gives Kuṇḍaso dadāti, Vanasāḥ pravīṣati as instances, to show that the Śas occurring in that Sūtra is not that used in these instances, but is the Śas of the accusative plural. Now the explanation attributed to Jayāditya

occurs in the *Kāśikā* under Pāp. V. 4. 43, and the instances attributed to Vāmana under Pāp. VII 1. 20. Under the word *Apsaras*, which according to *Amara* is used in the plural only, *Rāyamukūṭa* says that Vāmana gives *Aphsarāḥ* as an instance of the *Vārtika* *Cayo dvitryāḥ*, and hence the noun is used in the singular also. Now this *Vārtika* occurs under VIII 4. 48, and we do find *aphsarāḥ* in the *Kāśikā* at that place. Similarly under the words *kravyād* and *kravyāda*, *Jayāditya's* view is referred to, and this we find in the *Kāśikā* under III 2 68.

Mādhava quotes Vāmana's and *Jayāditya's* observations in the *Dhātuvṛtti* (*Pandit*, Vol V, New Series, p 346), and these are found in the *Kāśikā* under VIII 2 30, and III 2 59 respectively. Thus then on the evidence of *Mādhava*, *Rāyamukūṭa*, and *Bhaṭṭojī*, the third and fifth chapters of the *Kāśikā* were written by *Jayāditya*, and the seventh and eighth by Vāmana, while the Manuscript before me assigns the sixth chapter also to the latter.

CHAPTERS I-V BY JAYĀDITYA AND VI-VIII BY VĀMANA

On a review of the whole available evidence it appears clear that the author of the first five chapters was *Jayāditya* and of the last three Vāmana. There is an allusion to *Jayāditya* and Vāmana in Professor *Anfrecht's* edition of *Ujvaladatta's* *Upāśisūtra*, under I. 52, but I do not find it in two very old Manuscripts of the work, one dated *Samvat* 1563, and the other *Samvat* or *Vikrama* 1680. Vāmana was according to *Rāyamukūṭa* the author of another work entitled *Lingānusāsana*, and many of the references to Vāmana contained in that commentary on *Amara* must be to that work of Vāmana*. *Itsing*, the Chinese traveller, mentions *Jayāditya* only as the author of the *Kāśikā* (*Professor Max-Müller's* note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature, in "India, what can it teach us?") and not Vāmana. *Jayāditya* probably

* Since the above was put in type, a Manuscript of this work has been discovered by my friend and colleague Prof. Peterson,

left his work incomplete, and it was finished long afterwards by Vāmana who also wrote other philological works.

PRAKRIYĀKAUMUDĪ

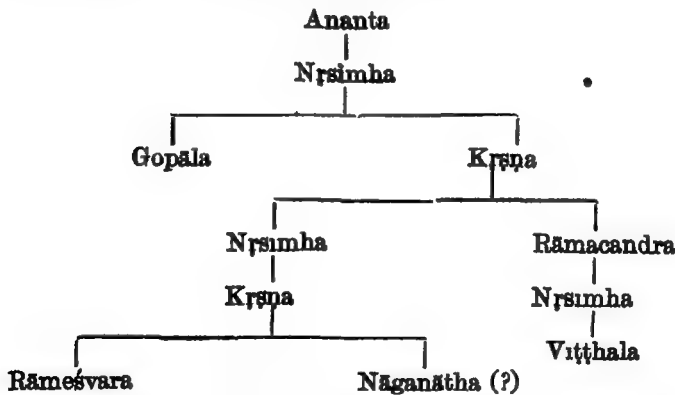
• No. 102 is a Manuscript of the Prakriyākaumudiprasāda or a commentary on the Prakriyākaumudī, by Viṭṭhalācārya, the grandson of Rāmacandrācārya, the author of the work commented on. Rāmacandrācārya is also the author of the Kalanirṇaya-dīpikā, and the commentary on the work usually found is by his son Nṛsiṃhācārya, the father of Viṭṭhalācārya. The commentaries on both the works contain Prasastis giving an account of the family to which the author of the original works and those of the commentaries belonged.

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF THE AUTHOR

The family belonged to the Āndhra country, or in other words it was a family of Tailāṅga Brahmins, devoted to the study of the Ṛgveda and belonging to the Kauṇḍinyagotra. The first person named is Anantācārya from whom a certain holy person (Yatīndravarya) of the name of Rāmasvāmin derived a knowledge of all the Āgamas and to whom the title of Ācārya was given by him. His son was Nṛsiṃhācārya who was proficient in the Nigamas and Āgamas, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Jaiminiya and Gaṇita, wrote a Bhāṣyasāra of the Śrutiś (Upaniṣads), and defeated opponents in argument at the court of a prince. He had sons of whom Gopālācārya was the eldest and Kṛṣṇācārya the youngest. Kṛṣṇācārya was the most learned of them all, being well versed in the eighteen branches of learning, of which Nigama is the first. He explained the Sūtravṛtti at the court of Rāma in the presence of that prince. Kṛṣṇa's sons were Nṛsiṃhācārya and Rāmacandrācārya who was the younger of the two. Rāmacandra's instructor was Gopālācārya and he wrote three works, the Prakriyākaumudī, Vaiṣṇavasiddhānta-saddīpikā, and a treatise on Kāla. Possibly, instead of one he wrote three treatises on Kāla. Nṛsiṃha was Rāmacandra's son

and wrote the commentary on his father's *Kālanirpayadīpikā*. His teacher was *Kṛṣṇācārya* who was the son of the eldest brother of *Rāmacandra*, i.e., *Nṛsimha* in all probability, and who wrote commentaries on some of the *Kāvya*s. *Viṭṭhala*, the author of the *Prasāda*, was the son of *Nṛsimha*, the commentator on the *Kālanirpayadīpikā*. His mother's name was *Maṇikāmbā* and his teacher was *Rāghavendrasarasvatī* who defeated many opponents in argument and established the *Dvāntasiddhānta* (?) At the end of the *Prasāda* *Viṭṭhala* renders his obeisance to *Rāmeśvarācārya*, the son of *Kṛṣṇaguru*, i.e., in all probability *Kṛṣṇa* the teacher of his father, to *Ananta* the son of *Viṭṭhalācāryaguru* who defeated *Vādirāja* in argument, to *Nāganātha* son of *Kṛṣṇa* who defeated *Vāji* (di?) *nātha* and who possessed influence over the "Lord of Kings," and to *Jagannāthāśrama* who was versed in the *Vedānta* of the *Yatī*.

The genealogy is therefore as follows .—



In the history of the family thus given the name of one king only, *Rāma*, is given. This name was borne by several princes of the *Vijayanagara* dynasty and of other dynasties which sprang from it, so that it is impossible to find out who the prince meant was. But the dates of *Rāmacandrācārya* and his son and grandson can be approximately determined with the aid of other evidence.

DATE OF RĀMACANDRĀCĀRYA

The present Manuscript of the Prasāda is dated 1717 Samvat corresponding to 1661 A D A copy of the Kālanirpayadīpikāvarāṇa, No. 92 of my last year's Collection, was transcribed in 1651 Samvat or 1595 A. D., and No. 91 of the same Collection bears a double date, viz., 1621 Samvat and 1486 Śaka, corresponding to 1565 A D There is a Manuscript of the Prakriyākaumudī in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona (No. 324) which also bears a double date, viz., 1583 Samvat and 1448 Śaka or 1527 A D But the lines in which the date is given run thus —“On Tuesday the 13th of the light half of the month of Bhādrapada, the current year being Samvat 1583 and Śaka 1448 [this] was transcribed at Nandigiri by Rāmacandrācāryasuta-suta-suta.” Between the su and the ta of the second suta we have some letter, but there is a mark indicative of erasure on it and the usual upper horizontal stroke is wanting which shows that the letter is not to be read. Thus then that Manuscript was transcribed in 1527 A D, by the son of the son of the son of Rāmacandrācārya, i.e., by his great grandson The Rāmacandrācārya spoken of must be the author of the Prakriyākaumudī, for if he had been another person different from the author, some distinguishing particulars would have been given about him Besides, the Nandigiri where the Manuscript was copied is the same as Nanded situated on the Godāvari in the territory of the Nizam; and the country surrounding it corresponds to the Āndhradeśa in which, as we are told in the Prasastis, the family lived. If, therefore, a great grandson of Rāmacandrācārya lived in 1527 A.D., Rāmacandrācārya himself must have lived about 1450 A D. In the beginning of the work before me, Viṭṭhala adores Śambhu, Pāpini, Vararuci, Śeṣa (i.e. Patañjali), Bharṭṛ and other expounders of the Bhāṣya, the authors of the Vṛtti and the Nyāsa, Bhoja, Durga, and Kṣīrasvāmin.

PARIBHĀṢABHĀSKARA

The only work belonging to this class in the Maratha Section that calls for notice is the Paribhāṣabhāskara by an author of the name of Bhāskara. At the end of the work the author thus gives his pedigree. In the town of Tryambakeśvara lived Paruṣottamabhāṭṭa who belonged to a family of the name of Agnihotrīn. He had a son of the name of Nārībhāṭṭa who appears to have been a Vaidika. His son was Āpājībhāṭṭa who lived at Kāśī and was a physician, and Āpājī's son was Bhāskara. Two collections of Paribhāṣas, one by Śrādeva and the other by Udayamkara have been noticed by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, and this is a third

Bhāskara lived after Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita since he quotes the first line of the opening verse of the Siddhāntakaumudī (Munitrayam namaskṛtya etc). He also quotes Bhaṭṭa and the commentary Jayamaṅgala, the Kāvyaaprakāśa, Mādhavācārya, the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Śrādeva, &c. Some of the Paribhāṣas given in the book do not occur in Nāgojībhāṭṭa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara. Bhāskara divides his work into eight chapters each having four Pādas, the divisions corresponding with those of the Aṣṭadhyāyī; and at the end gives other Paribhāṣas which are mostly based, as he says, on Nyāyas or ordinary principles. The author appears to have lived before Nāgojībhāṭṭa. Another copy of the work is noticed in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts and also another Paribhāṣabhāskara by an author of the name of Śeṣādri

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

RAYAMUKUṬA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA

We have a copy of the Amarakośa in the Śāradā characters (No 110), and an old copy of the Padacandrikā or Rayamukuṭa's

commentary on it dated Samvat 1711. A few leaves of this are missing. At folio 49b of the first part occurs the well-known date of the work, Śaka 1353, corresponding to 1431 A.D.

Rāyamukūṭa quotes a very large number of authors and works. The following names¹ occur in Kāṇḍa I.—

Leaf 2 wanting

Ajayakośa, 14 b 3, 51 a 4, 86 b 3, 96 a 5.

Atiśīla, 54 a 3.

Anunyaśa 12 b 6

Abhinanda, 64 a 2.

Amaradatta (Puinakāṇḍa) 91 a 3

Amaramāla, 5 b 4, 33 a 4, 40 a 3, 48 a 2, 57 a 4, 62 b 5,
78 b 2, 89 a 5, 89 b 6, 90 a 5.

Āgama 22 a 4, 25 a 1, 28 b 4, 35 b 7, 41 b 6.

Āścaryaparvan, 23 b 2.

Āścaryamañjarī, 46 a 3, 86 b 4.

Ugaḍa, 8 a 5.

Ujjvaladatta, 81 b 3, 84 b 5

Upādīvṛttī 31 b 2, 43 b 4.

Utpalnikośa 35 a 4, 52 a 1, 54 b 2, 59 b 1, 77 a 1, 89 a 3.

Udyogaparvan, 13 a 1.

Upādhyāyasarvasva, 15 b 7, 33 b 3, 38 a 5, 50 b 6, 52 b 6.

Ūṣmabheda, 87 a 1, 87 b 4.

Ūṣmaviveka, 44 a 2

Aupanīśadhī 11 a 1

Kalinga, 11 b 3, 12 a 2, 12 b 5, 21 b 6, 25 a 6, 27 a 4,
30 a 3, 32 a 4, 38 a 5, 40 b 7, 41 b 2, 42 b 1, 54 a 3,
61 a 4, 64 a 2, 65 a 1, 67 b 2, 75 a 1, 77 a 3, 81 a 5
& 2, 82 a 1 & 5, 83 b 6, 86 b 2, 87 a 2, 90 a 2, 91 b 2,
95 a 5.

Kāṇḍaśeṣa, 40 a 4.

Kātantra, 22 b 3, 47 b 6

¹ As on a former occasion, the number in *Italics* shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page.—[N. B. U.]

- Kātyāyana, 55 b 5, 60 b 6.
 Kamandakīya, 54 b 6, 55 b 3.
 Kalāpāḥ, 79 b 1.
 Kalidāsa, 30 a 2, 89 a 4.
 Kāśikā, 72 a 4
 Kirāta, 51 b 2.
 Kīcākaavadha, 65 a 1.
 Kumāra, 35 a 2.
 Kumāradāsa, 47 b 1 (Prapāśo Mitrasya prasabhamajani
 Jyēṣṭhavirahaḥ). 65 b 2 (Ravaḥ pragalbhāhatabherisaṁ-
 bhavaḥ prakāśayāmāsa samantataḥ).
 Kumārasambhava, 9 a 1.
 Kaijjaṭa, 12 b 6.
 Kokkṛṭa, 42 b 7, 60 a 6, 84 a 5, 6 and 4, 85 a 4, 87 a 5
 (Kokkṛṭa), 88 b 1, 90 b 3, 91 a 4 & 3, 91 b 1, 95 a 3.
 Kokkara 87 a 4.
 Kolāhalaśārya, 59 b 4, (Writer on Poetics?)
 Kośa, 27 a 1.
 Kaumudī, (a commentary on Amarakośa), 5 b 2, 13 a 4,
 16 a 1, 18 b 3, 18 b 1, 19 b 3, 20 b 2, 22 b 6, 22 b 4,
 24 a 2, 25 a 5, 26 a 1 and 2, 27 b 4, 28 a 6, 28 b 6,
 31 a 3, 31 b 1 and 2, 32 b 2, 34 a 3, 34 b 2, 36 a 7 & 5,
 36 b 4, 37 a 4, 38 b 7, 39 a 2, 41 a 2 and 5, 42 a 2,
 42 b 7, 44 a 3, 44 b 7, 44 b 4, 45 a 5, 50 b 6, 51 a 3 & 5,
 51 b 5, 52 a 6, 52 b 1, 53 a 2 and 6, 54 a 4, 56 a 1 & 4,
 60 a 1 and 3, 61 a 3 and 6, 61 b 1, 62 a 1 and 5, 62 b 6,
 4 and 1, 63 a 2, 63 b 2, 64 a 2 (tasmātkākalīti gaurā-
 ditvādīti Svāmī [m])—Kahṇagādīnam pramāda itī tu
 Kaumudī), 65 a 1, 65 b 4, 66 a 2, 66 b 4, 67 a 3, 68 a 6,
 68 b 2, 68 b 5, 69 a 1, 70 b 2, 71 a 1 and 3, 77 b 4
 77 b 2, 80 a 5, 81 a 4, 84 a 5, 87 a 5, 93 a 6, 96 b 1.
 Kaumudīkāra, 4 b 2, 25 a 2, 72 b 7, 32 b 7, 33 b 1, 42 a 2,
 66 a 6.
 Kṛṣṇavāmin, 5 a 1, 41 a 4, 44 b 7, 53 a 2, 60 a 6, 88 b 5.

Gapitaṇḍāmanau Mahāntāpanīyaraḥjapaṇḍita—Śrīnivāsaḥ,
49 b 6

Gītā, 11 a 4, 12 b 3, 52 a 4.

Govardhana, 6 a 8, 7 a 7.

• Govardhanānanda, 47 b 6.

Govardhanīyoṇādivṛtti, 27 b 1.

Ghaṭākarpāra, 46 b 1.

Ghaṭākarpāra (Pūrva), 81 a 5.

Caraka, 47 a 1

• Cāndra, 9 b 6, 39 b 5, 63 a 1, 79 b 1 (Cāndraḥ).

• Cāndra Sūtra, 39 a 2.

Citrālekṣā (Upakatha), 59 b 6.

Jayāditya, 27 b 5, 27 b 2, 56 b 1.

Jātarūpa, 87 a 2

Jātoka, 44 b 6.

Jānakīharāṇa, 42 a 5, 43 b 5, 56 b 6.

Jāmbavatīvijayakāvyā, 82 b 4 (Payahpraṇtibhūḥ sprṣṭā lānti
vātāḥ śānāḥ śānāḥ).

Jinendrabuddhi, 79 b 3.

Tārāpāla, 89 a 1.

Trikāṇḍa, 87 a 3.

Trikāṇḍāśeṣa, 6 a 5, 11 a 3, 12 a 5, 15 a 3, 21 b 7, 22 a 7,
30 b 6, 31 a 4, 34 a 4, 41 a 4, 47 b 2, 51 a 6, 62 b 5,
70 b 1, 75 a 6, 76 a 1 & 1, 78 a 1, 79 a 1, 83 b 4, 94 a 2.

Daṇḍaka, 58 a 6.

Daṇḍin, 40 b 7, 56 a 3 (a yamaka quoted).

Damayanīcampū, 59 b 4.

Dāmodara, 7 a 7

Devīśataka, 51 a 2.

Dvirūpakosā, 11 b 3, 12 a 2, 16 a 3, 67 b 2, 78 a 1, 78 b 2,
91 b 2, 92 a 4, 93 b 6, 96 a 4.

Dharaṇī, 1 b 6, 47 b 7, 93 a 1.

Dharaṇī, 81 a 3, 84 a 3, 84 b 3.

Dharmakīrtivārtika 57 b 5.

Dharmadāsa, 73 b 2.

Dhātupārayāna, 21 a 6, 22 b 7, 79 b 3.

Dhātupradīpa, 46 a 4, 70 b 1, 83 b 5.

Nandin, 76 a 3.

Naravāhanadatta, 59 b 5

Nāṭakaratnakōśa, 73 a 5

Nānārthakośa 67 b 2 (iti Nānārthakośadarśanaḥ dvitakāra-
pāṭhaḥ prāmāṇikaḥ iti Kalingādayaḥ).

Nāmanidhāna 15 b 8, 22 a 7, 23 b 5, 26 a 5, 37 b 5, 41 a 7,
44 a 3, 44 b 7, 46 b 1, 50 a 5 (Yathāhur Nāmanidhāne
Śrī—Nārāyaṇacarapāṭh), 68 b 1

Nāmamālā, 46 a 3, 48 a 1, 94 b 1.

Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana, 46 b 6

Nārada, 63 b 3.

Nārāyaṇasarvajñācarapāṭh, 41 a 7.

Nirukta, 8 a 5.

Niruktakāra, 10 b 6.

Nīlakapṭhastava, 16 a 4.

Naiṣadha, 73 b 5, 76 a 2.

Nyāsa, 11 b 7, 13 b 2, 27 b 6, 34 a 5

Pañjikā, 11 b 5, 13 a 2 and 5, 21 a 1 and 4, 53 a 5, 67 a 1,
70 a 1, 72 b 1, 73 b 5, 74 b 4, 75 b 5, 77 a 5, 78 a 5 & 3,
78 b 5, 79 a 4, 79 b 1 and 3, 80 a 5, 80 b 1, 81 a 5,
82 b 1, 83 a 3, 83 b 4, 84 a 4, 85 a 3 and 4, 86 a 5,
86 b 1, 87 a 2 and 3, 89 b 2 and 2, 90 a 2, 91 a 3 and 3,
91 b 4, 92 a 5 and 3, 92 b 2, 93 a 4, 94 a 6, 5 and 4,
95 a 3 and 4, 96 b 1.

Pāṇini (Jāmbavatyaṁ) 17 a 3 (Sa pāṇinīdairambaramāpupure)

Pāṇinītantra, 82 a 5.

Pārāyaṇa, 38 a 5, 77 b 3.

Puruṣottama, 7 a 7, 14 a 2, 22 b 4, 28 a 6, 47 b 2, 61 a 6.

Pūrpacandra, 73 b 1.

Pūrvakaviprayoga (Śākhaśiśo jaladhimaṇḍalamālavālam)
91 b 4.

Paurāṇikāḥ, 16 b 1, 33 b 4

Prācīnācāryāḥ, 60 b 6.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 58 a 2

*Buddhacarita 6 a 6.

• Brhatkathā (Pāṇini) 59 b 5

Bṛhadamarakośa, 14 b 1

Bṛhaddhāravali, 19 b 2

Bopāla 48 b 5

Bopālita 11 b 7, 17 a 7, 18 a 4, (Strikāṇḍa) 39 a 4, 47 a 6,

• 48 b 6, 54 b 1, 68 a 5, 84 b 3, 87 a 6, 96 b 4

• Bhaṭṭa 53 a 6, 59 a 1, 61 a 5, 61 b 1, 68 b 5, 71 b 4, 76 b 6,
78 a 3 and 5, 80 b 4 & 6, 83 b 1, 91 a 4, 96 b 6

Bhaṭṭasvāmīn 17 a 1, 66 a 6

Bhaṭṭi 19 b 7, 21 b 7, 25 a 3, 34 a 4, 37 a 1, 43 b 4, 45 a 4,
51 b 4, 55 b 2, (Grammar) 56 b 2, 62 b 4.

Bharata 69 b 3 & 5, 72 b 6

Bhavabhūti, 65 a 4, 89 b 5

Bhāgavṛtti 6 a 4, 36 a 4.

Bhāgavṛttikṛt 70 a 5

Bhāguri 8 a 3, 24 a 3, 30 b 1, 35 a 7, 61 b 6, 89 b 6

Bhārata 16 b 6, 23 b 2, 24 a 4, 37 b 3, 92 b 2

Bhāravi, 38 a 2, 44 a 1, 71 a 5, 71 b 5, 74 b 6, 95 b 6

Bhāṣavṛtti, 5 a 1, 56 b 1

Bhāṣya, 17 a 6, 56 b 2.

Bhīma 50 b 6.

Bhīmasena 95 a 1

Bhoja 30 a 4, 38 b 6, (Bhojarāja) 56 a 3

Matsyapurāṇa, 59 b 3.

Madhumādhava 5 a 1, 12 b 2, 53 a 6

Manu 6 b 6, 10 a 6, 10 b 4, 25 a 2, 60 a 3.

Mantravarpa 10 b 3.

Mahākavīprayoga (Yanmekhalā bhavati Mekhalāsailaputrī)
92 b 3.

Mahimnaḥ stotra 11 a 2

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Magha, 5 a 4, 6 a 1, 11 a 5, 12 a 6, 14 a 6, 21 b 4, 23 b 1,
24 a 3, 25 b 1, 33 b 3, 38 a 4, 41 b 3, 43 b 2, 44 a 1,
44 b 7, 48 a 3, 48 b 4, 51 b 5. 57 a 6 and 4, 60 b 3,
68 a 2, 70 b 5, 71 a 6 and 4, 75 a 3, 75 b 1, 83 a 4,
84 a 4 and 7, 84 b 1, 91 b 3.

Madhava 70 b 3, 94 b 6

Madhavikā 59 b 1

Madhavi 10 a 1, 18 a 5, 23 a 5, 85 a 1, 86 a 1, 93 a 2

Mārkaṇḍeypurāṇa 18 a 3, 23 b 4, 26 a 6, 31 b 4.

Medini 14 a 5, 33 a 1, 35 a 4, 48 a 6, 51 b 5, 89 a 4, 90 b 4,
95 a 3, 95 b 1, 96 b 1 and 5

Medinikāra, 57 b 4, 82 b 5.

Maitreya, 9 a 7, 14 b 7, 39 a 6, 61 a 6.

Yājñavalkya, 78 b 2

Yogeśvara, 92 a 5

Raghu, 29 a 7, 32 b 7, 34 a 3, 35 a 3, 51 b 2, 58 b 3, 74 b 5,
92 a 3 and 6.

Ratnakośa, 3 b 1, 21 b 6, 24 b 5, 25 a 1, 35 a 1, 40 a 3,
49 a 6, 54 b 1, 61 a 6, 65 b 3, 67 b 1, 70 b 2 and 4,
71 b 2, 82 a 2, 87 a 3

Ratnamālā 5 b 2 (quoted in Kaumudī)

Rantideva, 6 a 5, 39 b 4

Rabhasa, 14 a 4 and 3, 15 b 2, 21 a 7, 23 a 3, 30 a 4, 40 a 6,
42 a 2, 45 b 4, 48 a 5, 56 b 1, 57 a 5, 57 b 7, 67 b 4,
70 b 6, 73 b 3, 75 b 5, 79 b 1, 82 a 3, 87 b 6, 88 a 4,
94 b 1.

Rasavajjumara 22 b 3

Rajadeva, 5 a 4, 5 b 1, 31 b 5

Rājasekhara, 76 b 1, 77 a 4, 96 a 2

Rāmadāsāṭikā 25 a 5

Rāmānuśāsana, 57 b 5

Rāmāyana 5 b 4, 6 a 2, 38 b 6, 39 b 7

Rudra, 42 a 2, 47 b 1 (Kośa), 51 b 1, 56 b 1, 80 b 4, 86 a 2,
95 b 4.

Rūpamañjarī, 20 a 6.

Rūparatnākara, 47 b 6, 85 a 1.

Līṅgapurāṇa, 49 b 1.

• Lāṅga, 49 b 5.

Vatseśvara 22 b 5.

Vararuci, 42 b 5, 44 a 4.

Varāha, 48 a 3.

Varṇaviveka, 39 a 1

Vācaspati, 18 a 2, 26 b 6, 38 b 5, 40 a 6, 80 a 2, 81 a 5,

• 91 a 1, 95 a 1.

Vāmana, 4 b 1, 21 b 4, 24 a 5, 42 b 1, 49 a 6, 57 b 1, 82 a 2.

Vāyupurāṇa, 18 b 4, 19 b 6 and 2, 23 b 3, 28 b 3, 30 b 3,
80 a 6.

Vāsavadatta, 22 a 1, 40 b 6, 44 a 5, 51 a 2, 59 b 4, 62 b 3,
67 a 3, 81 b 3, 89 a 2, 95 b 5, 96 a 4, 96 b 4

Vikramāditya, 76 b 3.

Vidagdhamukhamandana, 44 b 6, 51 a 3, 60 a 2

Vindhyavāsini, 46 a 4.

Viśakha, 71 a 4.

Vaiśakhinaḥ, 63 b 1

Viśva, 15 b 2, 20 b 1, 25 b 3, 49 a 1, 79 a 3, 95 a 4.

Viśvaprakāśa, 95 a 6

Viṣṇupurāṇa, 12 a 6, 12 b 2, 50 a 3

Viṣṇupurāṇaṭīkā, 11 b 3

Vṛtti (Grammar) 4 b 1, 5 b 6, 88 a 5 and 2.

Vṛndāvana, 57 b 6, 76 a 2

Veṇīsamhāra, 42 b 3.

Vaiyākaraṇaḥ, 33 b 4

Vaiśeṣikāḥ, 32 b 4, 53 a 2

Vyākhyāmṛta, 19 a 4

Vyādi, 1 b 2, 8 b 7, 9 a 6, 23 b 2, 34 b 2, 37 b 4, 38 a 1,
39 a 3, 94 b 5

Vyāsa, 24 b 6, 59 b 3.

• Śatapatha, 24 a 4.

Śabarasvāmin, 28 a 6, 64 a 3, 76 a 3.

Śabdānuśāsana, 58 a 4.

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Śabdārpavakāra, 4 b 5, 67 b 6.

Śakaṭāyana 6 a 4

Śakaṭāyanīyavṛtti, 76 a 3.

Śabdikanarasūha, 76 b 2.

Śālihotra, 25 b 3

Śāsvata 9 b 1, 38 a 1, 50 a 2

Śivabhadra, 62 a 4 (a yamaka)

Śūdraka, 59 b 5.

Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, 24 b 8, 35 a 3, 55 b 4.

Śrīdhara, 12 a 2, 23 a 4, 25 b 2, 40 a 6, 41 b 2

Śruti, 11 b 2, 16 b 5, 26 a 3, 26 b 3, 41 a 6

Saṁkṣiptabhārata, 10 b 1.

Samsārāvarta, 17 a 4, 21 b 5, 24 b 5, 27 b 5, 28 a 2, 28 b 5, 41 b 5, 81 a 3, 83 a 5, 89 a 1

Sarvadhara, 1 b 9, 9 a 4 and 1, 17 a 1, 23 a 1, 30 a 1, 41 b 4, 42 a 3, 44 a 2, 44 b 7, 53 a 2, 55 b 5, 56 a 6, 66 a 6, 67 b 3, 68 b 3, 69 a 2, 75 b 2, 79 a 4, 80 a 4, 80 b 3, 81 b 1, 83 b 4 and 2, 84 a 5 and 4, 86 a 5, 86 b 3, 87 a 6 and 5, 89 b 1, 2 and 5, 92 b 1, 5, 4 and 2, 93 a 2, 94 b 3, 95 a 3, 95 b 3, 96 a 2 and 1.

Sarvānanda, 13 a 6, 28 b 1, 29 b 5, 31 b 6, 35 b 1, 38 a 6, 38 b 5, 42 b 4, 45 a 4, 53 a 6, 55 a 2, 62 b 6, 64 b 1, 72 b 1, 74 b and 3, 77 a 4, 78 b 2, 80 b 1, 81 a 2, 85 a 4,

85 b 3 and 1, 91 a 6, 94 a 4.

Sāṃkhya, 53 a 4.

Sāmbapurāṇa, 14 a 2, 16 a 7, 28 a 3, 41 a 6

Sārasvatakōśa, 96 a 3

Sahasāṅka, 29 a 1, 34 b 3, 43 a 2.

Sundarānandacarita, 9 b 5.

Subhūti, 9 b 7, 11 b 5 and 1, 18 b 1, 36 a 2, 38 b 6, 46 b 5,
61 a 1, 72 b 4, 73 b 1, 74 a 4, 75 b 1, 80 a 2, 83 b 2,
91 a 5.

Somanandin, 43 b 5, 51 a 4, 87 a 2, 92 a 6, 95 a 5

Skānda 15 b 1, 5 and 5, 16 a 8, 16 b 1 and 2, 17 b 1, 19 a 4
Smṛti, 86 a 5, 93 a 1.

Svāmīn, 13 a 5, 13 b 5, 15 a 2 and 3, 15 b 3, 16 a 6, 4 and 2,
16 b 2, 17 a 2, 18 a 4, 18 b 4, 19 b 5 and 2, 20 a 3 and
4, 20 b 6 and 1, 21 a 2, 21 b 4 and 5, 22 a 1, 22 a 4,
22 a 6 and 6, 22 b 3 and 1, 23 a 4 and 3, 23 b 4, 6 and
5, 24 a 4, 24 b 2, 25 a 5, 25 b 1, 5, 6 and 3, 26 a 6, and
3, 26 b 2, 27 a 6, 2 and 1, 28 b 4, 29 a 2, 30 b 2 and 2,
31 a 2, 7, 4 and 3, 31 b 5 and 1, 32 a 2, 3, 5, 6 and 5,
33 b 6, 5, and 1, 34 a 1, 3 (twice) and 6, 35 a 4, 35 b 2,
36 a 4, 36 b 4, 37 a 2 and 5, 37 b 6, 38 a 3, 5 and 4, 39
a 7, 39 b 2, 6 and 1, 40 a 1, 3, 4, 7 and 4,
40 b 1, 41 a 6, 3 and 2, 41 b 3 and 2, 43 a 5 and 1, 43
b 4, 44 b 1, 45 b 6, 46 a 2 and 6, 46 b 6, 48 a 6, 51 a 3,
52 a 1, 52 b 7 and 4, 56 a 1 and 6, 57 a 5 and 2,
59 a 2, 59 b 2, 60 b 1, 62 a 6, 63 b 3, 64 a 4 and 2,
64 b 1 and 1, 66 b 5, 75 b 2, 76 b 4 and 5, 77 a 1, 78 b 1,
79 a 1, 4, 5 and 2, 79 b 3, 80 a 5 and 3, 81 b 3, 82 a 6,
82 b 4 and 5, 83 a 3, 83 b 2, 3 and 3, 84 a 1, 5 and 6,
86 a 1, 87 a 1, 88 a 5, 88 b 1, 89 b 1, 5, 6 and 2, 90 b 2,
91 a 3 and 3, 91 b 5, 92 a 2, 93 a 3, 6 and 2, 93 b 1, 94
a 5 and 2, 94 b 3 and 5, 96 a 1, 96 b 1

Haṭṭacandra, 27 b 4.

Haḍucandra, 6 a 7, 14 a 1, 34 a 6, 41 a 5, 60 a 6 and 8, 66 a 5,
70 b 2, 71 a 4.

Hariprabodha, 34 a 6, 80 a 1, 84 b 2.

Harivamśa, 11 a 7, 12 a 2, 24 a 2

Harṣacarita, 59 b 1.

Halasyudha 17 b 2, 75 b 4, 79 b 4.

Hārāvali, 39 b 4.

The following names occur in Kāṇḍas II and III:—¹

AUTHORS

Ajaya	Dāmodara
Abhinanda	Durga (Durgokta Līṅgānu- śāsana); also quoted as Durgasirha
Amaradatta	Dhanamjaya
Arunadatta (identical with the commentator of Aṣṭāṅ- gahrdaya?)	Dhanvantari
Kaṣyaṭa	Dharmadāsa (author of Vidagdhamukhamandana)
Kaliṅga	Dharmasena
Kāṭya	Pāṇini
Kāṭyāyana	Puruṣottama
Kāmandaka	Purnacandra
Kalidāsa	Bāṇa
Kokaṭa	Bālapāṇḍitaśatakam
Kauṭalya	Bopālita
Govardhana	Bhaṭṭa
Grahakṛṣṇa	Bharata
Candra	Bhavabhūti
Candragomin	Bhāguri
Caraka	Bhāravi
Jātarūpa	Bhāṣyakāra
Jinendrabuddhi	Bhīmasena
Tārāpāla	Śrī Bhoja
Daṇḍin	

¹ This list was drawn up by Pandit Durgaprasad and is printed as a Supplement in the Original Report at pp. 467-78. [N B. U.]

Manu	Vyāsa
Māgha	Śabara (also Śabarasvāmin)
Mādhava	Śakaṭāyana
Murāri	Śatātapa
• Maitreya	Śābdika
Maudgalyāyana	Śālihotra
Yājñavalkya	Śāśvata
Rakṣita	Śubhāṅga
Rantadeva	Śūdraka
Rṣadeva	Śrīkara
Rājasekhara	Śrīdhara
Rudra	Śrīharṣa
Vararuci	Sanātana
Varāha	Sarvadhara
Vācaspati	Sarvānanda
Vātsyāyana (author of the Kāmasūtra)	Sāhasānka
Vāmana	Subhūti
Vikramāditya	Somanandi
Vṛddha Ṛṣi	Svāmin
Vyādi	Haṭṭacandra
	Halāyudha

WORKS

Anunyaśa	Upādivṛtti ("Upādivṛttau Puruṣottamaḥ").
Anekārthamañjarī	Uṣnaviveka
Abhidhānamālā	Kaṇṭhabhūṣaṇakāvyaśālikāra
Amaramālā	Kapṣhīpābhyaṇdaya (also Kapṣhīnā, ^o & Kapṣhīnā ^o)
Arthasāstra	Kalpalatā (same as the next ? sometimes simply Latā)
Āsvatantra	Kavīkalpalatā
Āśvasāstra	
Āṅgakośa	
Āścaryamañjarī ¹	

¹ According to a verse attributed to Rājasekhara in the Śūktimuktāvalī, the author of the Āścaryamañjarī was Kulasekhara.

Kātantrapañjikā	Nairukta (also Niruktam)
Kādambarī	Naṣadha
Kāvyaaprakāśa	Nyāsa
Kāvyaśārṅga ("Kāvyaśārṅge Vāmanaḥ ")	Pañjikā
Kirāta	Padacandrikā (i.e., the Com. on Amarakośa by Rāya- mukṣa himself)
Kīcakavadha (quoted also in Ujvaladatta's Upādisūtra- vṛtti)	Pārāyana ¹ (same as Dhātu- pārāyana ?)
Kumārasambhava	Bhāṭṭi
Kesaramālā	Bhārata
Kaumudī	Bhārataṭīkā
Gaṇitasastra	Madhumādhavi
Cāpakyaṭīkā	Madhavi
Cāndravyākaraṇa	Meghadūta
Ṭippaṇī	Medini
Ṭikāsamuccayasāra	Yogaśatakavyākhyā
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa	Raghu
Dara (?Hara?) vilāsa	Ratnakośa
Durghaṭavṛtti	Ratnamālā ²
Deśikośa	Rabhasa
Dvīrūpakośa	Rāmāyana
Dharaṇī	Rupabheda
Dhātupārāyana	Rūpamañjarī
Dhātupradīpa	Rūparatnākara
Dhātupradīpaṭīkā	Lingakārikā
Nāmaprapaṇica	Varpaśeṣaṇā
Nāmamālā	Vāyupurāṇa
Nāmānuśāsana	Va (Pa) lakāpya
Nigama	Vāsavadattā

1 The author of the Pārāyana is Pūrṇacandra as stated in the explanation of the word Jayanti

2 The author is Mādhava, as is to be concluded from the com. on the word Jānu.

Vidagdhamukhamāṇḍana	Saṁsārāvarta
Viśva	Septakumārīkā
Vṛddhanyāsa	Sa-bheda (see Śa-bheda and Śa-bheda, above)
Vṛndāvanayamaka	Sarvasva
Vyākhyāmṛta	Sahasraṇāmāṭikā
Śabdārpava	Sūsruta
Śa-bheda (same as Śa-bheda and Sa-bheda mentioned below ?)	Sūtrabhāṣya
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa	Sūdasāstra
Śa-bheda (see Śa-bheda above)	Harivamśa
	Hārāvālī

POETICS AND METRICS

COMMENTARIES ON THE RASAMAṆJARĪ

In this class we have in the Maratha Section a copy of a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasamaṇjarī by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, the son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha (No 662). In Dr Burnell's Tanjor Catalogue, Śeṣacintāmaṇi is given as the name of a work under Śatakas and Anthologies, but there must be some mistake. Śeṣa is a family name and Cintāmaṇi, of an individual belonging to that family. In the Gujarat Section there is another commentary on the same work by one Viśveśvara. It is a very full commentary but the Manuscript is incomplete being about two-thirds of the whole.

No 663 is a commentary on the Śrutabodha by Manohara who composed it at the request of a prince of the name of Māṇikyamalla.

MĪMĀMSĀ

No 125 is a fragment of Śābarasvāmīn's Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṃsāsūtra. A complete copy of the work was purchased by me for Government in 1879.

SUCARITAMISRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ŚLOKAVĀETIKĀ

No 120 is a Manuscript of a work called at the end of some of the sections, Kāśikāṭikā composed by Upādhyāya Sucaritamīśra.

Many of its leaves are lost. On comparing different portions of the Manuscript with Kumārila's Tantravārtika, I find that this Tīkā is a commentary on the Śloka-vārtika or the first Pāda of the first chapter of the Tantravārtika. The Śloka-vārtika thus appears to have been called Kāśikā. Or perhaps, Kāśikā is a mistake for Kārikā, and this work is the same as that put down as No 8 in the Report of the examination of Ahmedabad Manuscripts. This commentary is not mentioned in Dr Hall's Index, neither is there a copy of it among the Tanjor Manuscripts catalogued by Dr Burnell

SOMEŚVARA'S NYĀYASUDHĀ

No 123 is a copy of the second Pāda of the third chapter of the Nyāyasudhā, a commentary on Kumārila's Tantravārtika, by Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava. A Manuscript of the second Pāda of the first chapter of this work has been purchased since

KAMALĀKARA'S COMMENTARY ON THE TANTRAVĀRTIKA

No. 122 is a copy of the first Pāda of the second chapter of a commentary on the Tantravārtika by Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa and grandson of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, and author of the Nirṇayasindhu and other works. The first leaf is missing

OTHER WORKS

No 667 is a fragment of the Mīmāṃsā-bālaprakāśa or substance of Jaimini's work by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa. No 124 is a Manuscript of the well-known manual of the Mīmāṃsā by Kṛṣṇapāyana, and No. 121 of the first four chapters of Mādhava's Adhikaraṇa-paratnamālā.

PIṢṬAPAŚUMIMĀMSĀ

No. 666 is Piṣṭapaśumimāmsā by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. The followers of Mādhva maintain that in this Kaliyuga, the killing

of animals at sacrifices is not allowed, but that an effigy of an animal should be made of the flour of grain, and that sacrificed, instead of the real animal. Practically, whenever a Madhva performs a sacrifice he uses such an effigy, and not a live animal. This view is defended and shown to be in accordance with the Śāstras by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in the tract before us.

He does admit that the Vedas enjoin the sacrifice of a real animal, and though the act is, per se, sinful, still, because enjoined by the Vedas for sacrificial purposes, it is not so. But the reason why it is not sinful in this case is that its original sinfulness is neutralized by the holy rites that are performed, just as charms neutralize the effects of snake-poison. As, therefore, the charms must be correctly muttered and properly used in order that they may neutralize the poison, so the rites must be performed with perfect accuracy, exactly as they are laid down in the Vedas, in order that they may neutralize the sinfulness consequent on the destruction of animal life. Such a perfect accuracy and a perfectly faithful observance of all the conditions laid down in the Vedas are not possible in this age of ignorance and human frailty. So that, at the present day the destruction of life at sacrifices cannot but be productive of sin. Therefore it is that Manu has laid down that effigies of animals should be made of ghee or flour and sacrificed instead of real animals (Manu V 37). Kullūkabhaṭṭa's explanation of this verse is pronounced by Nārāyaṇa to be wrong. This is the text on which the advocates of Piṣṭapaśu take their stand, but their doctrine is cried down as heterodox by Brahmans of other sects, and there are treatises written in refutation of it.

VEDĀNTA AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF THEOSOPHY

I—ADVAITA OR ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

COMMENTARIES ON THE UPANISADS ETC.

No 136 is a copy of Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Kena Upaniṣad. No. 148 is a commentary on the Śvetāśvatara by

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Vijnānabhikṣu. The first two leaves are wanting, and similarly one or two at the end are missing Nos. 132, 136, 144 and 674 also belong to this branch.

COMMENTARIES ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

No 671 is a fragment of Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya with the Ratnaprabhā. No. 143 is a concise but clear commentary on the Sūtra entitled Brahmāmṛtavarṣiṇī The author is spoken of as Rāmakṛṣṇavārya, pupil of Mukunda Govinda, but in some Manuscripts of the work, his name is given as Rāmānandasarasvatī. Copies of this work are by no means rare, there being two in previous Collections, and one or two offered to me since, having been rejected by me

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA

Nos. 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138 and 139 belong to this branch. Of these No. 135 is written in the Śāradā character, and Nos 131, 133, 134, and 139 are also of a Kāśmīr origin No 138 is the Tripurīprakaraṇa with Ānandajñāna's Commentary It treats of the three bodily vestments of the soul, corresponding with the three conditions of wakefulness, dreamy sleep, and sound sleep.

WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA

KĀŚMĪR TEXT OF THE PAÑCADAŚĪ

Nos. 141 and 145 are written in the Śāradā characters The first is a complete copy of Vidyāranya's Pañcadaśī with the commentary of Rāmakṛṣṇa. The Pañcadaśī has been printed several times on this side of the country, but No 141 has been purchased as a representative of the Kāśmīr text of the work

No 145 is called Vedāntasāra but it is not the work usually known by that name, and begins with an exposition of the text Tattvamasi

No 127 is a fragment of a work called Advaitacandrikā by Brahmānandasarasvatī, pupil of Nārāyaṇatīrtha and Parama-

nanda, and No. 128 is a copy of a large portion of the Advaitalaghucandrikā, by the same author. This last is an exposition of the Advaitasiddhi of Madhusūdanasarasvatī, and in the introduction the author seems to say that this exposition contains in an abridged form what he has written in the Candrikā, that is, the first work, and hence it is that he calls it Laghucandrikā or abridged Candrikā.

No. 137 is Tattvānusaṁdhāna by Mahādevasarasvatī, pupil of Svayaṁprakāśananda.

No. 149 is Tantradīpikā, otherwise called Sarvopaniṣatsāra, which in the colophon is attributed to Śaṅkarācārya. But in the body of the tract the authors of the Vivaraṇa, the Saṁkṣepa-sāriraka, and the Vārtikas as well as the Mīśra (i.e. Vācaspati), are mentioned, wherefore it cannot be the work of Śaṅkarācārya.

No. 146 is an incomplete copy of a work entitled Vedānta-siddhāntabheda. It expounds the varied views on certain points such as the nature of Māyā, Jīva, Upādāna, &c., held by different writers belonging to the school of Śaṅkarācārya. There is far from agreement between them though the system followed by them all, is generally the same. For instance, the question is raised, "Brahman being the only reality, and the animal spirit or individual soul being Brahman equally with God, to what is the distinction between them due?" This question is, according to our author, thus answered by various writers. In the Prakāśārthavivaraṇa, it is stated that the uncreated, undefinable, constituent cause of objects is Māyā which stands in a certain relation to the principle of Absolute Thought (Cintāmatra). Absolute Thought or Cit as reflected in that Māyā is God (Īśvara), while, as reflected in the innumerable definite or determined parts of that Māyā, which are called Avidyā, and which possess the powers of hiding the true nature of the spirit and of generating appearances, it is the animal spirit (Jīva).

The view, propounded in the *Tattvaviveka*—the first of the fifteen essays which compose the *Pañcadaśī*—is that the original constituent cause which is made up of the three principles of *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, has two forms, in one of which the *Sattva* or principle of goodness is predominant, not being over-powered by *Rajas* or the principle of action, and *Tamas* or the principle of evil, and in the other it is so over-powered and is impure. The first is *Māyā* and the second is *Avidyā* and absolute Thought as reflected in them, becomes God and the animal spirit respectively.

Some say, that the original constituent cause, when the power of generating appearances is predominant in it, is *Māyā* and "it is the environment (*Upādhi*) of God, while, when the power of concealing the true nature is predominant, the same original cause is *Avidyā*, and in this form it is the environment of the animal spirit. Hence it is that the animal spirit is ignorant of his real Brahman nature, while God is not.

The author of the *Samkṣepasāriraka* holds that the original cause is the environment or *Upādhi* of God, while its effects are the environment of the animal spirit. But the relation between these environments and Absolute Thought is not like that of *Ākāśa* or space to the jar in which it is enclosed, but like that of a mirror to the thing which is reflected in it. Thus Absolute Thought, as reflected in the original cause, which is *Avidyā*, is God, and as reflected in the mind or the cognitive apparatus (*Antahkarana*), which is an effect of *Avidyā*, it is the animal spirit. According to these views, final deliverance consists in abandoning the conditions of reflections or images and attaining to the condition of the thing which is reflected, i.e., of Absolute Thought.

Our author then proceeds to the more recondite and detailed explanations given in other treatises, into these I need not enter, my object being simply to illustrate the large variety

of theories that obtains even within the boundaries of the system of the Vedānta promulgated by Śamkarācārya.

PAKHAṆḌACAPEṬĪKĀ

No 142 is Pakhaṇḍacapeṭikā or "a slap on the face of heretics." The heretics who come in for this treat at the hands of the author Vijaya-Rāmācārya, are the followers of Madhva. Their getting their bodies branded with heated seals of the Śaṅkha or conch-shell and the Cakra or discus of Viṣṇu is the principal subject of the attack. The text from the Vedas and the Purāṇas adduced by the Mādhvas in favour of their practice are declared to be forgeries, and in some cases, explained in a manner different from that in which they are understood by the members of that sect. The author then adduces his own texts in condemnation of the practice and consigns the Mādhvas to the tortures of hell. The tract ends with a quotation from the Kurmapurāṇa representing Śamkarācārya as an incarnation of Śiva and recommending his system to those who seek eternal happiness.

No 129, 140, 147, 668, 669, 670, 672 and 673 also belong to this branch of the Advaita Vedānta

II—VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA OR RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM

No 153 is a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja's system is principally followed in Southern India in the Tamil and also in the Telugu country, and a good many works belonging to it have been printed in Madras in the Telugu character. The system has also a pretty considerable following in Rajaputana and Marwar and also in Gujarath, and therefore the Manuscripts in this Collection purchased in the North are written in the Nāgarī character. No. 153 was transcribed in 1792 Samvat

THE ARTHAPAṆCĀKA

No. 152 is a copy of the Arthapañcaka by Nārāyaṇaparivrat. This is a summary of the topics belonging to the system which

primarily are five, each being divisible again into five. The five principal ones are (I) Jiva, i.e., animal spirit or dependent spirit, (II) Īśvara, i.e., God, (III) Upāya, i.e., the way to God; (IV) Phala or Puruṣārtha, i.e., the end of life, and (V) Virodhinaḥ, i.e., obstructions to the attainment of God

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK

(I)—Jivas are of five kinds, viz (1) Nitya i.e., those who never entered on Saṁsāra or the succession of lives and deaths at all, such as Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and others, (2) Mukta, i.e., those who have shaken off the fetters of life and whose sole purpose and joy is attendance (Karmikarya) on God, (3) Kevala, i.e., those whose hearts being purified are fixed on the highest truth and who are thus free from the succession of births and deaths, (4) Mumukṣu, i.e., those who having experienced the misery of life are averse to its enjoyments and have fixed their desire only on the highest end, viz, the attainment of the condition of an attendant on God, and (5) Baddha, i.e., those who devoting themselves to the life whether of a god, man, or brute that their previous merits or demerits (Karman) have assigned to them, seek only the enjoyments of such a life and are averse to the joys of Brahma(n)

(II)—The manifestations of Īśvara or God are five, viz, (1) Para, i.e., he who lives in Vaikuṇṭha and whose presence is enjoyed by the Nitya and Mukta spirits who dwell near him, who is unbeginning and endless, who wears celestial ornaments, celestial garments, and celestial weapons, who possesses celestial beauty and an endless number of holy attributes, and who is accompanied by Śrī, Bhū, and Līlā, (2) Vyūha, i.e., the forms of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Anuruddha assumed for the creation, protection, and dissolution of the world, (3) Vibhava, i.e., incarnations such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa for the establishment of Truth, the protection of the good and the destruction of the

wicked; (4) Antaryāmin, who has two forms, in one of which he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading, and the store of all good attributes and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, &c, and in the other, he possesses a body bearing celestial weapons such as a conch-shell and a discus, and celestial ornaments, dwells in the heart of man, is the store of all good attributes, and is known by the names of Hṛikeśa, Puṇṣottama, Vāsudeva, &c, and (5) Arcā, i e, idols of stone, metal, &c, in which he dwells and allows himself to be worshipped by his devotees

In the Yatindramatadīpikā to be noticed below and in other places, the Vyūhas are given as four, Vāsudeva possessed of the six great attributes, being the first, Saṃkarṣaṇa possessed of two, viz, Jñāna and Bala, being the second, Pradyumna having Aiśvarya and Virya, the third, and Aniruddha possessed of Śakti and Tejas, the fourth. The first Vyūha is assumed in order that it may serve as an object of devotion, and the other three for the creation, &c, of the world. In the present work the Vāsudeva Vyūha is put down as the second form of the Antaryāmin

(III)—The Upāyas or ways to God are five, viz, (1) Karma-yoga, (2) Jñānayoga, (3) Bhaktiyoga, (4) Prapattiyoga, and (5) Ācāryābhīmānayoga. Under the first comes the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smārta or domestic ceremonies along with the fasts and observances, by going through which the person is purified. Then by means of Yama, Niyama, &c, mentioned in the Yoga Śāstra, one should concentrate his mind upon himself. This concentration leads to Jñānayoga, which consists in fixing the mind on Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva described in the Vāsudeva Vyūha as the person on whom one's own self, on which the mental powers have already been concentrated, depends. Thus the devotee arrives at God through himself. The Jñānayoga leads to Bhaktiyoga which consists in continuously seeing nothing but God. Prapatti is resorted to by

those who cannot avail themselves of or are not equal to the first three methods. It consists in throwing one's self entirely on the mercy of God. There are many details given which need not be reproduced here. The last method, Ācāryābhi-mānayoga, is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor, and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance, as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

(IV.)—The Puruṣārthas are five, viz., (1) Dharma, (2) Artha, (3) Kāma, (4) Kaivalya, and (5) Mokṣa. The first three do not differ from those ordinarily called by those names, and the last two are the conditions attained by the Kevala and Mukta spirits (I, 3 and 2 above.)

(V.)—The Virodhins are five, viz., (1) Svasvarūpavirodhin, i.e., that which prevents one's own real or spiritual nature from being seen, such as the belief that the body is the soul, (2) Parasvarūpavirodhin, or that which prevents one's approach to the true God, such as devotion to another or false deity or disbelief in God's incarnations, (3) Upāyavirodhin, or that which prevents the true ways from being resorted to, as the belief in ways other than those mentioned above being more efficacious or in the latter being inadequate, (4) Puruṣārthavirodhin or attachment to other than the true or highest object of life, (5) Prāptavirodhin, i.e., the being connected with a body that one's own Karman has entailed or with other spirits who are so embodied.

YATĪNDRAMATADĪPIKĀ

No. 154 is a Manuscript of the Yatīndramatadīpikā in which the whole system of the Yatīndra or Rāmaṇuja is briefly explained. The author is Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindācārya of

the Vādhula family The following persons are mentioned in the beginning as the propounders of the system —

Vyāsa	Draṁiḍācārya
Bodhayana	Śrīparāṅkuśanātha
• Guhadeva	Yāmunamuni
Bhāruci	Yatīśvara
Brahmānandin	

At the end the author states that in his explanation of the doctrines of the sect he has followed the following works —

• Draṁiḍabhāṣya	Darśanayāthātmyanirṇaya
Nyāyasiddhi	Nyāyasāra
Siddhitraya	Tattvadīpa
Śrībhāṣya	Tattvanirṇaya
Dīpasārasaṁgraha	Sarvārthasiddhi
Bhāṣyavivarāṇa	Nyāyaparīśuddhi
Samgatimālā	Nyāyasiddhajñāna
Ṣaḍarthasaṁkṣepa	Paramatābhāṅga
Śrūtaprakāśikā	Tattvatrayacūluka
Tattvaratnākara	Tattvanirūpāṇa
Prajñāparitrāṇa	Tattvatrayavyākhyāna
Prameyasamgraha	Caṇḍamāruta
Nyāyakulīśa	Vedāntavijaya
Nyāyasudarśana	Pārāśaryavijaya

And others

The last in the first list or Yatīśvara is Rāmānuja, and his work, the Śrībhāṣya, is the fourth in this This is so because the followers of Rāmānuja believe that the system was taught by several teachers who flourished before Rāmānuja Rāmānuja himself states at the beginning of the Bhāṣya that the Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtra written by Bodhayana was abridged by his predecessors, and among these Draṁiḍācārya is mentioned in the Śrūtaprakāśikā, the commentary on the Bhāṣya

DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF THE TOPICS BELONGING TO
RĀMANUJA'S SYSTEM

Śrinivāsa then proceeds to indicate the variety of views entertained by different classes of writers. The Sūris admit only one entity (Tattva), the R̥ṣis divide it into two, Ātman and Anātman, and the Ācāryas professing to follow the Śruti propound three Tattvas or entities, viz., (1) Bhogya or what is to be enjoyed or suffered, (2) Bhoktr, the enjoyer or sufferer, (3) Niyantṛ or the ruler and controller. Some Ācāryas teach the system under the four heads of (1) Heya or what is to be shunned, (2) the means of keeping it off, (3) Upādeya or what is to be sought and secured, and (4) its means. Other teachers (Deśikas) divide the subject into five parts, viz., (1) what is to be attained or got at (Prāpya), (2) he who attains it (Prāptṛ), (3) the means of attainment (Upāya), (4) the fruits or objects of life (Phala), and (5) obstructions or impediments. These are the five topics or Arthapañcaka described above as given in [this year's Manuscript] No 152. Some teachers add one more topic which is called Sambandha (relation), and thus expound six.

There is no real difference, according to our author, between these several views, since the variety is due to the adoption of a different principle of division by each teacher. The true substance of the Vedāntas or Upaniṣads is that there is only one Brahma(n), with the animal or individual spirits and the dead world as its attributes (Cidacidviśiṣṭādvaitam).

RĀMANUJA'S SYSTEM SAME AS THAT OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRAS

The body of doctrines which constitutes the system of Rāmanuja is eventually the same as that professed by the more ancient school of the Pāñcarātras or Bhāgavatas. The doctrine of Vyūhas, Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Deity, and Bhakti or faith and love as the way to salvation are characteristic of the school. *It does not trace all our finite*

thought and feeling to a principle alien to the soul such as Prakṛti or Māyā as the Sāṃkhya or Advaita Vedānta does, and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as Mokṣa or deliverance. It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has. Vāsudeva was recognised as the Supreme Deity even in the time of Patañjali, for under Pāṇini IV. 3. 98, the author of the Mahābhāṣya states that the Vāsudeva occurring in the Sūtra is not the name of a Kṣātrīya, but of Tatrābhagavat, which term is explained by Kaiyaṭa as signifying a certain (form of the) Supreme Deity

HISTORY OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

The Pāñcarātra system is mentioned along with the rival system of the Pāśupatas, and with the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedas or Āraṇyakas in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mokṣadharmaparvan which forms a part of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata (Chap 349 Bom Ed), and explained in detail to Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa by the Supreme Nārāyaṇa who manifested himself to him (Chap. 339). The whole Nārāyaṇīya section seems to refer to that system one way or another. This section is older than Rāmānuja, since he refers to it in the passage in his Vedāntabhāṣya, to be noticed below, and older also than Śaṃkarācārya who quotes in his Bhāṣya under II. 1. 1, from chapters 334 and 339, (p. 409 Vol I, Bibl Ind Ed), and from chapters 350 and 351, (p. 413). Dhruvasena I, one of the earlier princes of the Valabhi dynasty is called a Bhāgavata, while others are styled Māheśvaras. Among the sects mentioned by Bāṇa in the eighth chapter of the Śrīharsacaritra are those of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātras.

From this and also from the passages noticed below occurring in the Vedānta Bhāṣyas of Śaṃkarācārya and Rāmānuja, it appears that these were two sects, but they did not differ

materially from each other, and the Pāñcarātras considered themselves to be Bhāgavatas also. Śamkarācārya refutes the doctrines of the Bhāgavata school in his Bhāṣya under the Vedānta Sūtras II. 2. 42 and 43, and the same doctrines amended so as to avoid his objection, are refuted under Sūtras 44 and 45, and the name Pāñcarātra is used in connection with them.

RĀMANUJA'S DEFENCE OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

Rāmanuja, on the other hand, interprets the first two Sūtras as setting forth the objector's view or the Pūrvapakṣa; represents the opponent as giving the same doctrines that are refuted by Śamkarācārya under those two Sūtras as the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas, and makes him pronounce them to be opposed to the Śruti. Then under Sūtra 44, he says that the view of the objector is based on a misconception of the doctrines of the Bhāgavata system, and gives the correct doctrines under that Sūtra and the next, one of them being the same as that mentioned by Śamkarācārya under Sūtra 44. These doctrines are, he asserts, in harmony with the Śruti, and thus according to him the Pāñcarātra system is not refuted by Bādarāyana, the author of the Sūtras. In connection with his arguments he quotes from the Pauṣkara-saṃhitā, Sātvata-saṃhitā, and Parama-saṃhitā.

Under Sūtra 45, Śamkarācārya accuses the Pāñcarātras of treating the Vedas with contempt, since it is stated in one of their books that Śaṇḍilya not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas had recourse to this Śāstra. Rāmanuja answers this accusation by saying that a similar statement occurs in the Bhūmavidyā (Chāndogya Up VII 1). Nārada is represented there as saying that he has studied all the Vedas and other branches of learning and still he only knows the Mantras and not the Ātman. This does not involve the contempt of the Vedas, but the object of the statement is simply to extol the Bhūmavidyā or the

philosophy of the highest object that is explained further on. Or, the sense is that Nārada studied all the Vedas, but was not keen enough to comprehend the nature of the Ātman though set forth in those works. Precisely the same interpretation should be laid on this statement of Śaṇḍilya's not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas, and it should not be construed as involving contempt for the Vedas.

THE NON-VEDIC ORIGIN OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

BUT in spite of all this defence there can be no question that the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system did not owe its origin to the Vedas or Upaniṣads. It arose from that current of thought from which the Bhagavadgītā, the worship of Vāsudeva, and the doctrine of Bhakti sprang, and the sacred books which are appealed to, are the different Saṁhitās of the Nārada-pāñcarātra, six of which have been mentioned before as existing in the Library of Jasvantrai Gopalrai at Patan¹, and three of which are, it will have been seen, quoted by Rāmānuja. The present Collection also contains one which will be noticed below. The book printed under the name of Nārada-pāñcarātra in the Bibliotheca Indica is only one of the Saṁhitās—that called Jñānāmṛtasāra, corresponding with *b* in Jasvantarai's list. Of the three quoted by Rāmānuja, one—the Pauṣkarasamhitā—occurs in that list. The account of the Pāñcarātra given in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata is perhaps one of the oldest.

PĀÑCARĀTRA SAME AS THE SĀTVATA SYSTEM

In forming some idea of the origin of this system the following circumstances must be taken into account —

- (1) The characteristic name of the supreme deity is Vāsudeva, and Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, and even Kṛṣṇa are only additional and probably later names or identifications

¹ Ante, p. 69. [N. B. U.]

(2). In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, the Pāñcarātra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the Sātvata religion (Chap. 348, vv. 34, 55, and 84); and Vasu Uparicara, who was a follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Sātvata manner (Vidhi) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun (Chap 335, vv. 19 and 24).

(3) The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pāṇdavas and the Kurus were drawn up in battle-array and Arjuna's heart misgave him (Chap 348, v 8 and Chap. 346, v. 11) In the Bhāgavata the Sātvatas are represented as calling the highest Brahma(n), Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (X 9 49), and as worshipping and adoring Kṛṣṇa in a peculiar way (XI 21. 1) Rāmānuja too refers, as we have seen, to the Sātvatasamhita

THE KṢĀTTRIYA ORIGIN OF THE SĀTVATA RELIGION, AND OF THE GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION

Sātvat was the name of a descendant of Yadu as we learn from the Purāṇic genealogies, and his race was the race or clan of the Sātvatas. The Sātvatas are mentioned in the Bhāgavata along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis which were two of the Yādava tribes (I 14 25, and III 1 29) Vāsudeva himself was a prince of that race, being called Sātvatarābha (Bh. XI. 21 1), and Sātvatapuṃgava (Bh I 9 32) The worship of Vāsudeva ascends, as we have seen, higher into antiquity than Patañjali or even Pāṇini, since the name Vāsudeva is contained in the Sūtra itself. About the time when he flourished or when the Upaniṣads were written, and even later, when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation, and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue.

In this intellectual race the Kṣātttriyas took a much more active part than the Brahmans. In the Chandogya Upaniṣad,

a prince of the name of Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jaibala (V. 3), and Aśvapati, king of the Kekaya country (V. 11), appear as teachers of religious truth and Brahmins as learners; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Kṣāttriyas were the original possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the Kauṣṭaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad, we find Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, explaining the true Brahma(n) to Bālāki the Gārgya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Buddha was a Kṣāttriya and belonged to the Śākya clan; so was Mahāvira who belonged to the race of the Jñāṭakas.

Since then the Kṣāttriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Kṣāttriya of the name of Vāsudeva belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātva race founded a theistic system as Siddhārtha of the Śākya race and Mahāvira of the Jñāṭka race founded atheistic systems. And just as Buddha under the title of "Bhagavat" is introduced as the teacher in Buddhistic works, so is Vāsudeva as Bhagavat introduced in the Bhagavadgītā and some other parts of the Mahābhārata. That must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called Bhāgavatas.

Or perhaps, it is possible that Vāsudeva was a famous prince of the Sātva race and on his death was deified and worshipped by his clan, and a body of doctrines grew up in connection with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have been simple, and it must have developed into the Pāñcarātra system when some of the Samhitās mentioned above were written. Other elements represented by the names Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, and Kṛṣṇa were engrafted in later times on the religion of Vāsudeva, and thus the various forms of modern Vaiṣṇavism arose

It is therefore clear that the Pāñcarātra was a distinct system

independent of the Vedas and Upaniṣads. But during the early centuries of the Christian era, while the country was under the domination of foreigners of the Śaka, Pahlava, and Yavana races, the Buddhists had grown powerful. With the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, the influence of Brahmans increased and they then began a fierce conflict with all heretics. These were cried down as scoffers, atheists, nihilists (Vaiśiṣṭikas), &c. The great Mīmāṃsakas, Śābarasvāmin, Maṇḍanamīśra, Kumārila and others, flourished during this period of conflict. They ran down even the Aupanīṣadas, or the holders of the Jñānamārga, i.e., the religion of the Upaniṣads, as against the Karmamārga or the sacrificial religion. The Bauddhas and Jainas who had no regard for the Vedas whatever, met them on independent or rationalistic grounds. But the Aupanīṣadas fought them on the field of Vedic orthodoxy and succeeded in maintaining their position. There were unquestionably in ancient times several Aupanīṣada systems, but it was the doctrine of the unreality of the world and the unity of spirit with which the name of Śamkarācārya is connected, and which has been characterized by the Mādhyas as but Buddhistic nihilism in disguise, that succeeded on the present occasion. And that doctrine was by others considered as subversive of religion and certainty. Śamkarācārya and his followers did not treat tenderly the religious systems that had become popular such as that of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcarātras and of the Pāśupatas.

RAMĀNUJA'S FINDING A VEDĀNTIC BASIS FOR THE SĀTVATA RELIGION

It was, therefore, Rāmānuja's endeavour to put down the pernicious doctrine of Māyā or unreality, and seek a Vedāntic and philosophic basis for the religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial; and thus the Pāñcarātra system which was independent of the

Vedas before, became a system of the Vedānta or an Aupanishada system

III.—DVAITA OR MADHVA'S SYSTEM

Rāmānuja found a Vedāntic basis for the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata religion and vindicated the reality of the world, and the separate existence of the human or animal spirit. But the theory that he set up in the place of Śaṅkarācārya's Māyā and unity of spirit, viz., that the world and the individual spirits are the attributes of the Supreme spirit, did not sufficiently distinguish the latter from the two former, and was not calculated to emphasize the supreme greatness of God as compared with the littleness of the animal spirit and of the world.

MADHVA'S CARRYING ON THE REFORM OF RĀMĀNUJA FURTHER

Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, therefore, propounded the doctrine of Dvaita or duality, and laid particular stress on the five eternal distinctions, viz., the distinction between (1) God and the animal spirit, (2) God and the inanimate world, (3) the animal spirit and the inanimate world, (4) one animal spirit and another, and (5) one inanimate object and another. In other respects he like Rāmānuja was a vindicator of the Pāñcarātra religion. But he seems to have given a more general or a less exclusive form to it. The name Viṣṇu is more prominent in his system than Vāsudeva, and thus the historical nature of the Pāñcarātra religion is thrown into the back-ground.

In the Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya, Ānandatīrtha gives as authorities for his doctrine of the supreme greatness of Viṣṇu and for other points in his system, the four Vedas, Rk and others, the Pāñcarātra (Samhitās), the Bhārata, the original Rāmāyaṇa, Brahmasūtra, and other texts that agree with these and not those that disagree. The Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas are also to

be accepted, because they are of the nature of the *Pañcarātra* works, and the *Smṛtis* of Manu and others in so far as they agree with the doctrine, [Chapter I, vv. 30-32].

MANUSCRIPTS OF MĀDHVA WORKS

The present Collection does not contain many Manuscripts of works belonging to this school, but since the close of the year copies of important Mādhva works have been purchased and these will be noticed in the next Report

No 156 is a complete copy of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣya on the *Brahmasūtra*, and No 678 is a fragment of the same work beginning with *Sūtra* I. 3. 23 and coming down to the last but one *Sūtra* of Chap III No 675 contains the first two chapters of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣya on the *Bhagavadgītā*, and No. 679 is an incomplete copy of Vidyādhiraāja's commentary on the same work. No 677 is a commentary on the *Sahasranāmastotra* of Vyankateśa, the god whose shrine on the *Vyankatagiri* is famous. The author was a pupil of Satyavijaya who died in Śaka 1661.

IV—ŚUDDHĀDVĀITA OR VALLABHA'S SYSTEM

Vallabhācārya gave a sensualistic form to Vaiṣṇavism. The deity is worshipped in the form of Kṛṣṇa, the lover of the Gopis or shepherdesses (rather cowherdresses) living in Gokula. Vallabha's heaven is a region containing cows (*Goloka*), to which the devotees of Kṛṣṇa repair and where assuming the forms of Gopis, they sport with their lover. His Vedāntic theory is called Śuddhādvaita according to which the animal spirits and the inanimate world are but forms of the Supreme Spirit and are related to him as the sparks of fire to the fire. We have got a Manuscript of one work only belonging to this school (No. 157) in the Collection.

V—MISCELLANEOUS VAIṢṆAVISM PARAMĀGAMACŪDĀMAṆI

No. 158 is a copy of the *Paramāgamacūḍāmaṇi Saṁhitā* of the *Nāradaṇḍarātra*. As the *Pañcarātra Saṁhitās* are

acknowledged to be the chief authorities for Vaiṣṇavism by the earlier Vaiṣṇava sects, and consequently do not belong to any one system in particular, I have put the Manuscript under the above heading, it being the only one of its class

VIṢṆUBHAKTICANDRODAYA

No. 162 is Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya which looks like a manual for the use of an ordinary Vaiṣṇava not necessarily belonging to any of the sects already mentioned but worshipping Viṣṇu according to the general precepts contained in the Purāṇas. The work is certainly older than Vallabha, for another Manuscript recently purchased was transcribed in Śaivāt 1496 and Śāka 1361, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha, in the reign of Mahārāja Śivadāsa, and was finished on Wednesday the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina, the 15th or Amāvāsyā falling in the afternoon of the day, while Vallabha is said to have been born in Śaivāt 1535

No. 160 is Bhagavadbhaktiratnāvalī which consists of a collection of the several texts on Bhakti scattered in the different parts of the Bhāgavata with a commentary and introductory verses. The author is Viṣṇupurī who calls himself a Tairabhukta i.e., a native of Tirabhukti or Tirhut

WORKS ON LATER VAISNAVISM

No. 159, Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, and No 161, Mukticintāmaṇi are representatives of later developments of Vaiṣṇavism. The author of the former was a pupil of the celebrated Kṛṣṇa Caitanya of Bengal, and wrote the work in the Śāka year Rāmāṅkaśākra which expression signifies 1493. But the commentator takes it as equivalent to 1463, wherefore it appears that the word "Anka" occurring in that expression is a mistake for "Anga". The names of the author and of the commentator are not given, but the former calls himself a Varāka or "a poor thing" and Kṣudra or a "little creature". The date of

the composition of the treatise agrees well with the date of Caitanya who was born in 1407 Śaka

The Mukticintāmaṇi promises Mukti or eternal bliss to those who adore Jagannātha of Orissa.

VI—KĀŚMĪR ŚAIVISM

Śaivism is perhaps as old as Vaiṣṇavism. It does not seem to have a historical element in it as Vaiṣṇavism had in the Śātvata religion founded by Vāsudeva or inculcating the worship of Vāsudeva, and hence the doctrine of Bhakti plays no prominent part in it. When the doctrines were reduced to a definite shape, the system came to be known by the name of Pāśupata or Māheśvara.

PAŚUPATA OR MAHEŚVARA SYSTEM AND THE DIFFERENT MAHEŚVARA SECTS

The Pāśupata system is, as we have seen, mentioned along with the Pāñcarātra in the text from the Mahābhārata referred to above. Images of Śiva for purposes of worship are referred to by Patañjali. The Pāśupatas are mentioned by Hwān Thsang as existing in different towns and cities in India in his time. Bāṇa speaks of them in the Harsacaritra and Kādambarī. Most of the princes of Valabhi are styled Māheśvaras. Śaṅkarācārya refutes the doctrines of the Māheśvara school under II 2. 37. Rāmānuja also does the same under that Sūtra, and mentions four sects, the Kāpālas, the Kālāmukhas, the Pāśupatas, and Śaivas. Mādhava explains the doctrines of two of these sects, the first of which he calls Nakulīśa Pāśupata and the second Śaiva.

SPANDAŚĀSTRA AND ITS PROMULGATORS

The Kāśmīr Māheśvaras are different from all these. Their literature has two branches, one of which is called Spandaśāstra and the other Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The principal

work belonging to the former is that called Śivasūtrāṇi, which according to Bhāskara, the author of the Vārtikas, manifested themselves to Vasugupta under the guidance of a Siddha¹. Kṣemarāja, however, in the Spandanirpaya states that Vasugupta found them inscribed on a stone through the will of God,² being directed to the place in a dream. In a verse at the end of Rāma's Spandakārikāvivaraṇa we are told that these Sūtras were communicated by Mahēśa to Vasugupta in a dream³. Utpala in the Spandapradīpikā states that he learned them from a Siddha⁴. However he may have obtained them, it is clear that other people got them from Vasugupta, i.e., he was their author

- 1 श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासञ्चिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यान्यतः सोऽपि प्रादाद्भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोऽप्येवं चतु खण्डानि तान्यथ ।
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ॥—From

Manuscript No 171 of this year's Collection

- 2 स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेशः श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वताद्भग-
वदिच्छयैव महाशिलातलोऽलिखितान्यतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य
प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपञ्चाशता श्लोकैरागमानुभवोपपत्त्येकीकारं प्रदर्श-
यन्संगृहीतवान् ।—From Manuscript No. 512 of 1875-76

- 3 हृद्यं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धोः ।
स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥

- 4 अयमत्र किलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तद्भट्टकल्लटेऽनुर्वसुगुप्तगुरोरवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ।
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुप्पञ्चाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् ॥
यदपि तदर्थं व्याख्याज्योत्स्नाप्रकटीकृतोऽस्ति तेनेषत् ।
मोहनिशामध्यगता मन्दहृशस्तदपि नायमीक्षन्ते ॥—From

Manuscript No. 173 of this year's Collection.

Another work of equal authority is the *Spandakārikā*, as to the authorship of which also there are varying statements. Bhāskara says that Vasugupta communicated the Śivasūtras to Kallāṭa, three parts of which he explained by composing Sūtras of his own. In the *Spanda-kārikāvivarapa* it is stated that Kallāṭa only published the *Spandāmṛta* which was composed by Vasugupta on Mahādevagiri. Kṣemarāja in the *Spandanirṇaya* says that Vasugupta having obtained the Śivasūtras embodied their substance in fifty-one Ślokas. Utpala, on the other hand, tells us in the *Spandapradīpikā* that it was Kallāṭa who composed the fifty Anuṣṭubh Ślokas after he had learned the *Rahasya* or essence of the Śāstra from his preceptor Vasugupta¹. At the end of the treatise he gives a Śloka as if occurring in the original, in which the same thing is stated². "The Sūtras of his own" which Bhāskara speaks of must undoubtedly be the fifty or fifty-one Kārikās mentioned by others. Since this author flourished before the others his account is likely to be correct. If the verse given by Utpala at the end does really occur in the original it decides the point, and the author of the Kārikās must be taken to be Kallāṭa. But even if it does not, there is another verse which is commented on both by Utpala and Rāma and which consequently does belong to the original treatise, i.e., the Kārikās, in which the author praises the style of his master.³ This master is explained to be Vasugupta by both the commentators; hence the author of the Kārikās must be Kallāṭa. Perhaps the best way of reconciling the varying statements would be to suppose that Kallāṭa put in verse what his master taught him;

1 See the verses given before in the footnotes.

2 वसुगुप्तादवाप्येवं गुरोस्तत्स्वार्थदर्शिनः ।

रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीमद्वक्त्रतः ॥

3 अगाधसंशयाम्भोविसमुत्तारणतारिणीम् ।

वन्दे विवित्रार्थपदां विजां तां गुरुभारतीम् ॥

or both together composed the Kārikās while Kallaṭa published them. Kallaṭa wrote also a short Vṛtti on the Kārikās which is given in some places in Rāma's work and is frequently alluded to by Kṣemarāja who expressly attributes it to him. The work composed of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti is called Spandasarvasva.

PROMULGATORS OF THE PRATYABHIJÑĀSĀSTRA

The founder of the Pratyabhijñāsāstra, the other branch of Kāśmīr Śaiva philosophy, was Somānanda, the author of a work called Śivadr̥ṣṭi; but the writer of the principal work of the system, the so-called Sūtras which are verses, was his pupil Utpala, the son of Udayākara.

The present Collection has the following works belonging to these two branches. .

No. 171 is a Manuscript in the Śāradā character of Bhāskara's Śivasūtravārtika. The introduction of this is given by Dr. Bühler in his Report for 1875-76, from which we learn that the author of the Vārtika belonged to the sixth generation after Vasugupta.

No 173 is a copy of the Spandapradīpikā in the same character. There is a modern copy of the work in Nagari in Dr. Bühler's Kāśmīr Collection. The author is Utpala who, Dr Bühler thinks, might be the same as the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra. But the former was the son of Trivikrama who lived at Nārāyaṇasthāna, as we are told in the introduction of the Spandapradīpikā as well as at the end; while the latter was the son of Udayākara. The author of the Spandapradīpikā quotes from the Paramārthasāra which is a work by Abhinavagupta, the pupil of a pupil of the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra.¹

No 168 is Pratyabhijñāvimarśanīlaghuvṛtti by Abhinavagupta transcribed in Śaivvat 1808. No. 165 is Paramārthasāra, and

¹ F. 25, b, 2 of No. 512 of 1875-76.

Nos. 166 and 167 are copies of the same with Kṣemarāja's commentary in the Śarada and Nāgarī characters respectively, and No. 163 is Abhinavagupta's Gītārthasaṃgraha in the Śarada character. We have also a Śarada Manuscript of Nārāyaṇa's Stavacintāmaṇi with Kṣemarāja's commentary (No. 172). We have in the Collection two copies, one complete and the other incomplete, of a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rājānaka Rāma who represents himself as the son of Nārāyaṇa who lived at Kānyakubja, and the brother of Kaṇa (?). As the doctrines set forth in the introduction of this commentary resemble those of the Kāśmīr Śaiva school, I have put the work in this class.

SPANDAŚĀSTRA DIFFERENT FROM MĀDHAVA'S ŚAIVADARŚANA

In his Report for 1875-76, Dr. Bühler identifies the Spanda branch of the Kāśmīr school with the Śaivadarśana, the doctrines of which are explained by Mādhava in the Sarvadarśanaśaṃgraha, and makes a broad distinction between that and the Pratyabhijñā branch which is explained by Mādhava next. But this view is, I think, untenable. The first Śivasūtra Caitanyamātmā and a verse attributed to Vasugupta are quoted by Mādhava as authorities for some of the Pratyabhijñā doctrines that he explains (Bibl Ind Ed., pp 94 & 95), while none of the books or writers on the Spandaśāstra are mentioned by him in his account of the Śaivadarśana.

COMPARISON OF THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES OF THE TWO SCHOOLS

Besides, the doctrines of Mādhava's Śaiva school are totally different from those laid down in the Spandaśāstra. Śiva, according to that school, is only an efficient or Nimitta cause of the inanimate world, the Karman of the animal or human spirits being another prompting cause (p. 80), while there is also an independent material or constituent cause (p. 82). The animal spirits have a separate existence from the Supreme

spirit or Śiva; and even when they are delivered or freed from the trammels of the world they become *like* Śiva but not Śiva himself. There is a plurality of animal spirits (pp. 84 & 85). Rāmānuja also represents the four schools of Śaivas mentioned by him, in the passage referred to above,¹ as holding the doctrine that God or Śiva is only an efficient cause, and not the material or constituent cause. But the doctrines of the Spandaśāstra are that God or Śiva creates the world by his mere will;² he requires no independent material cause³ as the Vaiśeṣikas and other schools maintain, neither is he himself the material cause as some of the Vedāntins hold, but he makes the world appear in himself, as "a whole town" or other things appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by these⁴. The illustration of a mirror is only applicable to this extent that he is not affected by his creation, while the theory that he is the material cause involves the supposition that he undergoes development and change. Being a simple substance not divisible into parts, if he develops, he must be immanent in the world and can have no existence distinct from the world. That Brahma(n) is the material cause of the world is the original Vedāntic doctrine, as appears clearly from the Vedānta Sūtras, but the immanency of God and his having no distinct existence which are its consequences, are denied on the ground that the Upaniṣads represent him,

1 Anu, p. 198. [N B U]

2 अनेन स्वस्वभावस्यैव शिवात्मकस्य संकल्पमात्रेण जगदुत्पत्ति-
संहारयोः कारणत्वम् ।—Kallāṭa's Vṛtti on the first Kārikā
यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ &c

3 सर्वशब्देनोपादानादिनैरोपेक्ष्यं कर्तुर्ध्वमितम् ।—Kṣemarāja on the
second Spandakārikā.

4 अपि तु स पक्ष भगवान्स्वस्वातन्त्र्यादनतिरिक्तामप्यतिरिक्तामिव
जगद्रूपतां स्वमिसौ दर्पणनगरवत्प्रकाशयन्निवृत्तः ।—Ibid

though a simple substance without parts, to have a distinct existence at the same time that they represent him to be the material cause undergoing development. The two propositions, howsoever inconsistent, must be admitted on the authority of the sacred texts; (Vedāntasūtra, II. 1, 26 & 27).

Śaṅkarācārya, and, before him, Gauḍapāda avoided these consequences by declaring the world of which Brahma(n) is the material cause to be unreal, and due to some principle of illusion called Māyā. But they are avoided by Vasugupta and Kallāṭa by having recourse to the illustration of a mirror; while Śaṅkarācārya's illustration is that of a rope and the serpent for which it is mistaken. Creation, according to the Kāśmīr Śaivas, is therefore not unreal, and this follows also from their doctrine that it is due to God's will alone. Another illustration they give is that of a Yogin who by his power produces anything he chooses without using any materials. The animal spirits are identical with the Supreme spirit¹ and become the Supreme spirit when they shake off their impurity.² These are the

- 1 परमेश्वर एव स्वभावावशाज्जानाक्षेत्रद्रूपतयावभासमानः स्वामेव व्यतिरिक्तां परां शक्तिं ज्ञानक्षेयभावेनावभासयन् जागरस्वप्नदश-व्यवहारमुद्गाढयति ॥—Rāma on Kārikā 18. Māyā is here to be understood only as "wonderful power."

कथं पुनः स्वस्वभावस्यैव संसारिणः शिवत्वेन निर्वेश इत्युच्यते तत् यत्र स्थितमिदं जगद्यस्माच्चोत्पन्नं तस्य संसार्यवस्थायामप्यनाच्छादितस्वभावत्वाच्च कश्चिन्निरोधोतः शिवत्वमुच्यते ।—Kallāṭa's Vṛtti on Kārikā 2.

- 2 निजशुब्धासमर्थस्य कर्तव्येष्वामिकाषिणः ।

यदा क्षोभः प्रलीयेत तदा स्यात्परमं पदम् ॥—Kārikā 9. Rāma's commentary on परमं पदम् is परमं निरुत्तरं पदं स्थानं स्यात्स-ज्जावेन प्रकाशेत । अमेव आत्मपुरुषशब्दप्रतिपादितयोः परापरयोः संविदोस्तस्यामेव दशायामुपलभ्यतया प्रयेतेत्यर्थः ।

doctrines of the Spandasastra, and these are exactly the doctrines of the Pratyabhijñā school also as given by Mādhava. Hence is it that he quotes the Śivasūtras and Vasugupta in his account of that school.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPANDA AND PRATYABHIJÑĀ ŚĀSTRAS

The difference is that according to the latter school the attainment of Godhead is brought about by recognition. You are God, but you do not know yourself to be such through ignorance, you have therefore to recognise God in yourself through the instructions of your Guru or preceptor and in other ways. This doctrine was established by the founders of the Pratyabhijñā system on the basis supplied by the Spandasastra, and thus this system shows a further development, and in the order of time also it is later.

CONCLUSION

It will thus be seen that the doctrines of the Kāsmīr Śaivas are adualistic or Advaita and are radically different from those of the several schools of Śaivas mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānuja, and Mādhava, and in them the influence of the Aupanishada school—whether that of Śaṅkarācārya or any previous one, is clearly traceable.

NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKA

TĀRKIKARAKṢĀVYĀKHYĀ

We have one representative of Gotama's system in the present Collection, the Tārkikarakṣavyākhyā by Varadarāja of which we have the second and third Paricchedas in No 184. The Tārkikarakṣa consists of Kārikas or Ślokas and the Vyākhyā is the perpetual commentary on those Kārikas.

THE AUTHOR OF THE VYĀKHYĀ AND OF
THE ORIGINAL THE SAME

Dr Burnell seems to think that Varadarāja is the author of the perpetual commentary only, but at the end of the work

occur two verses the sense of which is, "This is the work of Varadarāja conversant with the Nyāyavidyā and thoroughly proficient in the Mīmāṃsā. Having closely studied the difficult works of Vācaspati, Udayana, and others, I have here given the substance, which those disputants who desire victory in debate should get up." Now this cannot apply to the commentary, for the substance of the works of previous writers is given, not in the merely explanatory portion, but in the original Kārikās. Then in the colophon we have, "Thus ends Varadarāja's Mūlasūtra." As this Manuscript was written by a Jaina and as Jaina scribes use the word "Sūtra" rather too frequently without looking to its propriety, it has probably no specific signification here. But the word "Mūla" seems to point to the belief that the original text or the Tārkikarakṣā was the work of Varadarāja. However, the point is settled by a statement occurring in a commentary on the whole work by Mallinātha, a copy of which has recently been purchased, to the effect that Varadarāja wrote the Vyākhaṇa on the Ślokas of the Tārkikarakṣā composed by himself.

Mādhava quotes a verse from this work in the Sarvadarśana-samgraha (p. 70) which I find in this Manuscript. It is the 28th of the second Pariccheda. Varadarāja thus flourished a sufficiently long time before the fourteenth century to become a famous author. He mentions Vācaspati and Udayana, as we have seen, and in the beginning of the second Pariccheda, quotes from the Bhāṣya, Vārtika, Tīkā, and Tātparyapariśuddhi. The Bhāṣya meant is that on the Sūtras of Gotama by Vātsyāyana, and the Vārtika is a commentary on the Bhāṣya by Uddyotakāra or Bhāradvāja. The full title of the Tīkā is Vārtikatātparyatīkā which is a work on the Vārtika by Vācaspati Miśra, and the Tātparyapariśuddhi is a work on this last by Udayana.

KIRANĀVALĪ

No. 183 is a Manuscript of the Kiranāvalī which is a commentary on Prasastapādācārya's Bhāṣya on the Sūtras of

Kaṇāda, by Udayana. It comes down to the end of the first category or Dravya.

WORKS ON MODERN NYĀYA

Relating to modern Nyāya, we have Manuscripts of parts of Gaḍādhara's works (Nos 693, 694, and 681), and Nos 686-688 are parts of the Bhāvanandī which, like the Gaḍādhari, is a commentary on the Dīdhiti of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa Śiromanī.

There is a commentary on the Bhāvanandī by Mahādeva Puṇṭāmkaṛa, i.e., Mahādeva, native of Puntambem in the Ahmednagar District. He was a pupil of Śitikanṭha, probably the same as the author of the Tarkaprakāśa. Nos. 689-691 are parts of Mahādeva's work.

Another commentary on Śiromanī's work is that by Jayarāma, of the Vyāptivāda of which No 187 is a copy.

We have a copy of a commentary (other than those noticed in my last Report) on Jānakīnātha's Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī (No 185). It is entitled Bālabodhinī, and the author is Narasimha Pañcānana, son of Govinda Tarkālaṃkṛtīn who lived in Gauḍamaṇḍala or Bengal.

No. 186 is an independent work on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems resembling the Tarkasamgraha and entitled Padārthadīpikā, by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa son of Rangajībhaṭṭa, who is the same as the author of the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra.

JYOTIṢA OR ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, AND DIVINATION

I—GAṆITA BRANCH

No 205 is a copy of a commentary on Bhāskarācārya's Līlāvati by Mahīdāsa who wrote it in the year 1644. The era is not stated, but it must be the Śaṃvat, since the Manuscript was transcribed in Śaṃvat 1733.

ANIRUDDHA'S COMMENTARY ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No. 198 is a commentary on Śaṭananda's Bhāsvatīkarapa. The epoch year of this is 1021 Śaka, and the work was, we are told at the end, composed in the year 4200 of the Kaliyuga, i.e., in 1021 Śaka. The author of the commentary is Aniruddha whose father was Bhāvaśarma and grandfather Mahāśarma. The last was a physician and lived at Yamanapura, but his son Bhāva left the place in his old age and settled in the town of Śaṅkara (Benares). Examples are worked in the commentary for the Śaka year 1416 corresponding to the Vikrama year 1551, which was the year of the birth of Hira, the son of Aniruddha. The work was finished on Saturday the 1st of the dark half of Āśvayuj (?) in the Śaka year 1417. The author gives 1520 (Samvat) as the date of his birth, and states that he composed the commentary when he was 31 years old. The Bhāsvatīkarapa follows the Sūryasiddhānta.

OTHER COMMENTARIES ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No. 197 is a commentary on the same Karapa by one Madhava, native of Kānyakubja or Kanoj, who, when he works examples, uses Śaka 1447. In speaking of the Ayanāṁśas or degrees of equinoctial precession, the commentator tells us that the author based his rule for finding them on the supposition that in Śaka 450, the precession was zero, i.e., the equinox corresponded with the last point of Revatī and the first of Āśvini, while according to the Sūryasiddhānta it was zero in 421 Śaka. For, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga it was zero, and according to the Sūryasiddhānta, each libration of the equinoxes which reaches the limit of 27° occupies 1800 years. So that the libration to the east was complete in Kali 1,800, and the return motion was complete in Kali, 3,600, i.e., the equinox corresponded with the first point of Āśvini at the end of that Kali year. Kali 3,600 corresponds to Śaka 421, the difference between the eras being 3,179. Madhava therefore proposes to correct his author's rule,

At present the Hindu astronomers follow a rule based on the supposition that the equinox corresponded with the first point of Aśvini in the year 444 Śaka. But all these take the precession to be one minute every year, i e, 10 second in excess, though according to the rate of 27° in 1800 years, it is $54''$ every year, and the difference has gone on accumulating until it now amounts to about 4° .

No 199 is another commentary on the same Karṇa by Gangādhara who was a native of a town to the west of Kurukṣetra. He wrote his work in 1607 Śaka and his illustrative calculations are for that year.

No. 200 is another still, but the author's name is not given. The commentator states that Bhāskarācārya prepared an abridgement of the Sūryasiddhānta to render it intelligible to his pupils, under the name of Bhāsvatī, and a certain vain man of the name of Śātānanda made some changes here and there, adding something and taking away something, inserted a verse in the beginning and another in the end containing his own name, and led ignorant people to think the work as his own. But there appear to be no grounds whatever for these assertions. Bhāskarācārya was born in 1036 Śaka, while the epoch year of the Bhāsvatī is 1021 Śaka, on which all the rules are based. Bhāskarācārya wrote a Karṇa in accordance with the Brahmasiddhānta and it is not likely he should write another in accordance with another Siddhānta, nor has there been any tradition to the effect that he did so. Examples are worked in this commentary for the year 1577 Śaka and 1712 Samvat. The Bhāsvatī Karṇa seems to have been much used in Northern India, since all these commentators are natives of that part of the country, and most of the Manuscripts noticed were purchased at Delhi.

GRAHAKAUTUKA BY KĒṢAVA OF NANDIGRĀMA

Kēśava of Nandigrāma or Nandagaum, the father of Gaṇeśa, the author of the Grahalaghava, composed a Karṇa which

however was superseded by his son's treatise and is now little known. The work is called *Grahakautuka*, and as in the case of his *Jātakapaddhati* noticed in my last Report,¹ Keśava himself has composed a commentary on it. No 700 is a Manuscript of the original as well as the commentary transcribed in 1500 Śaka. The epoch year used by Keśava is 1418, while that of his son's *Grahalāghava* is 1442 Śaka. The Śaka year in which the precession of the equinoxes was zero is taken to be 444. Keśava gives Kamalākara as his father's name, and speaks of Nandigrāma situated on the coast of the western sea as his native place.

No 217 is a *Karapa* by one Raghunātha who uses Śaka 1484 as his epoch.

KHAṆḌAKHĀDYA

No 188 contains calculations according to the rules laid down in the *Khaṇḍakhādyā* for the use of the Kaśmīrians. The first Śloka in that *Karapa* is given at the beginning, and some of the *Kārikās* occurring in it are quoted. The Śaka year used for most of the calculations is 1564 which was the year in which the author wrote. From this we are directed to subtract 587 and the remainder 977 represents the number of years elapsed since the composition of the *Karapa*. The epoch year used in this *Karapa* is, we know, Śaka 587.

MODE OF CONVERTING A LAUKIKA INTO A ŚAKA DATE

In the beginning the mode of converting a *Laukika* year into the corresponding Śaka is given. 47 is to be taken as a constant number and to that must be prefixed the number of centuries elapsed since the beginning of the Śaka era at any given time. To the number so formed the number of passed *Laukika* years should be added, and the total represents the Śaka year corresponding to the current *Laukika* year, which Śaka year

1 Ante, p. 86. [N B U.]

appears to be the passed Śaka year, since that alone is used in calculations. Thus, in the time of the author, fifteen centuries of the Śaka era had elapsed, and with the constant number 47 we have 1547. The current Laukika year was 18, and 17 (the number of passed years) being added to 1547, we have 1564 which was the Śaka year corresponding to the current Laukika year. The Laukika year here mentioned must be the Saptarṣi year.

From the above method it will be seen, that in the first Śaka century Śaka 48 corresponded to the current Laukika year 2. Now the Śaka era began when 3179 years of the Kali had elapsed, i.e. Śaka 1 past corresponds to 3180 Kali past. Therefore Śaka 48 past corresponds to 3227 Kali past, i.e., Laukika current 2 corresponds to Kali 3227 past. Now if the Saptarṣi era began in the same century as the Kali era, in the first century of these eras, 2 Laukika current corresponded to 27 Kali past, i.e. the Saptarṣi era began after 26 years of the Kali had elapsed. This agrees with the results arrived at by Dr Bühler, if the Laukika years given by him are considered as current years and the Kali years past years.

RĀMAVINODA

No 204 is Rāmavinoda, which is a Karaṇa composed by Rāmabhaṭṭa, the son of Anantabhaṭṭa and younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha, at the orders of Rāmadāsa, minister of Akbar. The epoch year is 35 of the era of Jelaluddin Akbar, who, it is stated, got possession of the throne in Vikrama 1612 and Śaka 1477. Akbar's genealogy is given in the beginning. The Karaṇa was composed in 1535 Śaka.

PHATTEŚĀHAPRAKĀṢA

No 195 is Phatteśāhaprakāṣa. The first five leaves of the Manuscript are missing. The work appears to be a Karaṇa having for its epoch the year 48 of the era of Phatteshah, who is spoken of as king of Kedāra, of Badārī, and of Śrīnagara and

as the crest-jewel of the lunar race. The era of Phatteshah began in 1713 of Vikrama or 1578 Śaka. The state he governed must have been the Punjab Hill State of Garhwal, in which there are places of the names of Kedāranātha and Kedarakānta, as well as Śrinagara. The author of the work is Jaṭādhara, son of Vanamālin, who lived in the country of Siharanda (Sirhind). Vanamālin was the son of Durgamīra who was the son of Uddhava of the Gargagotra.

KIRANĀVALI

No. 697 is a copy of the Kiranāvali which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta by a Citpāvan Brahman of the name of Dadabhai the son of Madhava, surnamed Gaṁvkar. This work is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue; but he does not give the date of its composition.

DATE OF THE WORK

In proving that the Kali age proper has not yet begun but that we now live in the introductory period called Kalsamdhya, by adding up the numbers of years for which the different dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇu, from Parīkṣit (who ascended the throne about the beginning of the Samdhyā) downwards, held power—the author gives his date three times as Śaka 1641, corresponding to Kali 4820. In connection with this matter he speaks of the doctrine of a complete revolution of the equinoxes as a Vedabāhyamata or a doctrine opposed to the Vedas, i.e., heterodox, though it is advocated by Bhāskarācārya and others.

II AND III. SAMHITĀ AND HORA BRANCHES

There are several treatises belonging to these branches of Jyotiṣa. No. 210 is Vṛddha-Gārgyasamhitā. In the body of the work, the Rṣi is sometimes spoken of as Gārgya, and sometimes as Garga. The work is different from the Gārgi Samhitā mentioned by Dr Kern.

VARṢAPHALAVIČĀRA BY NĪLAKAṆṬHA

No. 206 is Varṣaphalavičāra by Nīlakaṇṭha. The commentary on the work is by Mādhava who represents himself to have entered on the 35th year of his age on Wednesday the 14th of the light half of Āṣāḍha in the year Saṁvat 1690 and Śaka 1555, and makes illustrative calculations with reference to himself. Nīlakaṇṭha appears to have belonged to the same family as Viśvanātha, the commentator on Keśava's and Gaṇeśa's works, but the verses containing an account of the family which are given in a detached form are corrupt and nothing certain can be made out.

AN ACCOUNT OF VIŚVANĀTHA'S FAMILY

An account of Viśvanātha's family occurs however at the end of No. 201 which is a Manuscript of the Muhūrtaśūdamani by Śivadaivajña. In Golagrāma situated on the Godāvari and in the country of Vīdarbha, lived Divākara who was the pupil of Gaṇeśa, son of Keśava. The Gaṇeśa meant must thus have been the author of the Grāhalāghava. Divākara had five sons, the eldest of whom was Kṛṣṇa who was highly honoured at the court of the king, and wrote many treatises Viṣṇu was the name of the second son and Mallāri of the third; and the last two were Keśava and Viśvanātha. A son of Kṛṣṇa was Narasimha, the author of Vāsanākalpalatā, and Narasimha's younger brother was Śiva the writer of the present treatise. The family belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra.

The dates given in three of Viśvanātha's works are, as stated in my last Report¹, 1508, 1534, and 1553 Śaka, corresponding to 1586, 1612, and 1631 A D. Narasimha also wrote a Commentary on the Suryasiddhānta. Ranganātha (the author of a gloss on Bhāskarācārya's Vāsanā) and Kamalākara, the author of the Siddhāntatattvaviveka, recently printed in the Benares Sanskrit series, were his sons.² It thus appears

1 Ante, pages 35 and 36 [N. B. U.]

2 Colbrooke's Essays.

that this was a family of Maratha Brahmins, and the study of astronomy and astrology was successfully pursued by it for four generations, their original Guru or teacher being Gapeśa of Nandagaum.

VIVĀHAVYNDĀVANA

No. 722 is a Manuscript of a work entitled Vivāhavyndāvana or astrology of marriage, by Keśava who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and was the son of Rāpaga. Rāpaga was the son of Śrīyāditya and Śrīyāditya of Janārdana who was a great Yajñika. The first leaf of this Manuscript contains the introduction to a commentary on the work; but in the subsequent leaves we have the original only. The author of the commentary is Gapeśa, son of Keśava, and author of the Grahalaṅghava, who gives the following list of his works.—

- 1 Grahalaṅghava, a Karaṇa
- 2 Works on Tithisiddhi
- 3 Śrāddhavidhi
- 4 A commentary on the Lilāvati
- 5 A commentary on the Muhūrtatattva (of his father)
- 6 Parvanirṇaya
- 7 Vivāhasaddīpikā or a commentary on the Vivāhavyndāvana.

MĪNARĀJAJĀTAKA

No. 211 is in the colophon called Mīnarājajātaka composed by Yavaneśvaraśārya, but in the introduction it is stated that an ancient Muni taught the Horāśāstra consisting of a hundred thousand Ślokas to Maya, and this was abridged by Mīnarāja into eight thousand Ślokas. In the margin the work is called Yavanajātaka.

MEDICINE

No. 218 is a fragment of a commentary entitled Āyurvedarasiyana by Hemādri, the minister of Rāma of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgayogahrdaya. In the intro-

duction it is stated that "Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, composed this lucid commentary on the *Āyurveda* called *Aṣṭāṅgayogahrdaya* in conformity with the views of Caraka, Hārta, and Sūśruta, in order to enable men to acquire a healthy bodily condition so essential for the observance of the fasts and vows, and for the performance of the ceremonies involved in making gifts and charities which have been laid down in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. In this commentary he has incorporated the conclusions arrived at by Haricandra and others in their commentaries on the Caraka and by Jayata and others in their commentaries on the Sūśruta." Since Hemādri here speaks of himself as the minister or secretary of Rāma and mentions his works on *Dharmaśāstra*, he wrote this work after 1193 Śaka or 1271 A.D., the year in which Mahādeva the uncle and predecessor of Rāma ceased to reign

The *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* is the principal work commented on, where it is silent, the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and other works are quoted and their texts explained when difficult.

No 219 contains fragments of another important work on medicine entitled *Cikitsāsāra* by Vangasena. The name of the author's father was Gadādhara whose original place of residence was Kāñjika. This appears to be a very old work since we have a Manuscript dated 1376 Samvat or 1320 A.D., in the Collection of 1879-80.

No. 222 is a copy of a work entitled *Virasimhavaloka* in which diseases are traced to sins, and their natures, and religious, astrological, as well as medical, remedies are explained. It is attributed to a prince of the name of Virasimha who belonged to the Tomara line. Virasimha's father was Devavarman and of this latter Kamalasimha.

In the second Volume of the Archaeological Reports, General Cunningham gives lists of the Tomara princes of Gwalior (p. 382). In that supplied by the Tomara Zamindar occur these

three names successively:—Kunwar Pal, Deo Brahm, Bir Sīmha Deo. Of these Kunwar must be the same as Kamala, since this word is corrupted to Kaṁvala in Hindi and *l* is interchangeable with *r*. Deo Brahm is the same as Devavarmā, for according to the ordinary Hindi way of pronunciation this word is Devbarma, and Bir Sīmha is of course Virasīmha. Virasīmha established an independent Hindu kingdom at Gwalior soon after the invasion of Timur, having shaken off the authority of the Delhi sovereign. His date is 1375 A.D., and of his two predecessors 1350 A.D., and 1325 A.D.

In the present work the following works and authors are referred to —

Śrīpati (f 10 b, 12 b, &c)	Brahmapurāṇa (14 a)
Sārāvalī (f 2 a, 12 a, &c)	Vṛndasamgraha (15 a, 18 a, &c)
Jātaka (f. 2 a, 42 b, &c)	Vṛddhaśatātapa (17 a)
Hārta (f 2 a, 30 b)	Vṛddhapārāśara (17 a)
Gārgya (f 2 b)	Baudhāyana (17 a, 25 b, &c)
Māheśvaratantra (f 3 a)	Ārogyacintāmaṇi (18 a)
Ātreya (f 3 a)	Dāmodara (18 b)
Sūrutācārya (f 3 b, 35 a, &c)	Śaunaka (20 a)
Tisācārya (f 4 a)	Vṛddhagautama (21 a, 69 a)
Vāgbhaṭa (f. 9 a, 13 b)	Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa (26 a, 31 a, &c)
Sārāvalījātaka (f. 10 b)	Mahābhārata (26 a, 31 b, &c.)
Padmapurāṇa (f. 11 a, 12 b, &c)	Sūruta (27 b, 34 a, &c)
Śivagītā (f. 12 b)	Vāyupurāṇa (32 a, 49 a, &c.)
Gautama (f. 12 b, 37 a),	Vācaspati (48 b)
Brahmagītā (14 a)	Kṛmapurāṇa (II 9 a, &c)

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

In this class there are Manuscripts of a good many works written in the Śāradā character, more than half of which are not represented in Dr. Bühler's Collection of 1875-76.

**VĀMAKEŚVARATANTRA AND THE LIST OF
TANTRAS CONTAINED IN IT**

No. 236 is a copy of the Vāmakeśvaratantra in which are given the names of the sixty-four Tantras. They are —

• 1 Mahāmāyāsambhara	43 Nayottara
2 Yoginijālasambhara	44 Vṛṇ(a)dya
3 Tattvaśambhara	45 Tottala
4-11 Bhairavāṣṭaka	46 Tottalottara
12-19 Bahurūpāṣṭaka	47 Pañcāmṛta
• 20 Jñāna	48 Rūpabheda
• 21-28 Yamalāṣṭaka	49 Bhūtoḍḍāmara
• 29 Candrajñāna	50 Kulasāra
30 Vāsuki	51 Kuloḍḍisa
31 Mahāsammohana	52 Kulacūḍāmapī
32 Mahoechugma	53 Sarvajñānottara
33 Mahādeva	54 Mahāpīśamata
34 Vāthu(tu ?)la	55 Mahālakṣmīmata
35 Nayottara (?)	56 Siddhayogīśvaramata
36 Hṛdbbheda	57 Kurūpikāmata
37 Māṭṛbheda	58 Rūpikāmata
38 Guhyatantra	59 Sarvavīramata
39 Kamika	60 Vimalāmata
40 Kalapāda	61 Uttama
41 Kalasāra	62 Āruṇeśa
42 Kubjikāmata	63 Modaneśa
	64 Viśuddheśvara

The names in this list differ a good deal from those occurring in the extract from this same Tantra given by Yajñeśvara Śāstrin in his Āryavidyāsudhākara (p. 160), and from those given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue (pp. 108-9). In our list Nayottara occurs twice, being the 35th as well as the 43rd. There must be a mistake here, and we should perhaps read Vātulottara in the first place with Yajñeśvara

Śaṣṭrin and Professor Aufrecht. Similarly we have Maho-
ochuṣma here for the Vāmajuṣṭa of others. This last might be
taken as meant for the Vāmakeśvara or Vāmikeśvara Tantra,
the name of which must be found in the list; but "Maho-
ochuṣma" hardly admits of being so understood, whence
probably we have a mistake here also.

No. 735 is called Śābaratantra in the colophon. It contains
charms and incantations in Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujarati, and
Marathi the effect of which is the destruction of enemies, the
averting of evil, the acquisition of miraculous powers and any
desired object, &c The charms and incantations are in one or
two places called Śābara Mantras.

In the beginning the following are mentioned as the twelve
Kāpālikas —

Ādinātha	Mahākāla
Anātha	Kālabhairavanātha
Kāla	Vaṭuka
Atikālaka	Bhūtanātha
Karāla	Vira(Vira?)nātha
Vikarāla	Śrīkaṇṭha

The following are mentioned as the twelve disciples, the
founders of systems (Mārgapravartaka)

Nāgārjuna	Carpaṭa
Jaḍabhr̥ta	Ava(?)ghaṭa
Harīścandra	Vairāgya
Saptanātha	Kaṇṭhādharī(rin)
Bhīmanātha	Jalaṇḍharī(rin)
Gorakṣa	Yamalārjuna

No. 227 contains the first and ninth chapters of the Kulārpa-
tantra. Nos. 242 and 731 are from the Rudrayāmala; No. 245
from the Brahmayāmala, No. 737 from the Bhairava-
yāmala; No. 228 from the Saṁmohanatantra; No. 226 from the

Vīśvoddhāratāntra; and No. 246 from the *Sudarśanasatīhita*. No. 234 contains the *Bhairavastava* from the *Bhairavayāmalā* and another incomplete tract.

OTHER WORKS

* The rest are compilations, manuals, and original treatises. No. 224 is *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Mantrasāra* by *Pārvatiputra Nityanātha*. It gives the Mantras to be repeated and the dark processes to be gone through, for the purpose of attaining miraculous or magical powers, such as those of subduing other people to one's own will, raising the dead, &c.

The title of No. 232 is *Netroddyota* which is a work by *Kṣemarāja*, pupil of *Abhinavagupta*.

KĀMAKALĀVILĀSA AND VARIVASYĀRAHASYA

No. 225 is *Kāmakalāvilāsa* with a commentary, and No. 734 *Varivasyārahasya*. The author of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* is *Puṇyānanda*, and of the commentary *Naṭanānandanātha*, while the *Varivasyārahasya* is by *Bhāskararāya*, the son of *Gambhīrarāya* who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The subject of both works is the same, but the first is older and more authoritative and is quoted in the second. They give a mystic interpretation of the modes of worshipping the *Devī* in her agreeable or rather sensual form, and identify the philosophy ultimately involved with that of the *Upaṃśads*. The system is in some places called *Śāmbhavadarśana* by *Naṭanānandanātha*.

ABSTRACT OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE ŚĀMBHAVADARŚANA

Śiva and *Śakti* are the primordial substances. *Śiva* in the form of *Prakāśa* (light) enters into the *Śakti* in the form of *Vimarśa* or *Sphūrṭi* (feeling or appearance), and assumes the form of a *Bindu* (drop), and *Śakti* similarly enters into *Śiva*, whereupon the *Bindu* develops and there arises out of it the

female element called Nāda which is "as minute as the end of a grain of rice and is pregnant with all the primary principles", which, according to this system, are thirty-six in number. These two, the Bindu and the Nāda, becoming united form one compound Bindu, and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies. It is called Kāma (Love), and the two drops, of which that representing the male, is white, and the female, red, form the Kālā. Kāma is identified with the Sun and the two drops of the Kālā with the moon and fire respectively. These three, the compound Bindu or Kāma and the two male and female drops, again form one substance called Kāmakālā, from which proceeds the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vāgarthau).

In the Varivasyārahasya the three substances forming the Kāmakālā are thus stated —1st, the compound drop or Kāma, 2nd, the two male and female drops, and 3rd, what is called the Hārdhakālā which results from the development of the first Bindu after it has been entered into by the Śakti, and the nature of which, says Bhāskararāya, should be known from the mouth of a Guru only and should not be described in a book. This last seems to correspond to the Nāda mentioned by Nāṭanānandanātha. In a text quoted in the commentary on the Kāmakālāvīlāsa, the highest deity or Kāmakālā is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face, fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts, and the Hārdhakālā for her organ of generation.

Kāmakālā is also called Parā, Lalitā, Bhāṭṭārikā, and Tripurasundarī. Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter *a* and Śakti with *h* the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Hence the female element called Nāda which arises from the development of the first Bindu is called Hārdhakālā, i.e., one-half of the Kālā mystically identified with the letter *h*. The mystic symbol of Kāmakālā or Tripurasundarī, who is the

result of the combination of Śiva and Śakti, is the combination of *a* and *h*, i.e., *Ah* or *Aha* which is the same as *Aham* "I." Hence Tripurasundarī is called *Ahaṁtā* or egoism, and hence it is that all her developments (i.e., the whole creation) have egoism or individuality; and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundarī and, according to Puṇyānanda, become Tripurasundarī when they study and practise the Kāmakaḷāvidyā with its series of Devicakras or mystic circles. *A* and *h*, being the first and last letters of the alphabet, contain between them all letters and through them all words, i.e., the whole speech; and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundarī, so are all words which express the things. She is thus called *Parā*, the first of the four kinds of speech. Creation as stated by Bhāskararāya is *Paripāma* or development and not *Vivarta* or the generation of false appearances.

THE THIRTY-SIX PRINCIPLES

The thirty-six primary principles of this system are the following —

1 Śiva	13 Prakṛti	25 Payu
2 Śakti	14 Ahaṁkāra	26 Upastha
3 Sadāśiva	15 Buddhi	27 Śabda
4 Īśvara	16 Manas	28 Sparśa
5 Śuddhavidyā	17 Śrotra	29 Rūpa
6 Māyā	18 Tvac	30 Rasa
7 Kālā	19 Netra	31 Gandha
8 Vidyā	20 Jihvā	32 Ākāśa
9 Rāga	21 Ghrāṇa	33 Vāyu
10 Kālā	22 Vāc	34 Tejas
11 Niyatī	23 Pāpī	35 Ap
12 Puruṣa	24 Pāda	36 Pṛthivī

The first eleven only are peculiar to this system, the rest are the same as those of the Sāṁkhyas. No. 17—21 are the five organs of sense, Nos. 22—26 the organs of action, and No. 16

the organ of sense as well as action. Nos. 27—31 are the five Tanmātrāṇi or subtle elements, and Nos. 32—36 are the developed elements.

This is the philosophy of the Śāmbhava Darśana, and it will be seen that though it admits a male element in the beginning, still, it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant, and the highest deity is a goddess, viz., Tripurasundarī. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundarī, and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. There is a Śākta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, I am told, dresses himself like a female.

MODES OF PROPITIATING THE HIGHEST DEITY

The Varivasyārahasya enters also into the details of the Śakti worship and explains their hidden sense. At the end of the commentary on the Kāmakaḷāvilāsa we are told that no one can attain the knowledge of Brahma(n) as above explained or enter into a union with Śiva or Tripurasundarī who does not assume a Dikṣā, i.e., who does not devote himself to a certain system of religious exercises. There are three kinds of Dikṣā,—Āpavi, Śakti and Śāmbhavi. The Dikṣā can be attained only by the propitiation of the supreme deity. This propitiation is effected by three modes of worship which are called Para, Aparā, and Parāpara. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting in the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavāna (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūjā, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bahyayāga or material worship, and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine (?).

The propitiation by the mode of Cakrapūjā is effected by offering to the Devī the highest nectar, i.e., wine. Meat

and fish are also to be offered and in a text quoted in connection with this matter, five things the names of which begin with *m* are mentioned as calculated to propitiate the Devi. The five are *Madya* or liquor, *Mamsa* or meat, *Matsya* or fish, *Mudra* or mystic gesticulation, and *Maithana* or copulation. This *Śambhava Darśana* is to be resorted to by those who are desirous of *Mokṣa* or final deliverance.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THIS AND THE OTHER TĀNTRIKA SYSTEMS

The systems inculcated in other Tantras such as the *Maṇamāyāsambhava* were no doubt equally with this system taught by Śiva, but they are not to be followed, for Śiva taught them in order to delude the wicked, and men with lower qualifications only should resort to them. It will thus appear that the Tantras inculcate the worship of the supreme female deity in a large variety of mutually inconsistent forms, some of which are dark and terrific. There were a great many sects of Devi-worshippers and each system of worship was conceived in a distinctive spirit.

ART

No. 247 is a copy of the first two out of the seven chapters of a commentary on the *Saṃgītaratnākara* by Kallinātha, son of Lakṣmaṇārya. The Manuscript is very old and the leaves are in a dilapidated condition. We have a fragment of a work on dancing (No. 248), and another of a work on house-building called *Aparājita-prōḥā* by Bhavadeva.

JAINA LITERATURE

WORKS OF THE DIGAMBARA SECT

DHARMA

In the *Pravacanaparīkṣā* by Dharmasāgaragaṇi to be noticed in connection with the literature of the Śvetāmbaras, it is stated that the Digambara sect originated in the year 609 of Mahāvira

corresponding to 83 A.D., on the supposition that Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa took place in 470 before Vikrama, or 526 before Christ. One of the earliest authors whose works are referred to by subsequent writers is Kundakundācārya. The line of High-priests founded by him is mentioned in an Inscription dated 1127 Śaka. (JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 236) Three of his works, the Aṣṭaprabhṛta, the Bhāvādīprabhṛta, and the Samayasāra, exist in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76. There is another copy of the last in my Collection of 1882-83, and in the present Collection we have Manuscripts of two more of his works, the Pravacanāsāra (No. 304), and the Niyamasāra (No. 299)

PRAVACANASĀRA BY KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA WITH A
HINDĪ COMMENTARY

The first consists of Prākṛta Gāthās by Kundakundācārya with a Sanskrit translation by Amṛtacandra, and an excellent exposition in Hindi by Hemarāja, who wrote his commentary at the instance of Kaumharpāla (Kamalapāla) of Agra. Kaumharpāla represented to Hemarāja, that the Samayasāra had already been explained in Hindi by Rājamalla, and if the same thing were done with the Pravacanāsāra, the religion of the Jina would flourish in all its branches, and requested him to write a Hindi commentary on the work. This commentary was finished on Sunday the 5th of the light half of the month of Māgha in the year 1709 during the reign of Shah Jahan. The present Manuscript was transcribed in Sainvat 1809, so that the date 1709 must refer to the Sainvat or Vikrama era, and is thus equivalent to 1653 A.D., when Shah Jahan was on the throne of Delhi.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRAVACANASĀRA

The first leaf of the Manuscript is missing but from the Hindi commentary on the second it appears that it contained a Gāthā expressive of adoration of Vardhamāna, the last Tīrthamkara. In the second Gāthā obeisance is rendered to the other

Tirthankaras along with the Siddhas and Śramapas, and in the third, to the Arhats living during the author's time. In the fourth and fifth, after having in this manner adored the Arhats, Siddhas, Gaṇadharas, Adhyāpakas, and Śādhus, who we are told constitute the five classes of Parameṣṭhins, the author expresses his submission to or dependence on (Upasampadya) that "state of serenity" (Sāmya) attained by them which leads to Nirvāṇa and which is associated with or follows upon faith in the correct doctrine (Viśuddhadarśana) and knowledge (Jñāna).

THE THREE JEWELS

The sixth Gāthā sets forth that a Jīva or soul obtains Nirvāṇa and also the dignity of the sovereign of the gods, Asuras, and men, from Cāritra (right conduct), associated pre-eminently with faith in the true doctrine (Samyagdarśana¹) and knowledge (Jñāna). The commentator explains that there are two kinds of Cāritra, one which is unaccompanied by desire (Vitarāga) and the other which is accompanied (Sarāga). The first leads to Mokṣa or eternal bliss, and the second to the sovereign dignity spoken of in the Gāthā.

In the seventh Gāthā we are told that Cāritra, or right conduct is Dharma, Dharma is what is called Sāmya (serenity or equanimity), and Sāmya is a condition induced on the soul or the developed condition of the soul (Paripāma), in which ignorance (Moha) and perturbation (Kṣobha) are absent.

The eighth sets forth that the developed condition of any object is for the time that that condition lasts, the object itself; therefore, when the condition of Dharma is developed in the soul it is the soul itself, i.e., Dharma is the soul in that developed condition.

¹ This expression always means seeing or believing in the truth of the doctrines of Jina.

THE THREE KINDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUL

Ninth Gāthā.—Jīva being capable of development or change becomes meritorious (Śubha) when merit is induced in him by such deeds as alms-giving, worshipping, observing vows and fasts, full of demerit (Aśubha) when that quality is developed by deeds of demerit, and pure or serene when developed as free from desire

Tenth Gāthā —There is no substance without some development (Paripāma), nor is there development without substance; a thing's having existence is its being made up of substance, quality, and development

- Eleventh Gāthā.—The soul or Ātman that develops in the form of Dharma obtains the bliss of Nīrvāṇa when he realizes in himself the "pure" or "serene" (Śuddha) i.e., when the Dharma is of that nature, and heavenly bliss when the meritorious (Śubha) is realized, i.e., when the Dharma consists of merit.

Twelfth Gāthā —When the soul realizes in himself demerit, he becomes a low man, a brute, or a denizen of hell, and being subject to a variety of torments wanders for long (through the circle of existences).

THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT AND ITS RESULTS

Thirteenth Gāthā —Those who become perfect through being developed into pure serenity (Śuddha Dharma) enjoy in themselves bliss surpassing every other kind of it, beyond all pleasure of sense, incomparable, endless, and indestructible.

Fourteenth Gāthā.—That Śramana is to be considered as having realized the pure or serene in himself (Śuddhopayukta) who knows perfectly all things and the systems that explain them, who possesses self-restraint and has practised austerities, who is free from desire, and to whom pleasure and pain are alike

Fifteenth Gāthā.—He who has become pure by the realization in himself of the pure or serene, is free from the dust in the shape of, everything that acts as an obstruction to knowledge (Antarāya) and that deludes or misleads (Moha), and thus obtains omniscience and becomes self-sufficient

Sixteenth Gāthā—Having thus attained to his nature (the highest development of his nature) and become omniscient, deserving of respect from the lords of the three worlds, and self-sufficient, he becomes what is called Svayambhū

Seventeenth Gāthā—There is in him then production (of the highest nature) not to be followed by destruction, and a destruction (of the lower nature) not to be followed by production, thus in him unchangeable existence, production, and destruction are united

Eighteenth Gāthā.—With reference to one development or another, a thing undergoes production and destruction (at the same time), everything verily has existence (which existence implies the production of one development or modification and destruction of another, and also permanence in so far as it is the same substance)

Nineteenth Gāthā.—After his Ghāti-karmans¹ (the disabling Karmans) have been destroyed and he has come to have infinite power and extensive light, his knowledge no more depends on the senses, and he develops in the form of pure knowledge and bliss.

Twentieth Gāthā.—The possessor of pure knowledge (i.e., a Kevalin) has no bodily pleasure or pain, since he does not

1 The Ghāṭini Karmāṇi are five —1, Jñānāvaraṇiṇi, that which acts as an impediment to the knowledge of the truth, 2, Darśanāvaraṇiṇi, that which acts as an impediment to the belief in the efficacy of the Jaina dispensation, 3, Mohaniṇi, that which produces bewilderment and disability to choose between the various dispensations promulgated by different teachers, 4, Antaryā, that which prevents one's entrance on the path that leads to eternal bliss.—Govindānanda's commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya on [Vedānta Sūtra] II. 2. 33.

depend on or has no senses. The nature of his knowledge and his bliss should therefore be understood.

Twenty-first Gāthā.—To him (Kevalin) who has developed in the form of pure knowledge, all the developments of substances (past, present and future) are directly perceptible ; he has not to go through the efforts Avagraha¹ and others (as ordinary mortals have).

Twenty-second Gāthā.—Nothing is imperceptible to him who has himself become pure knowledge, and who possessing the perceptive power of the senses, has not the senses themselves.

Twenty-third Gāthā.—The soul or Ātman is co-extensive with knowledge, knowledge is co-extensive with the objects of knowledge, the objects of knowledge are Loka (or the universe of things) and Āloka (or pure vacuity), and therefore knowledge is all-reaching

Twenty-fourth Gāthā —He who does not believe the Ātman to be as extensive as knowledge must believe it to be either smaller or larger than knowledge.

Twenty-fifth Gāthā.—If the Ātman be smaller, then knowledge, being Acetana or not-knowing, will not be self-conscious, since being larger, knowledge must exist in some place without Ātman who alone is Cetana or knowing ; if it be larger, then, in places where there is no knowledge, he will not know or be Cetana, i e., Ātman will have to be considered as Acetana in those places in which there is no knowledge

Twenty-sixth Gāthā.—The best of Jinas is everywhere and all things in the universe are in him (in the sense in which all things reflected in a mirror are in the mirror), for he is pure

1 Avagraha, Īhā, Avāya, and Dhāraṇā are the four stages through which a sensation passes. When a thing is seen at a distance and we are unable to determine whether it is a man or a post, the perception is in the Avagraha stage, desire to have a distinct perception of the thing which follows is Īhā, distinct perception is Avāya, and the retention of the impression which renders recollection possible is Dhāraṇā.—Sakalekīrti's Tattvārthasāradīpaka.

knowledge and they are the objects of knowledge. (This follows from Gāthā 23.)

Twenty-seventh Gāthā.—The doctrine [of Jina] is that knowledge is Ātman, for without Ātman there can be no knowledge, therefore knowledge is Ātman, but Ātman may be knowledge or anything else, i.e., any other attribute of Ātman such as happiness or power.

GĀTHĀS 28 to 52

WHEN KARMAN ACTS AS A FETTER

Then up to Gāthā 52 a good deal more is said with regard to Jñāna or knowledge. In the 43rd and 44th we are told that the best of Jinās have taught that Karman necessarily ripens and produces its effects; but it acts as a fetter (Bandha) only when delusion, desire and hatred are produced by those effects, if one does not allow himself to be so deluded, attracted, or repelled, it does not act as a fetter tying him down to the circle of births. Even the Arhats have to go through certain actions, such as standing, sitting and moving about, and teaching the Dharma; but these are spontaneous, as amorous movements are in the case of young women, and do not produce delusion or desire, hence they do not act as a fetter.

KṢĀYIKA JÑĀNA

That knowledge is Kṣāyika (produced by the Kṣaya or destruction of the power of Karman) which embraces simultaneously the past, present, and future conditions of all things; while that knowledge which is not simultaneous, but is produced by degrees after one comes in contact with objects, is not Kṣāyika, nor eternal, nor all-embracing

GĀTHĀS 53 to 68

HAPPINESS OF THE SECOND DEVELOPED CONDITION OF THE SOUL

Then, up to Gāthā 68 we have what is called Atindriya-sukhādhikāra or the treatment of the bliss enjoyed by the

Kevalin who has no senses, and afterwards of the happiness derived from the senses. This last depends upon Śubhopyoga or the realization of the Śubha or meritorious. He who devotes himself to the worship of the deities, the Yatis (ascetics), and the preceptor, and to a virtuous course of conduct, and observes fasts, is a Śubhopyogin. By this course of conduct a soul attains happiness in one or all of the three conditions of life, viz, that of a brute, man, or god. But this is a bodily happiness and does not spring from the nature of the soul, it is associated with misery, it only sharpens desire while being enjoyed and thus brings on restlessness. So that this sort of happiness is hardly to be distinguished from the misery that follows the realization of the sinful character (Aśubhopyoga). There is little to choose between them. Real bliss is to be attained by him only who puts an end to all delusion (Moha), desire (Rāga) and hatred (Dveṣa), and one can do this only by knowing the truth taught by the Jina, and learning to distinguish himself as the pure knowing soul or light from all other things which are insensate.

GĀTHĀS 69 to 92

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE JĀNATATTVA ENDS

With Gāthā 92 ends the explanation of Jñānatattva which is called the first Adhikāra, those mentioned before being subordinate Adhikāras. Then begins the Jñeya Adhikāra.

THE JÑEYA ADHIKĀRA

DRAVYA WITH GUṆAS AND PARYĀYAS

Jñeya or the knowable is Dravya or substance with Guṇas or qualities and Paryāyas or developments or modifications. Qualities are inseparable from Dravya and are looked upon as constituting the breadth of a Dravya, while modifications extend over time, and involve sequence, and constitute the length of a Dravya.

There are modifications of substance and modifications of qualities. The modification resulting from a combination of substances is substantial modification (*Dravyaparyāya*). This is of two kinds —1st, that produced by the combination of like substances, and 2nd, that produced by the combination of unlike substances. The combination of atoms of the same substance to form a *Skandha* such as *Dvyaṇuka* *Tryaṇuka*, &c., is an instance of the first kind, and men, gods, &c., resulting from the combination of spirit (*Jīva*) and matter (*Pudgala*), are instances of the second.

Modifications of qualities are also of two kinds —1st, that produced by the increase or decrease of the qualities of the same substance, and 2nd, that which is due to the combination of the qualities of different substances.

It is the nature of *Dravya* or substance to have qualities and modifications, and to be subject to production and destruction at the same time that it has permanence (*Utpāda-vināśa-dhrauṇya*). To be thus is to exist. Though a substance is spoken of as something distinct from its qualities or modifications, still it is to be considered as identical with them, since neither of them can exist without the other. When an old form or modification, such as that of loose earth, is destroyed, a new one such as that of a jar is produced, and in both cases we have the same substance, viz., earth. Thus at one and the same time we have production and destruction along with continuance or permanence.

There are two ways of looking at things, one called *Dravyārthikanaya* and the other *Paryāyārthikanaya*. The production of a jar is the production of something not previously existing, if we think of it from the latter point of view, i.e. as a *Paryāya* or modification, while it is not the production of something not previously existing, when we look at it from the former point of view, i.e. as a *Dravya* or substance. So when a soul becomes, through his merits or

demerits, a god, a man, or a denizen of hell, from the first point of view, the being is the same, but from the second he is not the same, i.e., different in each case. So that you can affirm or deny something of a thing at one and the same time.

THE SEVEN MODES OF ASSERTION

This leads to the celebrated Saptabhanginaya or the seven modes of assertion. You can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (Syād asti), deny it from another (Syān nāsti), and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (Syād asti, nāsti). If you should think of affirming both existence and non-existence, at the same time from the same point of view, you must say that the thing cannot be so spoken of (Syād avaktavyaḥ). Similarly, under certain circumstances, the affirmation of existence is not possible, (Syād asti avaktavyaḥ), of non-existence (Syān nāsti avaktavyaḥ), and also of both (Syād asti nāsti avaktavyaḥ).

What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere, at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything. It may exist in one place and not in another, at one time and not at another, &c. It is not meant by these modes that there is no certainty, or that we have to deal with probabilities only, as some scholars have thought. All that is implied is that every assertion which is true is true only under certain conditions of space, time, &c. This is the substance of the section which treats of Dravyasāmānya or Dravya generally.

SPECIES OF DRAVYA AND THEIR PROPERTIES

Then we have Dravyaviśeṣa. Dravya is divided into Jīva and Ajīva. Jīva is Cetana, i.e., sentient or conscious, and Ajīva Acetana, i.e., insentient or unconscious. The latter is of five kinds—Pudgala (matter), Dharma (right conduct), Adharma (unrighteousness), Kāla (time), and Ākāśa, (space). Ākāśa is

divided into two parts, Loka and Aloka. The first is filled with Jiva and the first four unconscious substances, the other is a void. Some qualities are Mūrta, i.e., Indriyagrāhya or perceptible by the senses, others are Amūrta or not perceptible by the senses.

The qualities of Pudgala are Mūrta and of the other substances, Amūrta.

The peculiar property of Ākāśa is Avagāha, i.e., giving room for the other substances to exist in, of Dharma, to give motion to the Pudgala associated with Jiva, of Adharma, to confine the Jivapudgala to a certain place, of Kāla or time, to render the modifications of substances possible, and of Jiva or Ātman, to undergo Upayoga, i.e., the realization of the three kinds of nature mentioned before.

A Jiva or Ātman in a worldly condition has four kinds of Prāpa or living powers, viz., 1st, Indriyaprāpa or the sensational power of five kinds, 2nd, Balaprāpa, or the power of action by means of the body, speech, and mind, 3rd, Āyuhprāpa or the power of sustaining a bodily form, and 4th, Ānāpānaprāpa or the power of respiration. The first being of five kinds and the second of three, we have altogether ten.

The four kinds of Prāpa are the effects of Pudgala, and the Jiva having delusion, desire, and hatred developed in it, becomes tied down to the Karman which Pudgala generates and to the Prāpas, and thus experiences the fruit of the Karman, and while so experiencing contracts the ties of other Karmans. "The Ātman being sullied by Karman assumes Prāpas again and again as long as he does not abandon his attachment to the body and other external objects" (24). The several forms of god, man, brute, &c., which the same soul goes through, are due to Nāman (name) and Karman which spring from the Pudgala (27). The body, the Manas

(mind), and speech are the effects of Pudgala; and a Pudgala substance is a collection of atoms "I am not made up of Pudgala, nor have I made the collections of Pudgala atoms; therefore am I not the body nor its creator" (36)

Karman arises from Pudgala, but it operates as a fetter to the Ātman, because he is capable of seeing and knowing the properties of Pudgala and conceiving a desire or hatred for the objects created by Pudgala (47, 48, 49) The modification of the soul consisting of desire, hatred, and delusion produces Bandha or the fettered condition (54) The Ātman is the author of his own condition or development, not of that of the Pudgala, the actions of the Pudgala are not done by the Ātman though he is associated with the Pudgala (58, 59).

When the Ātman having desire and hatred is developed into the Śubha (good) or Aśubha (evil) condition, then Pudgala develops into the eight kinds of Karman¹ the first of which is the concealment of the truth, and since both are associated together in same place, that Karman operates as a fetter to the soul (60, 61) The fetters of the soul are really his delusion, desire, and hatred, and the actions of the Pudgala are so only in a secondary sense (63) He who does not abandon his attachment for his body and possessions and thinks 'here I am', 'this is mine', abandons the path of a Śramana and goes astray (64).

'I do not belong to others, others do not belong to me, I am mere knowledge (Jñāna)'; he who thinks thus thinks really of himself as the Ātman (65). I think myself to be knowledge and faith (Darsanabhūta), not to be

1 The eight Karmans are the four Ghātina mentioned before, and the four Aghātina. These last are—1, Vedanīya, i.e., the belief that there is something which one has to know, 2, Nānīka, i.e., the belief that I am a person bearing such and such a name, 3, Gotrika, i.e., the knowledge that I now belong to the family of the pupils of the worshipful Arhat, 4, Āyuska, i.e., actions necessary for the preservation of life. These four are of use to enable one to know the truth, therefore they are Aghātina, i.e., not injurious, favourable.—Govindānanda, loc. cit.

apprehended by the senses, the great being, firm, unchangeable, and independent (66). Bodies, possessions, pleasure, pain, enemies, and friends are not everlasting, the pure nature of the soul as knowledge and faith is everlasting (67). He who being purified contemplates himself as such cuts the knot of delusion (68). The knot of delusion being cut, desire and hatred being destroyed, a man assumes the nature of a Śramana indifferent to pleasure or pain, and attains eternal happiness (69).

HOW TO ATTAIN THE HIGHEST CONDITION OF WHICH THE SOUL IS CAPABLE

Having in this manner explained the nature of the particular Dravyas and the three conditions of the Jiva or Ātman, our author proceeds to describe the way of attaining the highest condition, viz., that of purity and simple thought in which there is eternal bliss. That way is to become a Śramana after one has taken leave of his relations and friends. Here two leaves of the Manuscript are missing. But the frame of mind in which one should enter on that condition of life, appears to have been given here in this way. The man should think that nothing in the world really belongs to him, should have subdued his passions, and should be determined to go through the several modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith, and of Cāritra, Tapas, and Virya.

The commentator states that the modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith are eight in each case, Cāritra is of thirteen kinds, Tapas of twelve kinds, and Viryācāra is intended to bring forth the powers of one's own soul. The intending Śramana should also have assumed Yathājātarūpa, literally "that form in which one is born," the original or primitive and uncontaminated form.

REQUISITES OF A ŚRAMANA

The external requisites of a Muni or Śramana laid down by the Jina are that he should assume such a form, and should shave

off his hair and moustache, should have no property, abstain from killing, and should not adorn his body. The internal requisites which put a stop to future births are, that he should be free from attachment to worldly objects, that he should be devoted to the purification of his nature (Upayogaśuddhi), his actions should be pure, and he should not be dependent on any thing (other than himself) (4, 5) He should also realize in himself such other characteristics as the preceptor, who initiates him, may point out, and should learn the vows, and then it is that he becomes a Śramana (6).

The following are the primary requisites of a Śramana as laid down by the best of Jinās, and if they are set at nought through carelessness, the Śramana has to be re-initiated. (a) Vratas or vows for avoiding sinful actions, which are five¹ according to the commentator; (b) Samitis for the preservation of the vows, which are also five², (c) Indriyarodha or the restraining of the five senses, (d) shaving off the hair, (e) six³ Āvaśyaka observances, (f) Acela, 'not

1 The five Vratas or Mahāvratas are —1 Ahimsā, not to kill, i.e., to protect all life, 2 Satya, speaking the truth as well as what is agreeable, 3 Asteya, not to steal (even a blade of grass), 4 Brahmacharya, chastity, 5 Ākimkāya, poverty — Sakalākīrti's Tattvārthasāradīpaka.

2 They are —1 Iryāsamiti, going by paths trodden by men, beasts, carts &c., and looking carefully, so as not to occasion the death of any living creature, 2 Bhāṣāsamiti, gentle, salutary, sweet, righteous speech, 3 Ekaṇāsamiti, receiving alms in a manner to avoid the forty-two faults that are laid down, 4 Ādānani-kṣepaṇāsamiti, receiving and keeping of the things necessary for religious exercises, after having carefully examined them; 5 Pari-(Prati-)sthāpanāsamiti, performing the operations of nature in an unfrequented place.—Ibid, and Mādhyama's Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha, p. 89

3 These are —I Sāmāyika. II Caturvimsatīstava, III Vandana, IV Prati-kramaṇa, V Pratyakhyāna, VI Kāyotsarga. I. Sāmāyika is freedom from love and hatred or equanimity as regards the agreeableness or disagreeableness of things. This is of six kinds. 1, Nāmasāmayika, which consists in not liking good names or disliking bad names, 2, Sthāpanāsāmayika, not being pleased or displeased

wearing cloth' or nudity; (g) *Asnāna*, "not bathing"; (h) *Kṣitīśayana*, "sleeping on the bare ground"; (i) *Adanta-dhavana*, "not cleansing the teeth"; (k) *Sthitabhojana*, "dining while standing"; (l) *Ekabhukta*, "taking one meal

with beautiful or ugly images (of gods and others), 3, *Dravyasāmāyika*, regarding agreeable objects such as gold and disagreeable objects such as earth, equally; 4, *Kṣetrasāmāyika*, making no difference between pleasant places such as a garden and unpleasant places such as a forest of brambles, 5, *Kālasāmāyika*, not being pleased or displeased by agreeable or disagreeable seasons and times, 6, *Bhāvasāmāyika*, love for all living beings and shunning everything of an evil tendency. Some of these are also otherwise explained.

II. *Caturvīṃśatīstava* is the praising with devotion of the twenty-four *Tīrthavāhara*s. This is also of six kinds, *Nāmastava*, *Sthāpanāstava*, *Dravyastava*, &c.

III. *Vandanā* is humbling oneself before one who deserves to be worshipped by making obeisance, and praising, invoking a blessing, singing his triumph, &c.

IV. *Pratikramana* is the expiation of the sins concerning *Nāman* (names), *Sthāpanā* (images), *Dravya* (objects), *Kṣetra* (places), *Kāla* (times), and *Bhāva*, (mental states), or sins generally, by means of *Nindana*, *Garhāṇa*, and *Ālocana*, and other processes. *Nindana* is condemning the sinful act or repenting of it to oneself, *Garhāṇa* is doing the same before a *Guru*, and *Ālocana* is making a confession of it to a *Guru*. *Pratikramana* is of seven kinds — That performed (1) every day, (2) every night, (3) every fortnight, (4) every four months, and (5) every year, (6) that which has reference to *Iryāpatha* (walking), and (7) *Uttamāṛthika*, consisting in abstaining from food for the remainder of one's life after confessing all sins and becoming careless about the body. The particular species of *Pratikramana* are differently given in other books.

V. *Pratyākhyāna* is keeping aloof from or avoiding evil or improper names (*Nāman*), images (*Sthāpanā*), objects (*Dravya*), and the other three, in order not to incur sin.

VI. *Kāyotsarga* is the abandoning of one's body, i.e., one's attachment to his body in order to purify himself from sins incurred by resorting to evil names, images, objects, &c., to lessen the force of *Karma* and thrive in holiness. This is done while a man is standing with all his limbs immovable, his arms hanging downwards straight, the knees unbent, the feet apart from each other by the distance of four fingers, and the toes straight.—From Chap. VIII. of *Āśādhara's Dharmasūtra*.

only." In all there are twenty-eight observances (7, 8). If after the holy bodily observances have been begun, a break occurs, it should be condoned by processes the first of which is *Ālocana* or confession. And if there is an interruption in the internal advancement, the Śramāpa should go to another Śramāpa who is proficient in the doctrine of the Jina, confess his fault and abide by his directions (10, 11). Wherever he lives, whether in the company of other Śramāpas or alone, a Śramāpa should take care that his vow is not violated, and should avoid attachment for all things other than his pure soul. The Śramāpa's vow is to be considered as properly observed only then, when he avoids all attachment, devotes himself to the true doctrine and to the acquisition of knowledge, and fulfils the (twenty-eight) primary requisites (12, 13).

Attachment to objects other than one's pure soul operates as a fetter, therefore do Śramāpas abandon everything. Without total renunciation the heart is not purified, and if the heart is not purified what possibility is there of the destruction of Karman (18, 19)? But this general rule has exceptions. A Śramāpa may, having in view the necessities of the time and place when and where he lives, take such things to himself as do not check his highest development (21). Such form of the body as befits a Śramāpa, the words of a Guru, discipline (*Vinaya*), the study of the *Sūtras*, must be accepted (24), these cannot be renounced. So also the things the abandonment of which would check progress must be accepted. Without the body you cannot go through the whole discipline which brings on the highest development; it should therefore be preserved and food taken to preserve it. But if the food is acquired by begging without committing the forty-two faults, the Śramāpa who eats it may be said in effect not to eat it (26). He is a Śramāpa who does not care for this world or for the next, who eats and moves just in the proper manner, and who is free from *Kaṣāya*, i.e., love and hatred or

likes and dislikes (25). The body is the only property of the Śramaṇa and for it even he has no attachment.

PERFECT FAITH IN THE TRUE DOCTRINE NECESSARY
FOR A ŚRAMAṆA

This is the Ācāra or course of conduct prescribed for a Śramaṇa, but one essential thing more is required for the attainment of Mokṣa. He who is absorbed in one thing only is a Śramaṇa. Such singleness of devotion he only has whose knowledge about the nature of things is certain, and certainty of knowledge can be had from the Āgamas or Jaina sacred books only, therefore, the study of Āgamas is a matter of the highest importance (1) The Śramaṇa who has not studied the Āgamas does not know the nature of his soul, and the nature of things distinct from the soul, and it is not possible for him to put an end to Karman if he does not know the nature of these things (2) All objects with their various qualities and developments are properly explained in the Āgamas, and the Śramaṇas know them only by learning the Āgamas (4). If a Śramaṇa does not see things through the Āgamas, there can be no moral discipline for him (Saihyama), and if there is no moral discipline, how can he become a Śramaṇa (5)? He does not become perfect by merely learning the Āgamas, if he has no faith in what is taught there about things, nor does he obtain eternal bliss (Nirvāṇa) by mere faith if he does not go through the moral discipline. (6).

NO KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT FAITH IN THE SCRIPTURES
NO ETERNAL BLISS BY MERE FAITH WITHOUT MORAL DISCIPLINE
THEREFORE THE THREE JEWELS NECESSARY

Here is explained the necessity of the so-called three jewels (Ratnas), viz., Jñāna or knowledge of things as revealed in the Āgamas; Darśana or faith in what is taught there; and Cāritra or Dharma, i.e., moral discipline—But if a man has a particle of attachment for the body and other things he does

not become perfect or attain eternal bliss even if he knows all Āgamas (8). That Śramana, who has realized the five Samitis and the three¹ Guptas, restrained the five senses, got over the² Kaṣṭha,³ and has Darśana and Jñāna fully, is to be considered as having undergone thorough discipline (Samyata) (9). Friends and foes, pleasure and pain, praise and censure, a clod of earth and gold, are alike to him (10). He who is perfected simultaneously in Darśana, Jñāna, and Cāritra is to be regarded as having attained singleness of devotion (Aikāgrya), and has completely realized the nature of the Śramana.

THE ŚRAMANAS WHO ATTAIN THE SECOND CONDITION ONLY

The way to eternal bliss has thus been shown. The author next proceeds to mention the duties of the Śramanas who realize the Śubha or good only, and not the Śuddha. These two classes of monks are mentioned, he says, in the scriptures, the first have Āsrava⁴, and the last are free from it. The duties of the Śubhopayogin are —Devotion for the Arhats, kindness towards

1 Gupti means the protection of the soul from desire, hatred, and delusion, which tie him to the Samsāra. They are three —1, Manogupti or preventing the mind from wandering in the forest of sensual pleasures by employing it in contemplation, study, &c., 2, Vāggupti, i.e., preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence, &c., 3, Kāyagupti, i.e., putting the body in an immovable posture as in the case of Kāyotsarga.—From Sakalākṛti's Tattvārthasāra.

2 Krodha, 'anger', Māna, 'pride', Māyā 'deceit,' and Lobha 'greed'.—Sarva-darśana and Sakalākṛti.

3 Āsravas are the movements of the soul corresponding to the movements of the Manas, speech, and body through which Karman flows in from the Padgala to the soul. This Karman brought in by the movements (i.e., the Āsravas) the soul takes in when he is influenced by Kaṣṭha, as a wet piece of cloth takes in all the particles of dust brought towards it by the wind.—Sarva-darśanasamgraha and Kīrtikeyānupreksā. Sometimes the flowing in of the Karman through the movements which are called Yogas is regarded as Āsrava.—Sakalākṛti.

the learned ; adorning and saluting the great Śuddha Śramanas, treating them with respect by going forward to receive them when they come, and following them when they go , preaching Jñāna and Darśana, receiving pupils, and bringing them up, giving instruction in the worship of the Jinās, doing all the good he can to the four classes of Śrāvakas (lay-followers), Śrāvikās (females), Yatis (priests), and Āryās, and to the body of the Śramanas, without doing harm to his own person ; conferring benefits on all Jainas, priests as well as lay persons, through compassion without expecting anything in return ; and doing what he can, to bring relief when he sees a Śramana afflicted with disease, hunger, thirst, and fatigue Such a course of conduct is good for a Śramana , but for a Gṛhastha or householder it is of the highest importance and leads him indirectly to Mokṣa.

THE FIVE JEWELS

Then follow a few Gāthās which contain some general observations, and the work ends with five, each of which is, according to the commentator, devoted to each of the five jewels (Ratnas) which make up the whole Jaina creed. These five jewels are —1, Saṃsārātattva, 2, Mokṣātattva, 3, Mokṣātattvasādhaka, 4, Mokṣātattvasādhana, 5, Śāstraphalalābha.

1.—In the first of these Gāthās, it is stated that he who does not apprehend the true doctrines which form the Jaina creed and believes his fancies to be true, revolves in the circle of existences for ever.

2.—He whose conduct is not improper, and who has firm belief in the truth, and is at peace, does not remain long without the fruit.

3.—He who knows all things truly, is free from attachment for external as well as internal things foreign to his true nature,

and has no desire for the pleasures of sense, is called Śuddha or pure.

4.—He who is pure is a real Śramana, he alone knows the correct doctrine and possesses true knowledge, and he alone attains Nirvāṇa.

The next five leaves being lost, the fifth Gāthā is not before me.

COMPARISON OF THE CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF JAINISM WITH THOSE OF THE SĀMĀKHYA, VEDĀNTIC AND BUDDHISTIC SYSTEMS

THIS is a summary of the Jaina doctrines as explained by a teacher of very great authority among the Digambaras. The idea of the three conditions of the soul, the sinful, the meritorious or virtuous, and the pure or serene,—with the corresponding fruits of a miserable life among the lowest orders of being, of a life of happiness and pleasure in the regions of the gods, and of eternal bliss—, is common to this system with the Sāṃkhya, the Advaita Vedānta, and Buddhism. But it differs from the last in maintaining the existence of the soul as an independent substance, and from the other two in regarding love, hatred, merit or virtue, &c., as qualities of the soul, and in maintaining that the soul is capable of development or modification. According to the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, the soul is in its nature, unchangeable (Avyaya), unperishable (Nitya), pure (Śuddha), limitless thought (Buddha), and unfettered (Mukta), while love, hatred, virtue, &c., and the fettered condition are the results of the insentient principle, which is Prakṛti in the first system, and Māyā or Avidyā in the second.

With the Jainas the fettered condition is the result of the qualities of the soul, love or desire and hatred, and of their insentient principle, the Pudgala. To distinguish the soul from the Prakṛti or Avidyā with its results, and know it as distinct, is what is necessary for Mokṣa or deliverance according to those two systems ;

while according to the Jainas, that condition of the soul, in which it loves and hates, must give way to the development of the highest qualities, viz., purity, serenity, and limitless knowledge.

In admitting love, hatred, and others as the qualities of the soul, the Jainas agree with the Vaiśeṣikas. On one or two points they hold a view which is of the nature of a compromise between the Sāṃkhyas and the Vedāntins on the one hand and the Vaiśeṣikas on the other. The former maintain the doctrine of Satkārya, i e, that an effect is the same as its material cause or pre-exists in that cause and is only made manifest by the operation which that cause undergoes, while the latter advocate the doctrine of Asatkārya, i e, that the effect which is produced is something new and did not exist before. But the Jainas maintain that an effect pre-exists in the cause in one sense and is a new thing in another. If you look at an effect such as a jar as a mere substance, the substance is the same as in the loose earth of which the jar is made; but if you look at the jar as a modification, it is new and did not exist when the earth was in the condition of loose particles.

Similarly, Dravya as the substratum of qualities is not recognised by the Sāṃkhyas and Vedāntins, with them a Dravya and its qualities are identical. The Vaiśeṣikas regard the two as distinct but connected together by the relation of Samavāya (constant connection). The Jainas admit Dravya as the substratum of qualities, but like the Sāṃkhyas and Vedāntins regard both as identical, since one of them cannot exist without the other.

JAINISM NOT A SECT OF BUDDHISM

The Jainas attribute the fettered condition of the soul or Bandha to delusion, desire, and hatred, or more systematically to Kaṣāya as explained in a former note, and inculcate moral discipline as the means of destroying them. The Bauddhas also seem in a way, according to some writers, to attribute it to desire; but they trace worldly misery and the succession of

births and deaths to Avidyā or ignorance of the truths that everything is momentary and there is no such permanent substance as the soul. This is unknown to Jaina metaphysics; but the two systems agree in laying down moral discipline as the way of riddance from the Samsāra. They have also got some names such as Arhat, Śramaṇa, and Jina, which are common, though the Jainas have altered the sense of a few, such as the term Pudgala. But the doctrinal differences and differences on minor points are so great that Jainism and Buddhism must be considered as two different systems of religion springing from the same stream of ideas, just as in modern times the systems of Rāmānuja and Madhva have sprung up from the same current of Pāñcarātra and Vedāntic ideas, and one of them can by no means be considered to have branched off from the other.

But, that as a system, Jainism is much later than Buddhism, is, I think, unquestionable, because, 1st, some of its ideas resemble those of the Vaiśeṣikas, 2nd, a morbid extravagance characterises its moral discipline, while the tone of that of Buddhism is much more healthy; and 3rd, its sacred language is the principal Prakrit, while that of the Buddhists was originally the Pālī, and the Prakrits were, as I have stated elsewhere,¹ formed in my opinion, about the beginning of the Christian era. So that though the Niggantha Nātaputta may have flourished about the time of Buddha, Jainism must have received a definite shape, and the sect become compact, several centuries later. But of this more hereafter.

THE NIYAMASĀRA

No. 299 is a copy of the Niyamasāra with a commentary by Padmaprabhāmaladhārīdeva. The Manuscript is in many places unreadable. In the second Gāthā it is stated that Mārga and

¹ In his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages, included in the Fourth Volume of this Edition. [N. B. U.]

Mārgaphala are mentioned in the system of Jina; Marga is the way to deliverance (Mokṣa), and its fruit is Nirvāṇa.

Niyama means that which must be necessarily done, and Jñāna or knowledge, Darśana or faith, and Cāritra or moral discipline constitute Niyama. Niyama is the way to deliverance and its fruit is the highest Nirvāṇa.

NATURE OF ITS CONTENTS

The work thus expounds the whole discipline which the seeker of eternal bliss should subject himself to, and the great vows, the Samitis, the Guptis, &c., are explained. In the introduction the commentator renders his obeisance to Siddhasena, to Akalaṅkabhāṭṭa who was a "sun to the lotus in the shape of reasoning," to Pūjyapāda who was a "moon to the sea of words" (grammar), and to Viranandin. In the body of the work, Padmaprabha quotes Amṛtacandra, Guṇabhadra, Samantabhadra, Somadeva and others.

The work contains twelve Adhikāras which are as follows — 1st, Jīva, 2nd, Ajīva, 3rd, Bhāva, 4th, Vyavahāracāritra, 5th, Nisāyapratikramana, 6th, Nisāyapratyākhyāna, 7th, Ālocana, 8th, Śuddhanisāyaprayāścitta, 9th, Paramasamādhi, 10th, Paramabhakti, 11th, Nisāyaparamāvaśyaka, 12th, Śuddhopayoga. Each of these is called a Śrutaskandha. At the beginning of the fifth Adhikāra, Mādhavasenaśūri is adored by the commentator and at the end, Viranandin.

DHARMAMṚTA WITH A COMMENTARY BY ĀSĀDHARA AND ITS CONTENTS

No. 297 is a Manuscript of the Dharmamṛta by Āsādhara with a commentary by himself entitled Bhavyakumudacandrikā. The work has nine chapters. In the first, the general nature of Dharma consisting of the three jewels is explained, and in the second the nature of Samyaktva as well as the way of realizing

it. Mithyātva is faith in gods that have animal and human attributes such as hunger, desire, and hatred, in teachers who are encumbered with clothing, &c., and in Dharma that allows of the destruction of life ; and the opposite of this is Samyaktva. So that Samyaktva is faith in the Jaina, or in this particular case, the Digambara doctrines, and Mithyātva is faith in other creeds. In the Niyamasāra also it is stated that Samyaktva is the result of faith in the doctrines laid down in the Āgamas revealed by the Āpta who is spoken of as one who is free from all shortcomings and in whom the highest qualities have been developed

The subjects treated in the following chapters are these —III Jñāna, IV Cāritra or Samyakcāritra, V Piṇḍa-viśuddhi or the unobjectionable food, VI Mārgamahodyoga, i.e., the subduing of the passions, such as anger, pride, &c., and the acquisition of the gentle virtues, VII Tapas—(1) external, consisting in fasting or eating little, &c, and (2) internal, consisting in Ālocana or confession, Pratikramana, and several other processes¹, VIII, the six Āvaśyakas explained in a former note², IX, the daily and occasional duties (Nitya and Naimittika) such as the adoration of the Jinās and of the Guru, the worship of the images of the Tirthamkaras, and others.

Āśādhara's HISTORY

At the end of the work Āśādhara gives his own history. Āśādhara belonged to the family of Vyāghreraṅga and was the son of Sallakṣaṇa or Lakṣaṇa and his wife Ratnī. He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country of "a lac and a quarter" (Sapādalakṣa) which was the ornament of the Śākambhari Lake. He had by his wife Sarasvatī, a son of the name of Chāhaḍa who was a favourite of Arjunadeva, king of Malava. Āśādhara was lovingly complimented by the sage

1 These will be fully given below.

2 Ante, pp 236 ff, note 2. [N. B. U.]

Udayasena in the words, "Great is Āśādhara who is the swan on the lotus of the family of Vyāghreravāla, the son of Sallakṣapa, and the Kālidāsa of the Kālī age, whose limbs are gratified by drinking the nectar of poetry and who possesses an all-seeing eye of wisdom" Madanakīrti the great Yati or ascetic also said to him, "You are a store of wisdom" When the country of "a lac and a quarter" was subdued by Śāhībavandīna the king of the Turuṣkas, Āśādhara being afraid of religious violence (literally, destruction of righteousness), emigrated to the country of Mālava in which the holy triad flourished under the fostering care of the king of the Vindhya, and living in Dhārā with a large family, learned the principles of the Jaina faith and Jainendravākyakarāṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, the pupil of Paṇḍita Dharasena. He was praised by Vilhāṇa, "the lord of poets" and the minister for peace and war of Vijayavarman, king of the Vindhya or Mālava, in the words, "Noble Āśādhara, know that being a son of Sarasvatī you are my brother, as a matter of course, and a friend, and to say that you are so in words involves redundancy."

Āśādhara afterwards lived in the city of Nalākacchapura for advancing the cause of the Jaina faith, in the territory of king Arjuna which was full of Śrāvakas. He taught grammar to Paṇḍita Devacandra and others, to Viśalakīrti and others, the six Tarkaśāstras, which operated in their hands as a weapon for conquering all enemies, the works or doctrines of the Jina to Vinayacandra and others, and poetry to Valasara-svatī and Madana the great poet, so that they became renowned among men of taste and culture

LIST OF HIS WORKS

Āśādhara wrote the following works —I, Prameyaratnākara, a metaphysical treatise containing a clear exposition of the Syādvāda, 2, Bharateśvarābhyudaya, a poem, having at the end of each canto a stanza containing the word Siddhi, with a gloss ;

3, Dharmāmṛta containing the essence of the teaching of the Arhat, with a gloss entitled Jñānadīpikā, 4, Rājmativipralambha, a small poem on Nemī, with a gloss, 5, Adhyātmamahāśya, composed at the command of his father and much liked by those who have begun the practice of Yoga; 6, glosses on the Mūlārādhana, Caturvimsatistava, &c, 7, Kriyākālāpa from the Amarakośa; 8, a commentary on Rudra's Kāvya-lamkāra, 9, Sahasranāmastava of the Arhats with a gloss; 10, Jinayajñakalpa, with a gloss entitled Jinayajñakalpadīpikā; 11, Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti, containing stories about the sixty-three persons abridged from sacred (Ārṣa) Mahāpurāṇas, with a commentary; 12, Nityamahoddyota describing the manner of washing the [images of the] Jinas and worshipping them; 13, Ratnatrayavidhāna, explaining the importance of the worship of the Ratnatrayavidhāna; 14, Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayoddyota, written to render the Vagbhaṭasamhitā plain." Āśadhara, the author of so many works wrote this commentary to elucidate the duties of the Yatis laid down in his own Dharmāmṛta.

There was a rich man of the name of Pāpa, the foremost of the citizens of Nalakacchapura, who belonged to the family of Khankhilya. He was a Jaina and a good and virtuous man of gentle manners, and liberal in his gifts for the worship of the Jinas. He had two sons of the names of Bahudeva and Padmasimha. Bahudeva's sons were three, Haradeva, Udayin, and Stambhadeva. Haradeva represented to Āśadhara that Mahācandra the Śādhu had caused to be written a commentary on the duties of the lay followers laid down in the Dharmāmṛta, and solicited him to do him the favour of writing a commentary on the duties of the Yatis or monks, which portion of the work was unintelligible even to the most intelligent. Being so requested by Haradeva and out of regard for Dhanacandra, Paṇḍita Āśadhara composed this commentary entitled Bhavya-kumudacandrikā.

It thus appears that we have before us one only of the two parts of the Dharmāmṛta, the portion containing the duties of lay followers (Śrāvakas or Gṛhasthas) not being in this Manuscript. The commentary was composed in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura in the reign of Jaitugideva, the son of Devapāla, king of Mālava or Avanti and belonging to the Pramāra race, and was finished on Monday the 5th of the light half of Kārttika in the year 1300 of Vikrama.

Of the works mentioned by Āśadhara as having been composed by him, we have, besides the Dharmāmṛta, No. 10, Jinayajñakalpa, in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76, and Nos. 9 and 11 have been purchased by me since. At the end of the latter there is a Prāśasti like the one under notice but much shorter, and most of the verses in it are the same as in the other. The work, however, was composed in 1292 of Vikrama, that is eight years before the commentary on the Dharmāmṛta. The reigning prince, even there was Jaitugideva, son of Devapāla of the Pramāra race, and Āśadhara was living at Nalakacchapura, and composed the work in the temple of Nemi.

IDENTIFICATION OF SAHIBAVANDINA

The Sahibavandina, after whose conquest of the country about the Sāmbhar lake, Āśadhara emigrated to Mālava, must have been Shahabuddin Ghori who vanquished Prthurāja, king of Ajmir and Delhi, in 1193 A.D., and laid the foundation of the Mahomedan empire in India. The two dates given by our author correspond to 1236 A.D. and 1244 A.D. When Āśadhara left his country he must have been a young man, for he studied the doctrines of Jainism and grammar at Dhārā. For this reason, and also because the fear of religious violence that drove him away, must have been excited in the minds of the people immediately after the Mahomedan conquest, it appears likely that he left the Sāmbhar country soon after 1193 A.D.; so that

at the time when he wrote the *Triṣaṣṭismṛti* (No. 11), he must have been in Mālava for about forty-two years.

MĀLAVA PRINCES MENTIONED BY Āśādhara

During this time he speaks of three reigning kings of Mālava, Vijayavarman, whose minister Vilhapa was his friend, Arjuna during whose reign he went to live at Nalakacchapura and whose favourite his son was, and Jaitugideva, the son of Devapāla. In the list of the princes of Mālava hitherto traced, we have the name of Arjuna and his latest known date is 1272 Vikrama, i e., 1216 A. D. He is therefore the Arjuna spoken of by our author, but he must have died before 1292 Vikrama, since Jaitugi was the reigning prince in that year. The name of this king as well as of his father Devapāla have not yet been found elsewhere, and the latest prince we know of is Arjuna. The Vijayavarman mentioned by Āśādhara may have been Jayavarmadeva, the son of Yaśovarman. This last prince ascended the throne in 1190 Śaṁvat or 1134 A. D., wherefore it is possible that his son Jayavarman was on the throne about 1195 A. D., or 1251 Śaṁvat when Āśādhara must have been in Dhārā. But between 1195 A. D. and 1211 A. D.—the earliest date of Arjuna—we shall have to place two princes at least, Vindhyavarman and Subhaṭavarman, regarding the others as collaterals holding subordinate power, and the Āmuṣṣāyana of some of the Inscriptions as a pronominal derivative.'

SAKALAKĪRTI'S TATTVĀRTHASĀRADĪPAKA.

No. 294 is *Tattvārthasāradīpaka* by Sakalakīrti. Sakalakīrti was the spiritual head of one of the branches of the sect, and succeeded Padmanandin, as we learn from the *Prāsaṁ* at the end of the *Harivamśa*, to be hereafter noticed, by Jinadāsa who was a pupil of Sakalakīrti.

1 See JAOS, Vol. VII, Prinsep's Tables, JBRRAS, Vol. I, p. 263, and Colebrooke's *Essays*, Ujjain Inscriptions.

THE DATE OF SAKALAKĪRTI

Sakalakīrti was succeeded by Bhuvanakīrti, and a pupil of this latter named Jñānabhūṣaṇa wrote a work entitled *Tattvajñānatarāṅgī*, a copy of which has been recently purchased, in 1560 of the Vikrama era. Śubhacandra, the fourth High-priest of the sect after Sakalakīrti and the second after Jñānabhūṣaṇa wrote two of his works, as will be stated hereafter, in 1608 and 1613 of Vikrama. So that Sakalakīrti must have lived about 1520 Samvat or 1464 A. D. Sakalakīrti wrote many works some of which are represented in the present Collection, but more have been procured since.

The *Tattvārthasāradīpaka* is divided into twelve chapters. In the first we have, after the usual salutations, a statement of the seven Tattvas or principles. These are (1) Jīva, (2) Ajīva, (3) Āsrava, (4) Bandha, (5) Samvara, (6) Nirjarā, and (7) Mokṣa. The first four and the seventh have already been explained in the preceding pages. Samvara is preventing the Āsrava or flowing in of the Karman upon the soul by means of the Samitis and Guptis explained before, and Nirjarā is the destruction of the Karman in two ways, (1) by suffering or enjoying its fruit when it is produced (*Savipāka*), or (2) putting an end to it before it matures and brings about the fruit. Those who desire final deliverance resort to the latter way and destroy their Karman by means of Tapas or austere observances, bodily and spiritual.

Jīva is described as a conscious substance, capable of development (*Upayoga*), imperceptible to the senses, an active agent, and as big as the body it animates. He suffers or enjoys the fruits of his deeds, goes through a succession of births in consequence of Vidhi (Karman), and becoming perfect through the destruction of the Vidhi, soars upwards. He obtains knowledge of five kinds.—1st, *Matī* or sensational; 2nd, *Śrūta*,

that derived from the sacred books; 3rd, Avadhī¹, limited or conditioned; 4th, Manahparyaya, knowledge of what passes in the minds of others; 5th, Bodha or Kevala, the highest or perfect knowledge. Sensational and revealed knowledge is explained at length in the first chapter. The four stages of the former, Avagraha, Īha, &c. are explained in a former note.

ŚRUTAĀJÑĀNA OR THE SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS

Under the second, the author gives an account of the whole sacred literature which I here reproduce —

The three grand divisions are Anga, Pūrva, and Aṅgabāhya.

I.—AṅGA

1. Ācārāṅga, in which the duties of Yatis or monks are given. It contains 18,000 words (Pada.)
2. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, in which the ways of condoning any violation of discipline that may have occurred are explained. It contains 36,000 words.
3. Sthānāṅga, which treats of Dravyas and the things comprehended under that category. It is made up of 42,000 words.
4. Samavāyāṅga, by means of which the divisions of Dravya, Kṣetra, Kāla, and Bhāva are shown by proficient

1 Avadhijñāna is the ocular perception of visible objects existing over an extent of space, the magnitude of which is determined by the nature or merits of the seer. Some gods see all things in the region below heaven up to the end of the first Naraka, others up to the end of the second, and so on to the seventh or last Naraka, but in the regions above heaven, they see only up to the end of the flag-staff of their cars. The denizens of the Narakas also see things over distances varying from a Yojana to a Gavyūti. This power of seeing things over large distances is acquired by men who go through austere religious exercises. This sort of perceptions is called Avadhī, because it is the perception of things below, as in the case of the gods, or of things which have a certain definite characteristic, viz., visibility, or perhaps of things over a certain definite or limited extent of space.—Śrutasthāgara's Tattvārthasūtra on Sūtras I, 10 and 22 (p. 405)

men to be of the same number by the same kind of calculation. It is made up of 164,000 words.

5. Vyākhyāprajñaptyaṅga, containing the answers given by the Jinendra to the sixty thousand questions put by the Gaṇadhara, as to whether a Jīva exists or not, composed of 228,000 words.
6. Jñāṣṭharmakathāṅga, containing various religious conversations between the Tirthaṅkaras and Gaṇadharas; composed of 556,000 words.
7. Upāsakādhyayaṅga, in which the vows and duties of the lay followers and the righteous course of conduct proper for them are detailed by the Gaṇadharas. It contains 1,170,000 words.
8. Antakṛddāśaṅga, in which is given the history of ten Kevalins belonging to the system of each of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras, who with great courage overcame all obstacles and effected the destruction (Anta) of Saṃsāra. It is composed of 2,328,000.
9. Anuttaraupapādikāṅga, in which is similarly given the history of ten Yogins for each Tirthaṅkara who attained to the five highest (Anuttara) conditions. It contains 9,244,000 words.
10. Prasnavyākaraṇaṅga, in which the questions of others are answered. It has 9,316,000 words.
11. Vipākasūtrāṅga, in which the results of the good and evil actions of men are explained. It has 18,400,000 words.

The total number of words in all the Aṅgas is 41,502,000.

12. Dṛṣṭivādaṅga, in which an account is given of the advocates of the theory of action (Kriyāvādins) and of other things, and which is made up of five classes of

treatises, viz., (i) Parīkarman, (ii) Sūtra, (iii) Prathamānuyoga, (iv) Pūrvagata, (v) Cūlika.

(i) Parīkarman consisting of,

1. Candraprajñapti, in which the lords of the Jinas have described the power, motion, and such other things relating to the moon, and given the duration of his life. It has 3,605,000 words.
2. Sūryaprajñapti, containing a similar account of the sun. It has 503,000 words.
3. Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, containing an account of the mountain ranges, land, &c, of Jambūdvīpa. It has 325,000 words.
4. Dvīpavārdhiprajñapti, containing an account of the innumerable islands, seas, and mountains. It has 5,236,000 words.
5. Vyākhyāprajñapti, expounding the nature of the six Dravyas, with their qualities and modifications. It has 8,436,000 words.

In all, Parīkarman is made up of 18,105,000 words.

- (ii) Sūtra, in which men's being the agents of their actions and having to suffer or enjoy the fruits, and such other things are taught. It contains 8,800,000 words.
- (iii) Prathamānuyoga, containing 5,000 words and explaining the nature of the sixty-three holy persons (Śalākāpuruṣas.)

II.—PŪRVAS

(iv) Pūrvagata

1. Utpādapūrva, 10,000,000 words, treats of the production, destruction, and continuance or permanence of Jīva and others.

2. *Agrāyaṇīyapūrvā* ; 9,600,000 words; expounds the chief things in or the essence of the *Angas*.
3. *Vīryapraṇādapūrvā* , 7,000,000 words ; treats of the powers and knowledge of the *Cakrins*, *Kevalins*, the gods, &c.
4. *Astināstipraṇādapūrvā* , 6,000,000 words , discusses the doctrines about the existence or non-existence of the five *Astikāyas*¹ included under *Dravya*.
5. *Jñānapraṇādapūrvā* ; 9,999,999 words , treats of the origin of the five kinds of knowledge and of the three kinds of ignorance, and of the persons who possess them, etc.
6. *Satyapraṇādapūrvā* ; 10,000,006 words , treats of *Vag-guṇa* or the restraint of speech and of agreeable and truthful speech, &c
7. *Ātmānapraṇādapūrvā* , 260,000,000 words , treats of the agency of the souls, of their suffering and enjoying the fruits of their actions, &c.
8. *Karmānapraṇādapūrvā* , 18,000,000 words , treats of the *Karman* (works) of men.
9. *Pratyakhyānapūrvā* , 8,400,000 words , treats of the fettered condition of the soul, that condition of the *Karman* in which it begins to produce its effect (*Udaya*), its being inactive (*Śama*), the shunning of evil, the nature of the vows and observances, &c.
10. *Vidyānuvādapūrvā* , 11,000,000 words , treats of the eight parts, the reason and others, of *Vidyās* or systems of knowledge.

1 *Jīva* and four of the five subdivisions of *Ajīva*, i.e., *Pudgala*, *Dharma* and *Akāśa*, are called *Astikāyas*. They are so called because they exist in time and spread over space. *Kāla* does not extend over space, therefore it is not *Astikāya*.

11. Kalyāṇapūrva ; 260,000,000 words ; recounts the blessed deeds of the 63 holy persons (Śalākāpuruṣa.)
12. Prāpāyāpūrva ; 130,000,000 words , treats of medicine (?)
13. Kriyāviśālapūrva , 90,000,000 words , treats of metres, figures of speech, poetry, arts, the merits (of these), &c.
14. Lokabinduśārapūrva ; 125,000,000 words , teaches the way to deliverance and other things

The total number of words in the Pūrvas is 955,000,005 :

It should be remarked that the Pūrvas form one of the three chief divisions and are thus contrasted with the Aṅgas, but they are also regarded as forming one of the subordinate divisions of Dṛṣṭivāda, the twelfth Aṅga.

(v) Cūlikā.

- 1 Jalagatā , 20,989,200 words , walking on water and arresting the force of water by means of charms, &c.
- 2 Sthalagatā , 20,989,200 words , charms and other processes (Mantra and Tantra) for walking on land.
3. Māyagatā ; 20,989,200 words , charms for producing magical wonders.
4. Rūpagatā ; 20,989,200 words ; teaches the art of assuming various forms, such as that of a tiger, an elephant, &c.
5. Ākāśagatā ; 20,989,200 words , gives the Mantras and Tantras for moving in the sky.

In all the number of words in the Cūlikās is 104,946,000.

The total number of words in the last Aṅga composed by the Gaṇadhara with its five divisions is 1,086,856,005.

The total number of words in the Jina scripture, consisting of the twelve Aṅgas composed by the Gaṇadharas, is 1,128,358,005.

The total number of letters contained in all the Padas or words uttered by the Jina is 16,348,307,888.

In the first Pūrva there are 10 Vastus or topics, in the second 14, in the third 8, in the fourth 18, in the fifth 12, in the sixth 12, in the seventh 16, in the eighth 20, in the ninth 30, in the tenth 15, and in the remaining four 10 each. In all, there are 195 topics in the fourteen Pūrvas. Each of these Vastus or topics has twenty Prābhṛtas, so that the total number of Prābhṛtas is 3,900.

III.—AṅGABĀHYA.

1. Sāmāyika	8. Uttarādhyayana
2. Caturvīṃśatistava	9. Kalpavyavahāra
3. Vandana	10. Kalpākalpavidhānaka
4. Pratikramana	11. Mahākalpa
5. Vainayika	12. Puṇḍarika
6. Kṛtākarma	13. Mahāpuṇḍarika
7. Daśavaikālika	14. Aśtīkasama

These fourteen miscellaneous (Prakṛpaka) treatises, not included in the Aṅgas (Aṅgabāhya), were composed for the benefit of persons not possessing much intelligence. The total number of Padas or words contained in them is 80,108,175

The contents of the succeeding chapters of the Tattvārthasāradīpaka are as follows :—

Chapter II 1 The nature of the remaining three kinds of knowledge. 2 The fourteen Guṇasthānas or stages in the development of the soul from the lowest, that of an unbeliever and a sinful man to the highest, that of a Jina or Kevalin. The three kinds of souls (1) Bahurātman, (2) Antarātman, and (3) Paramātman. The ignorant, unbelieving, thoughtless, sinful, worldly man belongs to the first class, he who is a believer, is thoughtful, and righteous, and is engaged in working out his deliverance, belongs to the second, and those who are delivered to the third.

Chapter III. Ārtarandradhyāna, i.e., contemplation of or constant thinking about the misery in which one is or the

calamity he has met with (Ārta), and about unjust, cruel, unmerciful, and sinful deeds (Raudra) such as killing and stealing. This sort of contemplation should be avoided by one who seeks deliverance.

Chapter IV. Dharmaśūkladhyāna — Dharmadhyāna, i.e., contemplating in a retired place how and when one shall be free from the circle of births (Apāya), by what means one's mind and body will be pure, and Karman be destroyed (Upāya), and the nature of the soul (Jīva), of inanimate things (Ajīva), of the ripening of the Karman (Vipāka) &c This Dhyāna is of ten kinds. Śūkladhyāna, i.e., externally keeping the body and the eye perfectly steady and motionless and restraining the breath, internally (1) contemplating the things included under the categories laid down in the sacred books or their names one after another, that is, first a Dravya or substance, then its quality or modification, or another substance, &c., (2) fixing the mind on one of these things only. Before, however, one is qualified to enter on this Dhyāna, he must already have made a great deal of progress in holiness and have accustomed himself to the other Dhyānas to be mentioned below, and the result of this Dhyāna is said to be the destruction of all Karman and final deliverance.

Chapter V The other Dhyānas necessary for the success of the Śūkladhyāna are (1) Pīṇḍastha, (2) Padastha, (3) Rūpastha, and (4) Rūpātīta. The first has what are called five Dhāraṇās, i.e., fixing the mind successively on five things. They are (1) Pārthivī, (2) Āgneyī, (3) Mārutī, (4) Vāruṇī, and (5) Rūpavatī. The Yogin should imagine or place before his mind a vast ocean of milk, hushed and tranquil, and without waves. He should then imagine a lotus with a thousand petals, as big as Jambūdvīpa and shining like gold, to be situated in the midst of it, and the lotus to have a celestial pericarp like a mountain of gold. He should conceive a lofty throne resembling the autumnal moon to be placed in that pericarp, and should imagine himself as sitting at ease on that throne, serene, without desire or

hatred, and prepared to conquer his enemy the Karman. Thus ends the first Dhāraṇā. The Yogin should then imagine a shining and beautiful lotus with sixteen petals jutting out, as existing in the hollow of his navel. He should contemplate the fourteen vowels and aṁ, aḥ as marked on the sixteen petals, and the great Mantra Arham (ॐ) with the dot over the line as shining on the pericarp. Then he should imagine a volume of smoke arising from the curvilinear r or Repha of the Mantra, then a succession of sparks, and then a continuous flame. The flame, increasing in intensity, burns the lotus which exists in the heart, upside downwards, and which is the product of the eight Karmans and has eight petals. He should then imagine fire in a triangular shape with the Svastika on its apex, away from his body, blown by the wind, and burning brightly with a golden flame. The fire from the Mantra burns the body in the inside, and this fire from the outside, and being in flames, the body is reduced to ashes and also the lotus in the navel. Thus far we have the Āgneyī Dhāraṇā or the concentration of the mind on fire.

Then the man should imagine wind blowing with the violence of a tempest and scattering away the ashes, after which he should think of it as becoming still. This is the Mārutī Dhāraṇā.

Then he should contemplate a number of clouds pouring down rain in torrents accompanied by thunder and lightning. After that he should imagine a stream of water bearing the standard of Varuṇa, beautiful like the crescent of the moon and overflowing the sky. With this water, he should wash off, in imagination, all the ashes of his body. This is Varuṇī Dhāraṇā.

Then he should contemplate himself to be in qualities like an all-knowing being, free from the seven elements, sitting on the throne, adored by the gods, possessing celestial excellences, and shining like the full moon.

The contemplation or Dhyāna that is effected by using certain words or letters is called Padastha. The Yogin should imagine lotuses in certain parts of the body with a certain number of petals; and think of the sixteen vowels written on the petals of one, the twenty-five consonants from k to m on those of another, and the remaining eight y, r, &c., on those of a third, and then sit muttering and contemplating them. He should similarly, with a concentrated mind, meditate on the highest Mantra Rhrum (ॠ) which according to the various sects, is Brahman, Hari, Buddha, Mahēvara, Śiva, Śarva, and Mahēśa. But it is the all-pervading, all-knowing, serene Jina, the god of gods, that stands there, having assumed the form of that Mantra. The Yogin should also mutter and meditate on the Mantra ha (ॡ) and on Om (ॐ) which last he should imagine as existing on the pericarp of the lotus of his heart. Om is made up of the first letters of the names of the five Parameṣṭhins, Arhat or Arahanta, Āsarira or Asarira (Kevalin), Ācārya or Āriya, Upādhyāya or Uvajjhāya, and Muni (Sādhu), and it should thus be thought of. Again, the Yogin should mutter, imagine as drawn on lotuses on his body, and meditate on, the following Mantras containing the names of the Parameṣṭhins —

जमो अरिहन्ताणं । जमो सिद्धाणं । जमो आइरियाणं ।
जमो उच्चज्झायाणं । जमो कोप सङ्गसाङ्गणं ।

There are a good many details about such matters into which I will not enter

Rūpasthādhyāna is contemplating the Lord Jina, sitting on a throne of jewel in the assembly of men who are desirous of salvation, surrounded by the twelve Gāpas and the eight door-keepers, possessing infinite greatness, a store of infinite virtues, of a celestial body, shining more brilliantly than a Koṭi of suns, fanned by excellent chowries, attended on by the gods, free from the eighteen blemishes, endowed with all the excellences, and expounding the Dharma.

Rūpātādhyāna consists in contemplating the highest form of one's own soul, as immaterial, a store of virtues, and resembling the Siddhas between whom and himself there is no specific difference.

• Chapter VI.—Dhyānabhāvanā, which consists in imagining oneself as having realized the highest qualities. The Yogin should think, "I am a Siddha, I am like a Siddha, I am an enlightened soul, I am in infinite bliss, I possess infinite power" &c., &c. There is a long string of such assertions with regard to oneself. After this we have some general remarks on contemplation and the conditions on which success in it depends.

Chapter VII.—In this are given the characteristics of the five classes of Nirgranthas who are qualified to enter on and practise the Dhyāna of Dharma and Śukla. The names of the five classes are (1) Pulāka, (2) Vakusa, (3) Kuśīla, (4) Nirgrantha, and (5) Snātaka. Then are described the five Bhāvas or spiritual conditions of a man. They are (1) Aupaśāmika which is of two kinds, (2) Kṣāyika, of nine kinds, (3) Kṣāyopāśāmika, of eighteen kinds, (4) Andāyika, of twenty-one kinds, and (5) Pāriṣāmika, of three kinds

The Aupaśāmika condition arises from the Karman being for a time separated from the soul, and the purity of the latter consequent upon it, is compared to that of turbid water which has been purified by its being touched with such a thing as the Kataka fruit, the sullyng matter settling down at the bottom of the vessel containing the water. The Kṣāyika condition is produced by the destruction of Karman and is comparable to that of pure water which has been separated from the dirty matter and kept in a clean vessel. The Kṣāyopāśāmika condition is a mixture of the last two and arises from a partial destruction of Karman. It is comparable to turbid water that has become partially clean.

The Audayika condition arises from the Karman being about to produce its effect, such as taking a soul to the world of the gods or lower animals according to his deserts. The Pāripāmika condition is the original or natural condition of the soul independently of his connection with Karman, such as his conscious nature. The circumstances under which some of these Bhāvas arise, and their spiritual effects, as well as their sub-divisions, are explained. Then we have the seven Nayas, the points of view or principles with reference to which certain judgments are arrived at or arrangements made. The Dravyārthika and Paryāyārthika rules mentioned before are divisions of the first of these Nayas.

Chap. VIII treats of the five divisions of the Ajīva principle, Chap IX, of the Āsrava, Chap X, of the Bandha, Chap. XI, of Samvara, and Chap XII, of Nirjarā.

KĀRTIKEYĀNUPREKṢĀ

No 290 is Kārtikeyānuprekṣā with a commentary by Śubhacandra. The original consists of Prakṛit Gāthās in the Ārya metre by Kārtikeyasvāmin, who is called a Sādhu by the commentator. Śubhacandra was the spiritual head of the Balātkāragana which was a branch of the Nandisaṅgha, and belonged to the same line as Kundakundācārya. The succession list is thus given — Padmanandin, Sakalakīrti, Bhuvanakīrti, Jñānabhūṣana, Vijayakīrti, Śubhacandra. Śubhacandra finished his work on the 10th of Māgha in the year 1613, of Vikrama. Another work by Śubhacandra, the Paṇḍava Purāṇa, a copy of which has been procured since, was composed, we are told at the end of the Manuscript, in 1608 Vikrama.

CONTENTS OF THE KĀRTIKEYĀNUPREKṢĀ

Anuprekṣā is thinking, meditation, reflection, study, and there are twelve such Meditations or Studies in the book. I. Anityānuprekṣā, setting forth the impermanence of everything. II. Aśaraṇānuprekṣā or "the reflection about helplessness,"

in which it is stated that nothing can save man except the three jewels. III. *Saṃsārānuprekṣā*, in which the unceasing succession of births and the miseries the soul has to go through are mentioned. IV. *Ekātṛvānuprekṣā*, in which, we are told that the soul goes through the circle of existences alone, suffers alone, and can be blissful alone. When this is borne in mind, everything else becomes unworthy of the soul's desire. V. *Anyatṛvānuprekṣā*, where it is laid down that everything from the body downwards, our friends, relations, and possessions, are foreign to our soul. VI. *Āśucitṛvānuprekṣā*, where we are asked to reflect how impure the body with the blood, flesh, and other things is, and how in connection with it, the soul becomes impure, therefore we should cease to love the body, and concentrate our whole attention on the pure soul. VII. *Āśravānuprekṣā*, where the nature of *Āśrava* is explained. VIII. *Samvarānuprekṣā*, where the mode of resisting the operation of the *Āśrava* is explained. IX. *Nirjarānuprekṣā*, in which the manner of destroying the *Karman* is given. X. *Lokānuprekṣā*, in which we have a description of *Loka* and the six kinds of objects contained in it. *Loka* was not created, nor is it supported by any being of the name of *Hari* or *Hara*, and is, in a sense, eternal. Its area, the upper and the lower worlds, the beings existing in it with their different kinds, the duration of the lives of gods, beasts, &c., the different kinds of bodies made up of light, air, earth, and water, the nature of the soul, the three kinds of soul, *Bahurātman* and others, the connection between the soul and *Pudgala*, the nature of *Dravya* generally, of *Kāla*, &c., are mentioned. XI. *Durlabbhānuprekṣā*. The soul dwells in various bodies and for a long time. The attainment of the human body, therefore, is a matter of great difficulty, it is more difficult to have a sound and healthy body, and still more to have a sound mind in that sound body; therefore, one should make good use of his life as a human being and resort to the three jewels. Even as a god he is not

able to go through the whole discipline that is necessary for attaining final deliverance. XII. Dharmānupreksā, in which the Dharmas of householders or lay-followers and of the monks are given. The first are twelve in number and they are as follows —

DUTIES OF THE LAY-FOLLOWERS

I. A Śrāvaka or lay-follower must be Samyagdarśanaśuddha, i.e., must have faith in the Jaina dispensation and thus be free from the faults and defects leading to and arising from unbelief and false belief.

II. He should abstain from wine, flesh, and others. Under the expression "and others" the commentator puts down assafoetida, oil, ghee and water kept in a leathern vessel, honey, butter, rice-gruel, nocturnal meal, five kinds of fruit containing insects in them such as Udumbara, gambling, intercourse with a courtesan or the wife of another man, hunting, theft, onions or bulbous roots, other roots, and leaves. These two duties appear to be compulsory on all Śrāvakas. The following are optional.

III Vratadhārin — There are Śrāvakas who assume three kinds of vows, viz, (i) five Aṇuvratas, (ii) three Guṇavratas, and (iii) four Śikṣāvratas.

(1) THE AṆUVRATAS

The Aṇuvratas are the same in name as the Mahāvratas of the Śramanas or monks, but in some cases interpreted differently. They are — 1. Not to destroy, or cause, or permit to destroy, life. 2. Not to speak about killing, or harshly, or abusively, or reveal a secret; but to speak what is agreeable and beneficial to all living beings, and what is righteous. The commentator quotes a verse in which not to tell a lie is spoken of as the second Aṇuvrata. 3. Not to take a very valuable

thing in exchange for one of little value, not to appropriate what has been lost by another, to be content with a small gain, and not to take what belongs to another without his permission. 4. To look upon a woman other than one's wife as a mother, a sister, or a daughter. 5. To destroy greed and be content, regarding everything as perishable, and to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not go in the acquisition of money, grain, gold, land, &c.

(II) THE GUṆAVRATAS

The Guṇavratas are —I. Digvirati, i.e., to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not travel in the different directions, or a limit as to the countries one shall visit for the acquisition of wealth II. Anarthavirati, or the avoiding of the five evils, viz., (1) Apadhyāna, i.e., finding faults in others, envying their wealth, casting a glance at their wives, and witnessing their quarrels (2) Papopadeśa, or giving advice to others in matters concerning agriculture, tending of cattle, trade, and such other things and about the union of men and women; (3) Pramādacaryā, or doing anything without any purpose with earth, water, fire, and air, and cutting trees uselessly, (4) Himsādana, i.e., keeping a cat or such other destructive animal, dealing in weapons and iron implements (such as a spade), keeping (and giving) sealing wax, the residue of oil-seeds after they are ground, and other things (i.e., according to the commentator, opium, aconite, &c.), and (5) Duśśruti, i.e., hearing read the Śāstras which delude (such as Bhārata, Bhāgavata, &c.), and works containing buffoonery, and teaching the art of subduing others to one's will by means of charms, and books on erotics; and hearing others vilified. III. Bhogopabhogaparimāṇa, or regulating one's enjoyment of food, betel-nut and leaves, clothes, &c., according to one's means.

(III) THE ŚIKṢĀVRATAS

The Śikṣāvratas are.—1. *Samāyika*, which consists in sitting or standing as long as may be convenient in a quiet place in the morning, noon, and evening, with the body motionless, the hands folded, the senses restrained, all sinful thoughts expelled, and the mind concentrated on the words of the Jina, absorbed in the contemplation of one's own pure or highest nature, and reflecting on the hidden sense of the *Vandanā*, (i.e., according to the commentator, the names of the five *Parameṣṭhins*, and the words, images, and temples of the Jinās, together with prostrations and other movements that are made in pronouncing the formulas containing their names). 2 *Proṣadha*¹ or *Posaha*, i.e., to observe a fast or eat once only or one dish only on the two holy days (the 8th and the 14th of each fortnight), after having given up bathing, unguents, ornaments, company of women, odours, incense, lights, &c., and assumed renunciation as an ornament. 3 *Atithisamvibhāga*, i.e., giving food, medicine, knowledge, and protection from danger to the three classes of persons worthy of the gifts (viz., first, a believer who has assumed the great vows, next, a believer who has assumed the Śrāvaka vows, and lastly, a simple believer). 4 *Deśavakāśika*, which consists in drawing closer or contracting every day the limits already laid down (in accordance with the *Guṇavratas*) to the range of one's travels and to the enjoyment of the objects of the five senses, and doing the same with clothes and the other things enjoyed, in order to destroy greed and desire and avoid sin.

SAMĀYIKAVRATA

IV *Samāyikavratadhārin* is one who with a serene heart makes *Kāyotsarga*, i.e., abandons his love for his body, turns the

1 This word is one of the several instances in which the Jainas have given Sanskrit forms to Prakrit words instead of finding the original Sanskrit words of which they are corruptions and using them. The word in the Gāthā is *Posaha*, which without doubt, is the Pāli *Uposatha* and the Sanskrit *Upavasatha*.

hands twelve times,¹ prostrates himself twice, bows his head four times, reflects on his own pure nature, or the image of Jina, or the highest syllable, and contemplates the various effects of Karman. These movements of the hands and the prostrations are, it appears, to be made while pronouncing the five formulas given before (*जनो जरिहन्तान्*, &c.)

PROSADHAVRATA

V. *Proṣadhavratadhārin* is he who on the 7th and 13th of each fortnight, going to a Jaina temple in the afternoon, and performing some ceremonies, undertakes to observe a fast, so as to abstain from eating, drinking, tasting, and licking, abandons all household occupation, passes the whole night in meditations about Dharma, rises early in the morning, goes through all the ceremonies, passes the day in the study of the Scriptures, performs the *Vandanā*, passes the night in the same way, goes through the *Vandanā* again next morning and the ceremony of worship, feeds guests belonging to the three classes (mentioned before, viz , a monk, a believer who has assumed certain vows, and a simple believer) and then dines himself.

THE OTHER DUTIES

VI He is *Sacittavirata* who does not eat a leaf, fruit, bark, root, and tendril which have life

VII A *Nisivirata Śrāvaka* is one who abstains from eating, drinking, &c., at night, and does not cause others to eat, drink, &c.

VIII. A *Brahmavratin Śrāvaka* is one who has no desire for any woman.

IX. He is *Tyaktārambha* who does not enter upon any undertaking nor causes others to do so

X. A *Nirgrantha Śrāvaka* is one who has freed himself from attachment to anything internal or external, considering it a sin.

1 This expression has been variously explained by the commentator.

XI. That Śrāvaka is Anumananavirata who goes through his household affairs not through a feeling of pleasure, but because they must be gone through.

XII. He is Uddiṣṭahāravirata who eats the proper sort of food given to him by others without his asking for it, and free from the nine faults of being prepared, caused to be prepared, or wished for by the mind, speech, or body.

THE TEN DUTIES OF MONKS

The author next proceeds to describe the ten duties of monks. They are these —1st, Uttama Kṣama or perfect forbearance, 2nd, Uttama Mārdava, perfect humility, 3rd, Ārjava or perfect simplicity, 4th, Śaucatva, perfect purity or freedom from greed, 5th, Satya or veracity; 6th, Samyama, or acting in a manner not to occasion the destruction of life, 7th, Tapas, or bodily mortification and purificatory exercise, 8th, Tyāga or renunciation of palatable food, furniture, and house, 9th, Ākīncanya or renunciation of all attachment for a living or dead thing and of worldly affairs; and 10th, Brahmacharya or chastity. Then are mentioned some virtues that a believer should realize, and thus ends the twelfth Anuprekṣa.

A CŪLIKA AND THE TWELVE KINDS OF TAPAS

Then follows a Cūlikā in which the twelve kinds of Tapas are explained. They are —1, Anaśana, 2, Avamodarya, 3, Vṛttiparisamkhyāna; 4, Rasaparityāga, 5, Vivikṭaśayyāsana; 6, Kāyakleśa; 7, Prāyaścitta, which is of ten kinds, 8, Vināti, of five kinds, 9, Vaiśvṛtya, 10, Svādhyāya; 11, Kāyotsarga; 12, Dhyāna. Under the sixth Dharma or duty given above viz., Samyama, come the Samitis, and the other requisites, mentioned in other treatises, come under one or other of the ten modes of Tapas. The Dhyāna which is the twelfth kind of Tapas is here of the same kind as that described by Sakalakīrti, and very often the same words are used in both the treatises in explaining

its nature. The first six modes of Tapas constitute the *Bāhya* or "external" Tapas; and the rest, the "internal" or spiritual Tapas.

PRAŚNOTTAROPĀSAKĀCĀRA

No. 305 is *Praśnottaropāsakācāra* by *Sakalakīrti*. It is written in the form of questions from a pupil and their answers by the teacher, and contains an exposition of the duties of householders or *Śrāvakas*. These duties, we are told, were first of all laid down in the seventh *Āṅga Upāsakādhyāyana*, which was composed by the *Gapadhara Vṛṣabha* (*sena*) after he had learnt the subject from the first Jina. Subsequently each successive *Tirthamkara* taught the *Āṅga*, and last of all it was taught by *Mahāvira* and *Gautama* and then by *Sudharma*, *Jambūsvāmin*, *Viṣṇu* and other *Munis* who knew the twelve *Āṅgas*. But in the course of time when man's life became short and his intellect narrow, the *Āṅgas*, *Purvas* and other sacred works were lost. Then the great *Yatis* *Kundakundacārya* and others taught the duties of householders; and the knowledge traditionally handed down from them, *Sakalakīrti* proposes to avail himself of in the composition of his treatise. As these duties of the *Śrāvakas* have already been given, I need not examine the present Manuscript further.

TWO WORKS ON THE RITUAL

No 291 is *Jinasamhitā*, in which the modes of worshipping the Jinas, constructing temples, consecrating images, &c., are explained. It is put in the old form of the *Gapadhara Gautama* speaking to the king of *Magadha*.

No. 293 is a work of the same sort, but cast in the form of the ceremonial *Prayogas* of the *Brahmans*. The author is *Śrutasaṅgāra*, the writer of another work, the *Tattvārthadīpikā*, which will be noticed in the next Report

ŚRUTASAṂGĀRA AND HIS DATE

Śrutasaṅgāra was, as stated at the end of the work, the pupil of *Vidyānandin* who was the successor as High-priest of

Devendrakīrti. Devendrakīrti's predecessor was Padmanandin. In a work entitled Sudarśanacarita by Nemidatta, Śimhanandin is represented as Nemidatta's teacher, and as the pupil of Mallibhūṣaṇa, the successor of Vidyānandin Śrutasaṅgāra who is also mentioned must have been a fellow-student of Mallibhūṣaṇa. Nemidatta wrote another work called Śrīpālacarita, a copy of which we have in the present Collection (No. 310) in Śaṃvat 1585. Here he gives the following succession list — 1. Padmanandin, High-priest of the Sārasvatīya Gaccha of the Mūla Saṃgha, 2 Devendrakīrti, 3 Vidyānandin, 4 Mallibhūṣaṇa. Śimhanandin, the author's teacher, was the pupil of this last. Nemidatta represents himself as "devoted to the service of Śrutasaṅgāra and other Yatis" So that Śrutasaṅgāra's literary activity must be referred to about the year 1550 Śaṃvat or 1494 A D

SŪTRAS ON JAINISM BY UMĀSVĀTĪ

As a further authority for the explanation of the doctrines of the Digambara Jainas here attempted, I [may refer to] the entire Sūtras of the system composed by Umāsvātī or Umāsvāmin, two copies of which I have procured since the above was written. These Sūtras are alluded to by Mādhava in his account of the Jaina sect and also a Vṛtti on them by Yogadeva, a Manuscript of which was purchased by me about a year ago. Umāsvātī appears to be an old author and two other Vṛttis on his Sūtras by Pūjyapāda and Vidyānandin are mentioned by Yogadeva.

LEGENDARY LITERATURE

PADMAPURĀṆA

No. 301 is a Manuscript of the Padmapurāṇa by Raviṣeṇa. Dr. Bühler's Collection of 1875-76 contains a Hindi version of it (No. 632), and this is the original Sanskrit. The Purāṇa contains the story of Rāma and Ravana, and, as in other cases,

was first communicated by Mahāvira to his Gaṇadhara Indrabhūti (Gautama), from whom it passed to Sudharma and thence to Jambūsvāmin. This last communicated it to Prabhava and he to Kīrti, and Kīrti to Anuttaravāgmin. Raviṣeṇa got a Manuscript of the work as composed by the last and wrote his Rāmāyana. At the end the same thing is stated in other words. Indrabhūti taught the Purāṇa as he learnt it from Mahāvira, and it was published by Uttara-vāgmin the pupil of the grand pupil of Jambūsvāmin. Anuttaravāgmin is, it will be seen, here called Uttara-vāgmin Raviṣeṇa was the pupil of Lakṣmaṇasena and he of Divākarayati. Divākara was the pupil of Indraguru.

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF PADMAPURĀṆA

Raviṣeṇa composed this Purāṇa when one thousand two hundred years and one-half of the fourth after that, had elapsed since Vardhamāna attained to perfection, i. e., in 1204 of the era of Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa. From the Digambara Paṭṭāvali, two copies of which exist in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76 (Nos 628 and 629), it appears plain that though the Digambaras refer the birth of King Vikrama to 470 A. Vira, they place the beginning of his reign and consequently the epoch of the era eighteen years later, i. e., in 488 A. Vira., and calculate their dates in accordance with that.—So that 1204 A. Vir., corresponds to 716 Vikrama or 660 A. D., while if we take 470 A. Vir., as the initial date of the Vikrama era, it corresponds to 734 Vikrama or 678 A.D.

JINASENA'S ĀDIPURĀṆA

No. 288 is a Manuscript of the Ādipurāṇa, a work by Jinasena. It contains an account of Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthamkara.

THE AUTHOR'S DATE

Jinasena wrote another work entitled Harivamśa; and a verse occurring at the end of it, in which he gives the date of

its composition as 705 Śaka corresponding to 783 A. D., has been given by me in my Early History of the Deccan.¹ The Purāṇa, we are told, was first narrated by the first Jina to Bharata through his Gaṇadhara Vṛṣabhasena, and by Gautama, the Gaṇadhara of Mahāvira the last Tīrthamkara, to Śreṇika. From Gautama it passed on to Sudharma, from him to Jambūsvāmin, and so on through a continuous line of teachers and pupils to Jinasena.

PREVIOUS JAINA AUTHORS MENTIONED BY JINASENA

In the introduction Jinasena speaks of the following authors in terms of praise.—

1. Siddhasena, who was a lion to the elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation.
2. Samantabhadra, who with the thunderbolt of his words shattered to pieces the mountains in the shape of false doctrines.
3. Śrīdatta, who acted the lion in the destruction of the elephants in the shape of his opponents.
4. Yaśobhadra, the mention of whose very name was sufficient to humble the pride of a whole assembly of learned men.
5. Prabhācandra, who by his Candrodāya delighted the worlds.—In a marginal note the full name of the work is given as Nyāyakumudacandrodaya.
6. Śivakoṭi, by means of whose words the world resorting to the four ways of deliverance becomes happy.—The work here alluded to is called Bhagavatyaṛādhana-catustaya.
7. Jaṭacārya.—In a marginal note Sīmhanandin is given as his proper name.

¹ Volume III of this Edition, p. 89, footnote 3, page 65, footnote 2, of the Edition of 1895. [N. B. U.].

8. Kāṇabhikṣu, the bright jewels of whose words, agreeing as they did with the Dharmaśāstras, attained the form of Kathālamkāra.—Probably he was the author of a work called Kathālamkāra.
9. Deva, called Devamuni in a marginal note, the Tīrthamkāra of all authors, the Tīrtha or holy water of whose words wash away the dirt in the shape of the flaws in the speech of learned men.
- 10 Akalanka } whose merits adorn the bosom of learned
- 11 Śrīpāla } men like a necklace, when fully
- 12 Pātrakesarīn } apprehended by the heart.

Akalanka is praised by all subsequent writers, and he is spoken of as having defeated the Bauddhas in argument.

- 13 Vādisimha, than whose learning, dialectic skill, and clearness of exposition could go no further.
14. Virasena, the teacher of Jinasena and an eminent dialectician who obtained the title of Bhaṭṭāraka and was the author of glosses (Upanibandhas) on the Siddhāntas, in whom learning and a knowledge of the world were combined, and who could speak like the god of speech himself.

15. Jayasenaguru, author of Vāgarthasamgraha.

Jinasena uses in one place puns on the words Brhatkathā, Lambha, and Guṇādhya, and in another quotes a definition of poetry given by some writer, and expressing his dissent, gives his own. At the beginning of the chapter there is an interesting passage containing the refutation of the doctrine of a Creator, in which objections of the nature of those considered and answered in the first Pāda of the Second Chapter of Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras are brought forward against that doctrine.

THE FIFTY-THREE RITES

In chapters XXXVIII—XL are described the fifty-three rites or ceremonies to be performed from conception to death, a good many of which correspond to those of the Brahmins and have the same names, such as Garbhādhāna, Nāmakarāṇa, Cāula, Upaniti, Vivāha, &c. Fires, Mantras, and other things are admitted, but the Mantras are not those of the Brahmins but others newly composed. Jinasena professes to follow in this part of his work the seventh Anga or the Upasakadaśāṅga. Out of the forty-seven chapters of this Purāṇa, the last five were written by Guṇabhadra, the pupil of Jinasena, who also wrote the second part or Uttarapurāṇa, of which No. 289 is a copy.

THE UTTARAPURĀṆA BY GUṆABHADRA

The Uttarapurāṇa contains an account of the other Tirthāṃkaras down to Vardhamāna the last

At the end there is a long and valuable Prāśasti already brought to notice by Mr. K B Pathak in the Indian Antiquary, and by myself in the Early History of the Deccan.¹

PRAŚASTI AT THE END

In the beginning we are told that "the line (of teachers and pupils) known by the name of Sena was the place in the ocean of the Mulasamgha, where were found bright jewels in the shape of great men. In that line flourished Virasena Bhaṭṭāraka, the leader of the army of Vira (Mahāvira), who frightened away all elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation. In him Jñāna and Cāritra assumed, as it were, a bodily form, and he shone to confer benefits upon those who were his disciples. Wonderful it is that the sun-lotuses of the faces of

1 Volume III of this Edition, p 95, footnote 2, page 69, footnote 2 of the Edition of 1895. The full text of the Prāśasti is given at pp 426-430 of the Original Report. [N. B. U.]

princes who prostrated themselves (at his feet) while going round him, bloomed and looked beautiful by means of the rays of the moon in the shape of the nails of his toes. The monks expound the Siddhibhūpaddhati ('the way to the region of perfection') to others, though there is a difficulty at every step, after having studied his commentary." It thus appears that Virasena composed a commentary on a work entitled Siddhibhūpaddhati.

Virasena was followed by Jinasena. The king Amoghavarṣa prostrated himself at his feet and considered himself to have been purified, when he did so. Jinasena was a man of great learning, and masterly in the refutation of the views of opponents, knew the exact truth as regards the Siddhāntas, was skilful in telling stories, solved knotty points in books, and was a poet of a high order. He had a colleague of the name of Daśaratha in whose "perspicuous words the true import of all the Śāstras shone as clear as an image in a mirror, and could at once be apprehended even by children." Gunabhadra of a world-wide fame was the pupil of these two. He knew the truth, as well as the works which expound it, and his mind was matured, by his resolutely going through the Siddhāntas which contain information on all the minor branches of learning. He devoted himself to the practice of Tapas, and his words dispelled the darkness in the heart of men.

The revered Jinasena, the author of glosses on the Siddhāntas, composed "the life of Puru" (Rṣabhacarita), in which there are instances of all metres and figures, which sets forth the doctrines of all the Śāstras incidentally, is calculated to put to shame all other poems, and is worthy of being read even by the learned.—Whether the glosses meant were those contained in his Purāṇas or were separate treatises does not appear clear.—The work left incomplete by Jinasena was

completed by Guṇabhadra, who was obliged to have recourse to brevity on account of the long time that had already elapsed ; and consequently his portion does not contain details. The reader of this Purāṇa will learn the nature of the fettered condition of the soul with its causes and effects, will know what are good deeds and what evil deeds, and will see that there is such a thing as final deliverance and a way that leads to it. His faith will increase and he will learn how the Āsrava or flowing in of Karman is prevented and how its Nirjara or destruction is effected. Therefore this Purāṇa should be explained to others, heard, read by those who long for deliverance, thought about, worshipped, transcribed, and caused to be transcribed. Lokasena who was the chief of Guṇabhadra's disciples, obtaining influential assistance, succeeded in having his teacher's instructions as regards this Purāṇa acted up to always by respectable people.—The instructions meant must be those expressed in the last sentence

DATE OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE PURĀṆA

This holy Purāṇa containing the essence of all the Śāstras was consecrated by the best among the faithful and worshipped on Thursday the 5th (of the light half) of Āṣāḍha in the year 820 of the Śaka king, the cyclic year being Pingala—This was the current year, and 819 was the past year—At that time Akālavarṣa of fair fame who had destroyed all his enemies was ruling over the whole earth His "war elephants had on the one side drunk the waters of the Ganges and, as if their thirst had not been quenched, had on the other, resorted to the dense forest of sandal trees, open to the gentle breezes blowing from over the waves of the ocean, a forest into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate " The goddess of prosperity tormented in all her previous abodes, found a happy resting place in his bosom And Lokāditya alias Cellapatāka was governing the province of Vanavāsa at Bankāpura which was

named by his father after himself. He belonged to the Padmālaya family, was the son of Cellaketana and younger brother of Celladhvaṇa, and encouraged the growth of Jainism.— Then follow a few laudatory verses but we have had enough of that sort of matter.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE PRAŚASTI

The princes Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa mentioned in this Praśasti belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which ruled over the Deccan, and here as elsewhere we have evidence of the great power of the family and the large extent of territory over which it ruled. The dates of the former occurring in Inscriptions are Śaka 775, 787 (which is represented as the fifty-second year of his reign), and 799. Jināsena who is spoken of as having been adored by the prince wrote his *Harivamśa* as has already been stated in Śaka 705, when Vallabha, son of Kṛṣṇa, whom I have identified with Govinda II, was on the throne. Amoghavarṣa must have succeeded his father Govinda III in Śaka 735, so that Jināsena lived at least 30 years after the completion of his *Harivamśa* and may have lived longer. Akālavarṣa's other dates are Śaka 797 and 824. There must be some mistake as regards the former, if his father's date 799, which occurs in an Inscription in one of the Kānheri caves, is correct.¹ The Praśasti represents him as reigning in Śaka 820

1 At the end of the Digambara recension of the *Praśnottararatnamālīkā*, Amoghavarṣa is represented to have abdicated the throne through the growth of the religious sentiment, so that the inconsistency noticed in the text is to be accounted for by supposing that his son Akālavarṣa was the actual sovereign in Śaka 797 and 799, but as Amoghavarṣa was not dead though he had ceased to concern himself with State affairs, his name is mentioned in the Kānheri Inscription as the reigning sovereign in the latter year. The stanza referred to in the *Praśnottararatnamālīkā*, a copy of which I have recently procured, is as follows —

विवेकाख्यकराख्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।

रचितामोचवर्णेन सुविधां सद्यश्चक्षुः ॥

which is perfectly consistent with the date 824. In Śaka 820, we gather that Guṇabhadra the pupil of Jinasena and the continuator of his work was not living, and it was his pupil Lokasena who consecrated the Purāṇa. So that, supposing Jinasena to have lived for about ten years after Amoghavarṣa's accession, i e., up to Śaka 745, the interval of 75 years between Śaka 745 and 820 is not too long for his pupil Guṇabhadra and Guṇabhadra's pupil Lokasena.

There are Inscriptions of the times of Amoghavarṣa and Akalavarṣa in which Bankeyarasa and Śaṅkaragaṇḍa of the Cellaketana family are represented as ruling over the province of Banavāsī as their feudatories. The latter of these is probably the prince spoken of in our Prasasti.

Another work of Guṇabhadra entitled Ātmanuśāsana has recently been discovered and a copy of it purchased for Government. Guṇabhadra is there also called the pupil of Jinasena.

At the end of No 288 the copyist gives a succession list of the High-priests of his sect which is as follows —1 Śubha-candradeva who belonged to the line of Kundakundācārya, to the Sarasvatigaccha, Balātkaṛagaṇa, Nandyaṁnāya, and Mūlasamgha; 2 Jinacandradeva, 3 Prabhācandradeva, 4 Candrakīrtideva, 5 Devendrakīrti. The last was living in Samvat 1674 when the Manuscript was transcribed by his pupil Ṛṣabhadasa.

ŚĀNTINĀTHA BY SAKALAKĪRTI

No. 309 is Śāntināthacarita or the life of the Tīrthamkara Śāntinātha by Sakalakīrti. In the beginning the author offers his salutations to or adores the following —

THE PARAMESTHINS

1. The Tīrthamkaras, some by name, and the rest generally.

2. The Siddhas, who are delivered from their enemies, the Karmans, are possessed of the eight virtues, have ascended to the highest top of Loka, are free from all misery, and enjoy infinite bliss.
3. The Acāryas, who go through the five courses themselves, and take their pupils through them. These five courses are Darśanācāra, Jñānācāra, Tapācāra, Cāritrācāra, Viryācāra.—These the reader will remember are mentioned by Kundakundācārya, and are given in a marginal note in this Manuscript.
4. Pāṭhaka-munis or Upādhyāyas, as they are usually called, who study the Angas, Pūrvas, and Prakīrṇakas to attain perfection and teach them to their pupils; and who are familiar with the twelve Angas.
5. Sadhus, who by difficult and terrible Tapas, and by means of the three jewels, walk by the path which leads to deliverance and are at all times absorbed in Yoga (mental concentration)

These are called the five Parameṣṭhins.

THE KEVALINS

6. All the Gaṇadharas from Vṛṣabhasena to Gautama who composed the holy twelve Angas for the benefit of those who wish to be delivered
7. Sudharmācārya, the possessor of pure knowledge (Kevalāvagama) who like a cloud rained down the nectar of Dharma.
8. Jambūsvāmīn who, even in his boyhood, killed by the sword of his asceticism the enemies, desire and delusion

THE ŚRUTAKEVALINS

9. The five Śrutakevalins Viṣṇu, Nandimitra, Aparājita, Govardhana, and Bhadrabāhu. They were called by

that generic name, because they were conversant with the whole of the sacred lore.

THE SŪRIS

10. The Sūris, Viśakhācārya and others.

THE KAVIS

The Kavis, viz —

11. Kundakundācārya
12. Akalanka, the great dialectician
13. Samantabhadra
14. Pūjyapāda
15. Nemicaṇḍra who was familiar with the Siddhāntas
16. Prabhācandra
17. Jināsena

It will thus be seen that there are among the Dīgambara Jainas five classes of persons deserving of adoration, viz,—I, the five Parameṣṭhins, II, the Kevalins, Gautama and his two successors, III, the five Śrutakevalins, IV, the Sūris, V, the Kavis. The Kavis are later writers of repute, and undoubtedly historical personages. According to the fifth Gāthā of the Pravacanasāra, the Gaṇadhara forms the third of the five groups included under Parameṣṭhins. But these groups of the Parameṣṭhins seem to be ideal and were suggested by the actual Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvira, his Gaṇadhara Gautama, and the Śrutakevalins Viṣṇu and others. They figure in all the formulas repeated at the time of Jina worship.

PARŚVANĀTHACĀRITA BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Another work of Sakalakīrti, the Parśvanāthacarita, of which No. 303 is a copy, contains in the introduction verses of the same nature as the above, some of them being identical. The Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1662 or 1605 A. D., at Maharoṭha during the reign of Akbar and of a dependent native prince of the name of

Rāyasila. It was finished on the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada.

The succession list of High-priests of the Sarasvatī Gaccha of the Balātkāragana of the Mulasamgha, belonging to the line of Kundakundācārya is thus given —1 Padmanandin, 2 Śubhacandra, 3 Jinacandra, 4 Prabhācandra. The second pupil of this last was Ratnakīrti, his pupil Bhuvanakīrti, and his, Dharmakīrti and Viśalakīrti. Lakṣmicandra was the pupil of the last, and was perhaps the head priest of some branch of the sect, for we have the expression Tatpatte used after him. So then we have this part of the list thus —1 Lakṣmicandra, 2 Sahasrakīrti, 3 Nemīcandra, 4 Yaśahkīrti. From Ratnakīrti downwards, each of these has the title of Maṇḍalācārya. Then follows the genealogy of Nivāi, wife of Malu, who was a follower of the last priest and who caused the Manuscript to be written.

JINADĀSA'S HARIVAMŚĀ

Nos 314 and 315 are copies of a work entitled Harivamśa by Jinadāsa, pupil of Sakalakīrti. In the introduction Jinadāsa says that these legendary histories were communicated by Vira to Gautama, and thence they passed to Sudharma, Jambūsvāmin, Vidyucara, Kīrti, Anuttaravid, Raviṣeṇa, and Jinasena in succession. Raviṣeṇa's Prabhava is here called Vidyucara, and Anuttaravāgmin, Anuttaravid. It will be seen that Raviṣeṇa is here placed chronologically before Jinasena, and that is the conclusion we have arrived at from the dates occurring in their works. No. 314 was transcribed in Samvat 1654 and finished on Thursday the 10th of the light half of Pausa. It was caused to be transcribed by Kṣemacandra, the pupil of Candrakīrti, the successor of Prabhācandra, High-priest of the Balātkāragana and Sarasvatīgaccha of the Nandisamgha which was a branch of the Mulasamgha.

No 310 is Śrīpālacarita by Nemīdattayati which has already been noticed. It was composed by the author in Samvat 1585

in the temple of Ādijina, in the town of Pūrṇasā which was situated in the country of Mālava.

JĪVĀM̐DHARASVĀMICARITA BY ŚUBHACANDRA

The Jīvam̐dharasvāmicarita (No. 292) was composed by Śubhacandra in Vikrama 16— There is a misreading in the verse in consequence of which the figures in the units and tens places cannot be made out. In the introduction the author mentions Pūjyapāda, Samantabhadra, Akalanka, Jīnasena, Jīṇabhuṣaṇa and Śubhacandra. There is a Praśasti of the copyist at the end but a portion of the leaf is torn off, and so it cannot be properly made out.

SUBHAUMACARITA BY RATNACANDRA

No. 313 is Subhaumacarita by Ratnacandra Subhauma is the future Tirthamkara At the end of the work we have a succession list. First of all in the Sārasvata Gaccha of the Mūla-saṃgha there was a Muni of the name of Kundakunda who belonged to the school of Simamdhara In his line flourished (1) Padmanandin, whose successors were (2) Sakalakīrti, and (3) Bhuvanakīrti. Then we have two Maṇḍalācāryas, the first of whom was Ratnakīrti, the fellow-student of Bhuvanakīrti, and the second or his successor Yaśakīrti In the line of this last flourished Gupacandra who was succeeded by Jinacandra, the leader of the Balatkāragana. He was followed by Sakalacandra and after him came Ratnacandra, who is spoken of in the present tense since it was he who composed the work.

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF SUBHAUMACARITA AND THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR

The composition of the work was finished on Thursday, the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada, in Samvat 1683, in a temple of Pārśvanātha situated on the banks of the Gangā at

Pāṭaliputra in the country of Magadha, during the reign of Salem Śāh, the lord of all Mleneccha kings. Assistance was given in the composition of the Subhaumacarita by Tejapāla, son of Dhanarāja, and Hemarāja, son of Reṣa, who belonged to the Khaṇḍelavāla line and were the followers and pupils of Divijendrakīrti (Dvije), the successors of Candrakīrti, who himself followed Prabhācandra. In a marginal note it is stated that these High-priests belonged to the Delhi establishment, ("were the occupants of the Delhi throne") Teja belonged to the Gotra of Saumanya and Hema to the Paṭṭaṇi Gotra and lived in a city of the name of Paṭṭaṇa. Ratnacandra had come (to Magadha) on a pilgrimage to Sammedācala accompanied by Jayakīrti, son of Jaganmalla, Kamalakīrti, Kalyāṇa, Kacara, Kānhajī, and Bhogidāsa. Ratnacandra, son of a merchant named Mahī of the Bhūyaḍa caste and his wife Campā, composed the work [then]

Of all the Śrāvakas who adore the Khaṇḍelavālas, Agravālas, Dānis and Jaisavālas, the assistance rendered by Tejapāla son of Dhanarāja Kesiṇ, was the most valuable, in so far as everything needed was provided. Hemarāja, the lord of Hamīrde, together with his nephew Hira, caused this (work) to be written. Blessing be to Mangala, the son of the merchant Hema, who lived in the town of Sāga (Sāgavādānāra) situated in the province of Vāgvara (Vāgaḍa)! Rājasiṃha and Amara, the sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa Bahuṇa (Cāhuṇa?) of the Kṣatriya race, Bhīma and others(?) and Hemakīrti raised Ratnacandra the author of this work to the pontifical chair—In a marginal note Salem Śāh's other name is given as Jehangīr, so that the Mogal Emperor during whose reign Ratnacandra wrote his work, was Jehangīr the son of Akbar who reigned from 1605 A. D. to 1627 A. D. The date 1683 Samvat, the month being Bhādrapada (September-October), corresponds to 1626 A. D.

**TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE JAINA SACRED LITERATURE
FROM A DIGAMBARA PAṬṬĀVALI**

We have seen that Raviṣeṇa, Jinasena, Sakalakīrti and others speak of the sacred lore as having passed from Gautama to Sudharma, thence to Jambūsvāmin, and so on in regular succession. This means that Jainism had no written books for a long period after the foundation of the religion. But the tradition as regards this matter is fully given in the Paṭṭāvali mentioned before (No 629 of 1875-76) on the authority of old Prakṛiti Gāthās which are there quoted. It is to the following effect:—

After Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa three Kevalins flourished. They were (1) Gautama who lived for 12 years, (2) Sudharma who, also lived for 12 years, and (3) Jambūsvāmin who taught the creed for 38 years.

Then there were five Śrutakevalins 1, Viṣṇunandin for 14 years, 2, Nandimitra for 16, 3, Aparājita for 22; 4, Govardhana for 19, and 5, Bhadrabāhu for 29. These knew the eleven Angas and the fourteen Pūrvas by heart. But this statement does not occur in the Gāthās, it is made by the Hindi commentator. It is however in every way in keeping with the whole tradition and with the name Śrutakevalin, and Sakalakīrti confirms it in the Praśnottaropāsakācāra, as we have seen. Then followed eleven persons who knew ten Pūrvas by heart. Their names and dates I give below. It will be seen that the last Śrutakevalin ceased to be in 162 A. Vir.

DAŚAPŪRVADHĀRINŚ

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Viśakhācārya, A. Vir. 162 | 6 Siddhārthācārya, A. Vir. 247. |
| 2 Proṣṭhācārya, A. Vir. 172 | 7 Dhṛtisenācārya, A. Vir. 264. |
| 3 Kṣatriyācārya, A. Vir. 191. | 8 Vijayācārya, A. Vir. 282. |
| 4 Jayasenācārya, A. Vir. 208. | 9 Buddhilingācārya, A. Vir. 295. |
| 5 Nāgasenācārya, A. Vir. 229 | 10 Devācārya, A. Vir. 315. |
| 11 Dharmasenācārya, A. Vir. 329. | |

Then followed five persons who knew the eleven Angas

EKĀDAŚĀṄGADHĀRINS

- 1 Nakṣatrācārya, A. Vir 345. 3 Pāṇḍavācārya, A. Vir. 383,
2 Jayapālācārya, A. Vir 363. 4 Dhruvasenācārya, A. Vir. 422.
5 Kamsācārya, A. Vir. 436

After the last the number of Angas known went on decreasing.

- 1 Subhadrācārya, A Vir 468, knew ten Angas only,
2 Yaśobhadrācārya, A Vir 474, knew nine Angas only.
3 Bhadrabāhu, A Vir. 492, knew eight Angas only.
4 Lohācārya, A Vir. 515, was the head of the church
for 50 years, but what the extent of his knowledge was is
not clear. Probably he knew seven Angas

Then followed five men who knew one Anga only

- 1 Ahivallyācārya, A Vir 565. 4 Puṣpadantācārya, A. Vir.
2 Māghanandyācārya, A Vir 633
593 5 Bhūtavalyācārya, A. Vir.
3 Dharasenācārya, A. Vir 614 663 He was the head of
the Church for 20 years.

Thus for 683 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira the knowledge of the Angas remained though in a gradually decreasing ratio. Then, according to the Hindi commentator, the last two of these Munis reduced the whole sacred lore to writing. It will be seen that the Kevalins and the Śrutakevalins here named are the same as those mentioned by Sakalakīrti in the Śāntināthacarita, and the Ācāryas from Viśakha downwards are spoken of by him as Sūris.

MEANING OF THE TRADITION

The meaning of this very important tradition, as I consider it to be, is clear. The knowledge of the doctrines of the founder of Jainism was only orally handed down and there were no books. Gradually a great change came over the system. Some of the original doctrines were forgotten or ceased to be believed in and others must have come into vogue.

WHEN THE JAINAS CAME TO HAVE WRITTEN SCRIPTURES

The Jainas came to have written scriptures about 683 A. Vīr., corresponding to 195 A. Vikr., and 139 A. D., when the last of the men who knew any portion of the sacred lore by heart died. Up to this time their sect must have been very unimportant, though it was probably founded about the time of Buddha. And its being in that condition is also indicated by the fact that while there are many Inscriptions referring to Buddhism there are only a few solitary ones referring to Jainism up to about the 5th century of Christ. And the date 139 A. D., agrees very well with my conclusions as to the period when the Prakrits were developed. They began to be formed, as I have stated, about the beginning of the Christian Era, and by about 139 A. D., they must have become *distinctive dialects spoken in different parts of the country*. It was therefore in the vernacular prevalent in one of the provinces in the second century that the Jaina books were written.

Jainism probably began to raise its head when Buddhism began to decline, and succeeded in making way by bringing its doctrines nearer to the popular creed sanctioned by Brahmanism. They gave a substantial existence to the soul which was denied by the Buddhists, and raised their Tīrthamkaras to the rank of the Supreme being though they denied to them the authorship of the world. They connected the popular heroes Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others with their creed and even admitted domestic ceremonies such as those of the Brahmins. The compromise that some of their philosophic doctrines present between two Brahmanic schools has already been spoken of.¹

N. B.—The Manuscripts of works belonging to the Śvetāmbara Jainas were made over for examination by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar to his Manuscripts Assistant, Mr. (afterwards Professor) Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. A Report was drawn up by the latter and it is printed on pp 126—157 of the Original Report [N. B. U.]

¹ Ante, pp. 242 ff. [N. B. U.]

A NOTE ON THE SAMVAT ERA

[FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH OF SANSKRIT
MANUSCRIPTS FOR 1883-84, pp. 158 ff.]

In a Review of my last Report¹ characterised by a general spirit of fairness, which forms a distinguishing feature in the writer's character and has enabled him to acquire that influence over his brother scholars both in Europe and India which he now wields, Dr Bühler finds fault with me for taking the word "Samvat" as expressive in all cases of the Vikrama era which begins in 57 B. C. His words are —

"I must, however, add that it is hazardous to assume, as Professor Bhandarkar seems to do throughout, that all dates preceded by the word "Samvat" belong to the era of 57 B. C. In common with other Sanskritists I too have held this opinion for many years. But recent discoveries have shown that even the scribes of Gujarat and Rajputana, where the Vikrama era is universally used in everyday life, sometimes put Samvat instead of Śakasamvat. As instances I may point out the Manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn, Mah II 3, p. 8), written at Iladurga (Idar) in Samvat 1513 and 1514, where the mention (in the colophon) of the victorious reign of the illustrious Nārāyaṇadāsa the Rao Nārondās of the Aym Akbari, shows that Śakasamvat 1513—1514 is meant, and the copy of Govindarāja's Smṛtīmāñjarī in the India Office Library (No. 1736), dated Samvat 1467, which Colebrooke and the editors of the Palaeographical Series believed to correspond to 1410 A. D. In the colophon of the latter work the scribe states, however, that he wrote at Vasurāvi (Vasrāvi) during the reign of Mahārāja Udayasimha. As Mahārāja Udayasimha

¹ That is, the Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the years 1882-83, included in this Volume earlier. [N. B. U.]

of Mevād came to the throne in 1541 A. D., it is not doubtful that Samvat 1467 refers to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 1545 A. D. Under these circumstances every 'Samvat-date' requires verification "

That the word "Samvat," denotes at the present day the Vikrama era alone, and the word Śaka, the era which begins in 79 A. D., is a fact that cannot admit of dispute. But Dr Buhler thinks this was not the case in former times, and that the word "Samvat" was sometimes used to denote the Śaka also, and brings forward two instances in which if we understand the Vikrama era by the word "Samvat," we are led to wrong results. The wrong results only show that there is some mistake here, but they do not necessarily show that the word "Samvat" is here used to express the Śaka era. And besides the Śaka will hardly do for the first of the two above dates. For Śaka 1514 corresponds to 1592 A. D., when it is highly questionable whether Nārāyaṇadāsa was the reigning chief at Idar, for in 1576 A. D., a large army was sent to Idar to subdue that chief, he having previously shown a rebellious spirit, and Nārāyaṇadāsa was defeated and his capital fell into the hands of Akbar. Kinloch Forbes immediately after this speaks of Viramadeva, the successor of Nārāyaṇadāsa. The wrong results may be due to the transcribers of the Manuscripts having copied the dates from their originals and given the names of the princes in whose reigns they themselves lived, or to an actual slip of the pen in writing them.

Not only, therefore, do these two dates afford no ground whatever for the supposition that the word "Samvat" is here used to denote the Śaka era, but I can give a mass of positive evidence to show that for the last four hundred and fifty years at least, the word "Samvat" has been, just as it is at present, used to denote the Vikrama era only, and the word "Śaka" or "Śaka" the other. I have recently collected a

large number of instances of double dates from Śaka 1361 or 1439 A. D., downwards in which the word "Samvat" is used before one, and "Śaka" or "Śaka" before the other. The manner in which these words are contrasted shows that "Samvat" denotes an era different from that which "Śaka" denotes, and the number expressive of the date in the first case being in excess of that in the second by 134, 135 or 136, the era expressed by the word "Samvat" in these instances is unquestionably that of Vikrama. These double dates are as follows —

- 1 A MS of the Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya recently procured has at the end संवत् १४९६ वर्षे शाके १३६१ प्रवर्तमाने सिद्धार्थनामसंवत्सरे.
- 2 No. 106 of 1882-83, Mitākṣarā, has स्वस्ति संवत् १५३५ वर्षे शाके १४०१ प्रवर्तमाने.
3. No 533 of 1883-84 (the present Collection), Dānavākyaśāli, has संवत् १५३९ शाके १४०४ समये पौषशुद्धि पञ्चमी रविवारसे.
- 4 No 197 of 1883-84, Mādhava's Commentary on the Bhāsvatī, has (f. 65 a) संवत् १५८२ शाकः १४४७.
- 5 No 324 of the Viśrāmabāg Collection, Prakriyākaumudī, has स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १५८३ वर्षे शाके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने आश्वपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां तिथौ मौमदिने.
6. No. 86 of 1883-84, Viṣṇubhaktīkalpalatā with commentary has संवत् १६६७ वा १५३३ प्र। जेष्ठ शुद्धि ९ गुरी.
7. No. 206 of 1883-84, Varṣaphalavicārasiddhānta (a commentary on), has (f. 3 a) संवत् १६९० शाकः १५५५ समये आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्दशी तिथिः शुभे.
8. No. 321 of 1883-84, Śrīpāla Caupāī, has संवत् १७३६ शाके १६०१ प्रवर्तमाने पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशमी गुरुवारसे.
9. No. 199 of 1883-84, Gaṅgādhara's Commentary on the Bhāsvatī, has (f. 26 b) अश्वोदाहरणं संवत् १७४२ शाके १६०७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथौ (यी) पूर्णमास्यां १५ शनी.

10. No. 202 of 1883-84, Dhruvabhramakayantra, has संवत् १०६१ वर्षे सा १६२० प्रवर्तमाने ॥ अथ वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे १२ तिथौ मौमवासरे ॥
11. Kṛṣṇakarmāṃṛta, last leaf of, (found in No. 159 of 1883-84, Bhaktirasāṃṛtasindhu) has संवत् १०६१ वर्षे साके १६२९॥ मीति आसोज सुदि ॥ १ ॥
12. Saptapadārthīkikā (recently procured) has संवत् १८११ वर्षे साके १६०६ प्र । पौषस्य शुक्ला १४.
13. No. 201 of 1883-84, Muhūrtacūḍāmaṇi, has संवत् १८१२ वर्षे साके १६०८ प्रवर्तमाने मधुमासे बहुलपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मौमवासरे.
14. No. 103 of 1883-84, Prabodhacandrikā, has संवत् १८५९ साके १०२४॥
15. No. 215 of 1883-84, Sārāvalī, has संवत् १८६५ साके १०३० पौषसुदि १^१ वा. आदित्यवासरे.
16. No. 204 of 1883-84, Rāmaṇinoda, has संवत् १८६७ साके १०३१ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ला १४ सनी.
17. No 222 of 1883-84, Virasimhāvaloka, has संवत् १८७३ साका १०३८ वैश्व कृष्णपक्षिद्वादश्यां शुक्ले.
18. No. 207 of 1883-84, Vastuprakaraṇa, has सं १८७३ सा १०३८ वैशाख कृष्ण १२ शुक्ले.
19. No 210 of 1883-84, Vṛddhagārgyasaṃhitā, has भावन शुद्ध १ संवत् १८७३ साके १०३८ गुरौ.

It is plain, therefore, from this that the word "Samvat," whatever its etymological meaning, and in whatever sense it may have been used in early Inscriptions, has within the last five centuries, if not earlier, come to be restricted by usage to the Vikrama era. In No. 200 of 1883-84, which is a commentary on the Bhāṣvatī, it is expressly stated that the era of Vikramāditya is called "Samvat" and that it is in advance of the Śaka by 135 years. The words are —

विक्रमादित्यस्य संवत्संज्ञः पञ्चाभिचन्द्रौ (त्रैः) हीनः शाकिकाह्नवशको भवति ।

1 The letter पौष सुदि १ have ink rubbed over them.

20. उदाहरण ॥ संवत् १०१२ वर्षे साके १५०० आरब्धं यदि ३०
अब (इम)मधिकृत्योदाहरणक्रमो लिख्यते ॥ संवत् १०१२
 पञ्चाभिचन्द्रैर्ही (हीं) च १३५ साकिबाहमस्तको जाताः १५०० सकोपि
 एते (:) १३५ युताः संवत् अबसि १०१२.

• Nothing could be plainer than this. And this occurs in a work written 231 years ago. We are therefore perfectly justified in taking " Samvat " as occurring in Manuscripts to mean the era which begins in 57 B. C., and if in any particular case wrong results are arrived at, they must be due to some mistake of the scribe of the nature of those we meet with in almost every line in a bad Manuscript. Such mistakes do not and cannot point to a sense of the word " Samvat " other than that which usage has clearly given to it.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR
SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS
1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87¹**

I ISSUE the following pages with a feeling of keen regret. I had planned as extensive a report as the last, if not more, had examined the Manuscripts, collected materials, and got the extracts copied out. But after finishing the first two articles, I had a long-continued illness, and since that time my College duties, and other work which could not be avoided and a good deal of which was of a literary nature, left me no time or energy for digesting my materials and putting them into shape. I expected to be able to take up the Report after my retirement from the service, but I had another attack of illness in the beginning of this year. The Report, however, could be delayed no longer, and I had to send it to the Press immediately. I, however, hastily added three more articles before actually doing so.

The second article has been published in a somewhat altered form in the Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists.

THE number of Manuscripts purchased by me for Government during the three years 1884-87 is 1,406. Of these, 1,135 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana, and 271 in the Maratha Country.

I will proceed to notice some of the interesting Manuscripts in the Collection and to state such points of importance as I have been able to gather from them.

¹ Originally published in 1894, at the Government Central Press, Bombay.

VEDAS, VEDĀNGAS, ETC.

RGVEDA AND DEPENDENT TREATISES

A COMMENTARY ON KĀTYĀYANA'S SARVĀNUKRAMA

No 89 is a copy of a commentary called Bhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Sarvānukrama. The Manuscript which was transcribed in Śaka 1583, i.e., 1662 A.D., is in a very bad condition, the paper has become so brittle that the slightest touch brings off a piece, and the edges of the leaves and the corners have worn away and portions of the written lines have thus disappeared, making the rest difficult to be understood and entirely unintelligible. This circumstance is very much to be regretted as the work appears to be important and has not yet been subjected to examination. The only other available copy of it, I know of, is a fragment which is in the Tanjore Collection, and is noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue (page 2). The author's name cannot be ascertained.

The commentary on each Maṇḍala begins with a Śloka, but it is always in praise of a deity, and the author seems to have studiously concealed his name, as is not unfrequently done by some Sanskrit writers. The opening Śloka is the same as that which is at the beginning of Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarśa, and as if to show that it is not his, the author gives the paraphrase of it in the second. In a great many places the author gives the current legends connected with passages in the text of the Rksamhitā, introducing them with the words "Atreṭhasam ācakṣate" and rarely with "Atrākhyānam ācakṣate". When these are given with simply this introduction, they appear to have been quoted from the Brhaddevatā. But there are legends and quotations from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, these latter being referred to by the name Purāṇakāra or Paurāṇika. Some are spoken of as having been given by Vṛddhacārya. This author is frequently quoted. Thus he is represented as considering Indrāgni not to be the

principal deities of the verse I. 139. 9, but as subordinate (Nīpātabhāṣau) against the view of the author of the Sarvānukrama. Again, he is spoken of as maintaining that the first Pāda of IV. 57. 8, has reference to the cultivation of soil, the second speaks of men who subsist on agriculture, the third is for rain, and the fourth is composed by the Ṛṣi through his desire for grain, the whole hymn referring to agriculture. This, says the commentator, is not opposed to the statement of the original author. Vṛddhacārya would thus appear to have written a work of the nature of an Anukramaṇī or a commentary on any of the existing works on the subject and to have held some independent views. The story referring to VI 75, and those about the origin of Vasuṣṭha from Urvaśī in connection with the seventh Maṇḍala, and about the relations of Purūravas with Urvaśī, which are the subject of X. 95, are quoted as given by the same author. The wording of the last is, however, the same as that of the version given by Max Müller (R̥gveda Vol VI page 18, *varietas lectionis*) as belonging to the Bṛhaddevatā. This Vṛddhacārya must be the same author as that quoted by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana as an authority in sacrificial matters¹. Śaunaka is also very often quoted by name by our author in speaking of the deities or metres, but not as the narrator of the legends

ANUKRAMAṆĪDHŪNDHŪ

No. 39 is entitled Anukramaṇīdhūndhū, and consists of the Sarvānukrama in a tabulated form. In each line we have first the number of the hymn, then the first Pāda of the first verse, and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the Vargas, and of the verses of which the hymn is composed, the name of the Ṛṣi, the deity, and the metre. The next hymn is noticed in the next line. When the particulars referring to a hymn are not complete in one line, we have more, i.e., a paragraph. The

1 See my last Report, p. 28 ; [Ante, p. 103 N. B. U.]

Suktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1,017 and the end of an Adhyāya is simply marked with the letters "Adhya." The Vāḥkilyas come between hymns 668 and 669, i.e., after VIII. 48, and are numbered from 1 to 10. The Manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Samvat year 1796 and is thus a hundred and fifty years old. It was purchased by our agent from a Brahman belonging to the Śāṅkhāyana school living in Jaypur, and was brought along with No 42 and copies of other works of the Śāṅkhāyana School, which will be noticed in the next Report.

This tabulated Anukramaṇi agrees in all respects with the Sarvānukrama, as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Müller's Edition, and with the original Sarvānukrama. The number of verses in VII 21, is, however, stated as 9, probably because the tenth is the same as the last verse of the previous hymn. In other places, however, where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns it is not left out of account, so that there is probably a mistake here.

The number of hymns, 1,017, is the same as that given in the Anuvākanukramaṇi indexed in the Sarvānukrama, and found in the Vulgate. But our Dhundhū differs from the last in omitting one of the 11 Vāḥkilya hymns, that beginning with Yamṛtvijo (VIII 58), but agrees with the Sarvānukrama, for this also omits the hymn, and the commentary noticed above agrees with the text, as it contains no reference to it. As the Vulgate is identified with the school of Āśvalāyana, the slightly different text represented by the Sarvānukrama must be the one prevalent in some other School.

The author of the Bhāṣya on the Caranavyūha often noticed by scholars gives the omission of VIII 58, as a peculiarity of the text of the Saṁhitā studied by the followers of the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra. At the same time he notices

the insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into X. 88, but only as a Khila and consequently not to be counted. The work before me does not notice the insertion probably just on this account, assigning to the hymn nineteen verses, which it has in the Vulgate. The text as represented by the Sarvānukrama is thus in its entirety the text of the Śāṅkhāyana School, and this is confirmed by the fact that my Manuscript which agrees with it, was got from a Brahman of the Śāṅkhāyana Śākha living at a village called Brāhmapol about two miles from Jaypur. It follows, therefore, that the only difference between the Samhitās of the schools of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana consisted in the addition or omission of VIII 58. .

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Professor Oldenberg. And the grounds are these. In the Upākaraṇa ceremony, usually called Śrāvaṇi by us, after the name of the month in which it is performed, oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala. In the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is Tacchamyorāvṛṇīmahe &c, which therefore must have been the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Samhitā followed by Śāṅkhāyana. Similarly in another place in the Sūtra the teacher's having taught to his pupil the whole of the Veda ending with Śamyor Bārhaspatya is spoken of. Śamyor Bārhaspatya here means, according to Vināyaka the commentator on the Sūtra, the second of the two verses Tacchamyor, &c. Now on the evidence of a Kārikā quoted in a Prayoga noticed by Prof. Weber in his first Berlin Catalogue (p 314), it is concluded that the Bāskala Samhitā of the R̥gveda ended with the verse Tac cham yor, &c. There is also more evidence to the same effect, or rather the source of the evidence adduced by Professors Weber and Oldenberg, and the statements of subsequent authors based on that source, which are not noticed by the two scholars.

The *Kārikā* itself occurs in the work entitled *Āśvalāyanagrhya-Kārikā* attributed to Kumārila. Whether this writer is the same as Kumārila, the great *Mīmāṃsaka*, is a point which I at least do not consider to be settled. There is a copy of it in the Collection for 1883-84 and bears No. 509. The Collection A. of 1881-82 made by me contains two copies of a *Bhāṣya* on the *Kārikās* (Nos. 176 and 177) No. 176 is an excellent Manuscript and contains the original as well as the commentary. The author of the latter does not give his name, and though the name *Nārāyaṇa* does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner as to leave it highly doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator. In the introduction we are told, "First of all *Nārāyaṇa*, the author of the *Vṛtti*, composed his work, as it was difficult for persons of little learning, who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by *Āśvalāyana* with the help of the *Sūtra* alone. Taking that *Vṛtti* as a basis and considering the views of *Jayanta* and others which are in conformity with the *Sūtra*, the author of the *Kārikā* composed the *Kārikā* setting forth the procedure in order. Still some people neglecting this *Kārikā*, though of use to carry one through the rites, on account of the difficulty arising from his brevity, and regarding a *Paddhati* (manual) alone to be useful in this respect, perform the rites for themselves and cause others to perform them in accordance with it. Therefore, on account of the impossibility of removing doubts by a mere *Paddhati* as to what is first, and what last, whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of the rites prescribed in the *Gṛhya Sūtra*, some one, through the favour of the deity presiding over the ceremonial, having sat at the feet of a master, the like of whom is not to be found, of the name of *Vuppadeva-bhaṭṭa* residing in the city of *Kalamba* and belonging to the *Āśvalāyana* school of the *Ṛgveda*, for receiving instruction in the sense of the *Kārikā*, is now expounding the whole *Kārikā*

for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed, making use of what was taught to him by the master."¹

From this it appears that the Kārikā was written in accordance with Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti, the views of Jayanta and others being also represented. And in the work the Bhagavadvṛttikṛt and Jayanta are frequently mentioned.² Now, as regards the point in question, Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on Āśv. Gr III 5. 9, is "It is well known to students that this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra and Grhya of the Śākala traditional text and the Bāskala text. For the Śākalas 'Samāni va ākūṭiḥ' is the verse, because it is the final one of their Samhitā, while for the Bāskalās 'Tachamyorāvṛṇmahe' is the one, being at the end of their Samhitā. This construction is proper"³

The Kārikā based on this Vṛtti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue, and runs thus — "The

१ तत्राद्याम्बलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्यव्युत्पत्तिमतामध्ययनैकदेश-
स्पर्शानां तदुक्ततत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नारायणो वृत्तिम-
करोत् । तामेव वृत्तिं पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलाम्बयन्तादीन्विचार्य
कारिकाकारः क्रमेणैवेतिकर्तव्यताकारिणीं कारिकां चकार । तथाप्यत्र
केचन संक्षेपकाठिन्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिकां निवार्य पद्धति-
मेवात्रोपयोगिनीमवधार्य कर्म कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च । अतः "कोप्यत्र
कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकलकर्मसु किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किंवा
नास्तीत्यादिरूपं संदेहं केवलं पद्धत्या दूरीकर्तुमशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थ-
परिज्ञानार्थमृग्वेदान्तःपातिन्यामाम्बलायनशास्त्रायां कलम्बपुरवासिनं
लोकोत्तरं दुष्पदेवमदृश्यं गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमिस्तीकृत्य
क्रियमाणकर्मकलापसंदेहापनुत्तये तावतीमेव कारिकां विवृणोति ।
(From No. 176 of A 1881-82)

² See also Dr. Bühler's review of my last Report, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII., p. 188 A.

³ p. 168, Bibl. Ind. Ed.

last oblation (Āhuti) thrown into the fire of the Śakalas is after [the repetition of] the Ṛk 'Samāni vaḥ' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas after [the repetition of] the Ṛk 'Taochamyor,' The commentary on this is — "In the province of the Ṛgveda there are five different Śakhās, Āśvalāyana Sāmkhyāyana, the Śakalas, Bāṣkalas and Māṇḍukas. Of these, the last oblation of the Śakalas is by repeating 'Samāni va' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas is by repeating 'Taochamyor' Everything else is the same This same Āśvalāyana Sūtra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Āśvalāyana Śakhā and to the Śakalas and Bāṣkalas " Jayanta in the Vimalodayamālā thus speaks about the point — "Since this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra of Śakala and Bāṣkala and this the Gṛhya of the two Samhitās, those who end their Samhitā by the verse 'Samāni va ākūṭaḥ,' throw an oblation into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt, while those who read 'Taochamyorāvṛṇīmahe' at the end of their text, throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt, and not on repeating 'Samāni va ākūṭaḥ.' This sense is obtained from the word Ekā which occurs in both the Sūtras " 1

1 शाकलानां समानीव इत्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्मवेत् । बाष्कलानां तु तच्छब्दोरित्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्मवेत् । (From No 509 of 1883-84 and 176 of A. 1881-82)

2 ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शाखाभेदाः । आश्वलायनी सांख्यायनी शाकला बाष्कला माण्डूकाश्चेति । तेषां मध्ये शाकलानां समानीव इत्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्मवेति बाष्कलानां तु तच्छब्दोरित्युच्यन्त्याहुतिर्मवेति । इतरत्सर्वं समानम् । आश्वलायनशाखानुसारिणां शाकलबाष्कलानां वेदमेवाश्वलायनसूत्रं कर्मानुष्ठानार्थमुपकरोति ।

3 यतः शाकलबाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्रं द्वयोः संहितयोर्युक्तं च । तत्र ये समानीव आकूतिरित्यनया संहितायाः पारं गच्छन्ति ते समानीव

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa's statement in the Vṛtti, and though Jayanta's direct connection with Nārāyaṇa's work is not mentioned, still the passage from his work is so very much alike to that occurring in the Vṛtti, that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the Vṛtti or both derived from a common source. If then the Bāṣkala Samhitā ended with 'Tacham̐yor,' &c, while the Śākala with 'Samāni va akūṭaḥ,' the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra, which prescribes 'Tacham̐yor,' etc, as the verse for the last oblation in the Upākaraṇa ceremony, must be a Sūtra of the Bāṣkala Śākhā; and as according to Śaunaka the Samhitā of this Śākhā had eight hymns more than that of the Śākalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Maṇḍala was different, it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Caranavyūha that Śāṅkhāyana's Samhitā differed from Āśvalāyana's, which is the same as that of the Śākalas, only in excluding VIII. 58, cannot be true, and there is no Samhitā exactly corresponding to the Sarvānukrama, which also excludes this hymn, and though my Manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Śāṅkhāyana school, as other works of that school were, still it should be considered not as representing the Samhitā of that school.

But it must not be forgotten that those same writers, who give us the information which leads us to these conclusions, tell us as a fact well-known to students of Āśvalāyana's Sūtra that, that was the Sūtra of the Bāṣkalas as well as the Śākalas. The same fact is stated by Gargya-Nārāyaṇa in his comment on the first Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana. The expression 'Idam eva' or

• आकृतिरित्यनयैव इत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुहति । ये तच्छब्दयोरावृणीमह इति समान्नायान्ते पठन्ति ते तयैव इत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुहति न समानी च आकृतिरिति । अयमर्थ उभयोरेकैकग्रहणात् ।

'Eva' used by them would show that this itself or this alone was, according to the commentators, the Sūtra of the Bāskalas ; and if the Śaṅkhayana Sūtra was peculiarly theirs and the Āśvalāyana of the Śākalaś, they were not aware of the fact. Again, the traditional number of Rks, 10,580½, is not given by the existing Śākala Samhita, that ends with 'Samāni va akūtiḥ,' &c., and the real number falls short of this by 15.

This confusion is, it will be seen, based on Nārāyaṇa's interpretation of Āśvalāyana's Sūtras on the Upākarapa, III. 5, 8 and 9, which assigns definitely one of the verses to the one school, and the other to the other, and will disappear if we interpret the Sūtras in a manner which, though it may differ from that of Nārāyaṇa, is still consistent with the positive information given to us by him and the other authors. By the use of the word Ekā in III 5 8, Nārāyaṇa understands that Āśvalāyana directs the use of the verse 'Samāni va akūtiḥ' to the exclusion of 'Tacchamyorāvṛṇīmahe' prescribed in the next Sūtra, and by the word Ekā in this last Sūtra, the use of this last verse alone is meant to be prescribed to the exclusion of the other. Thus the sense, he says, is, that or this is to be used i.e., Vikalpa or option is here allowed, but it is a Vyavasthita Vikalpa, i.e., one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another.

Now Āśvalāyana's usual way of expressing a Vikalpa is by the use of the word 'Vā' as in I. 10. 9, I. 11. 13, I. 14. 5, I. 15. 6, I. 19. 2, I. 20. 1, &c., &c., and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sūtra III. 5. 3. Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes as in I. 7. 9, where the Jāmadagnas are mentioned, and I. 10. 19, where we have the Pañcāvattis, or by using the word Eke, i.e., "some," as in I. 4. 2, I. 13. 6, &c. So, then, if he meant the verse mentioned in III. 5. 8, for the Śākalaś, and that in III. 5.

9, for the Bāṣkalas, we should expect him to name the first School in the first Sūtra or the second in the second. At any rate, even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessary, the word *Vā* is quite indispensable. And Nārāyaṇa himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given; for he winds it up with the words 'Ityevaṁ niveśo yuktaḥ,' which means "this construction is reasonable," or, according to the sense of the word *Niveśa* as used by the grammarians, it means "Āśvalāyana should properly have put in words to that effect." Again, the word is interpreted here by Nārāyaṇa in quite a different sense from that in which he interprets it in III. 5 6.

The true explanation seems to me to be this. Āśvalāyana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Maṇḍala. But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Samhitā by heart continuously without proper divisions, or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break, he prescribes a pair of verses in each case, the first of which is the last of the previous Maṇḍala and the second the first of the next Maṇḍala. This mode of statement can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Maṇḍala or the last verse of the last Maṇḍala, and they must be prescribed singly. But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word *Dvyaṛca* "pair of verses" with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Maṇḍala, the word *Ekā* is used in the Sūtra III 5. 6, *Agnumiḍe purohitamityekā*. But there is no such necessity in the Sūtra which prescribes the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala, for even if the word "pair" were brought over to it, it could have no signification, as nothing follows the last verse. If, notwithstanding this, the word *Ekā* is used in that Sūtra also, it follows that there were some verses in the Samhitā which came after

the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala 'Samāni va ākūtiḥ.' And Āśvalāyana prescribes the last of these verses also in III. 5. 9, but there too the word *Ekā* is used. What could be the purpose of the word here?

'We can understand the purpose only if we suppose that the verses which followed 'Samāni va ākūtiḥ' constituted such a hymn as the Samjñāna hymn with fifteen *Ṛks* as given by the commentator on the Carapavyūha, the fifth of which was 'Tacchamyor,' etc, and the fifteenth or the last also the same. If the word *ekā* had not been used in the Sūtra which prescribes 'Tacchamyor,' etc, the learner by connecting the word "pair" with it might have used the first 'Tacchamyor,' etc, i.e., the fifth verse of the hymn and along with it the sixth also Nairhastyam, etc. But *Ekā* prevents the use of this, and the result is that the last verse of the hymn is prescribed.

But now the question arises, if another hymn followed 'Samāni va ākūtiḥ,' why does Āśvalāyana not prescribe its last verse only Tacchamyor, etc, as is done by Śāṅkhayana, and why does he prescribe Samāni va ākūtiḥ, also? The reason must, I think, be sought for in some such fact as this, that in his time there was no general agreement that the *Ṛk Samhitā* ended with Samāni va ākūtiḥ, but that some included the Samjñāna hymn also in it. To meet both these views he prescribes both the verses. So that there is no Vikalpa or option here to be construed as resulting in the prescribing of two different *Ṛks* for two different schools; but 21 *Ṛks* are prescribed and 21 *Āhutis* or oblations for the followers of the *Ṛk Samhitā*. And since the authors of the commentaries on both the Śrauta and Grhya Sūtras, as well as Jayanta, inform us of the tradition that Āśvalāyana's Sūtra was intended for the Śakalas as well as the Bāskalas, the 21 *Ṛks* and *Āhutis* must be understood as laid down for both.

If then Nārāyaṇa's interpretation that Āśvalāyana lays down two courses for the two schools is to be rejected and we must suppose that Āśvalāyana prescribes 'Tacchamyor' &c., because the Samjñāna hymn formed a part of his Saṁhita, though not acknowledged as such by all, the reason why Śaṅkhāyana prescribes Tacchamyor etc. only, must be, not that his Sūtra is peculiarly the Sūtra of the Bāskala school, for that fact is implicitly denied by our scholiasts, but because he acknowledged the Samjñāna hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Saṁhita, and probably the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time, or he neglected it. Thus like Āśvalāyana's Sūtra, Śaṅkhāyana's also was intended for both the Śakalas and the Bāskalas, that is, the first two are Sūtra Śākhās only, and do not represent any difference in the Saṁhita

That the Āśvalāyana School is a Sūtra Śākhā only and is not tied down to a particular Saṁhita is, in addition to the statement of the scholiasts, also pointed to by the present practice of Brahmans of that school, who at the end of their Saṁdhyā adorations have to speak of themselves individually as R̥gvedāntargata Āśvalāyana-Śākala-śākhādhyāyin. The name Śākala is added to show the Saṁhita, as the name Āśvalāyana in itself is not sufficient to show it

But the view that the Samjñāna hymn was apocryphal, which is only indicated by Āśvalāyana, gradually gained strength, especially in the Śākala school, through the influence of the Anukramanī which rejects it, and it was thrown out of the Saṁhita; but probably the Bāskalas did not keep pace with the Śakalas in this respect, and hence the statement of Nārāyaṇa and others that the Saṁhita of the former had 'Tacchamyor,' etc., for its ending verse. But though the Śakalas rejected it, the verse 'Tacchamyor,' etc., is at the present day repeated every day by the followers of the school in winding up the Saṁdhyāvandana and the Brahmajña. It is repeated

before the verse 'Namo Brahmane.' The last is prescribed by Āśvalāyana in III. 3. 4, and both in the Gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa (Bibl. Ind. Ed., p 270, 1, 8)

The Bākala Samhita seems not to be extant now. For the author of the commentary on the Caranavyūha, after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vṛtti on the Anukramaṇi, says, Evamādhyānābhāvācchākābhāvaḥ , " the Śākha does not exist because such a text is not studied " The only Samhita, therefore, to which both Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana now refer is that of the Śākala school Hence this statement of the commentator on the Caranavyūha that the only difference between them is the exclusion or inclusion of Rgveda, VIII. 58, and herein is the explanation of the fact that our No. 39 belonged to a Śāṅkhāyana Brahman

The Samjñāna hymn of fifteen verses having thus very likely formed originally a part of the Śākala Samhita, one can understand why it is necessary to add the number of verses contained in it to make up the traditional number of 10,580½ It may here be remarked that the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana about the Upākaraṇa oblations that we have been discussing, are adduced by the commentator on the Caranavyūha as authorities for including that hymn in the text One can understand how, in his eye, the Sūtra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Samhita of Śāṅkhāyana was the same as that of the Śākala school But he has not explained the significance of Āśvalāyana's giving the last verse of X. 191, and also of the Samjñāna hymn He, of course, does not adopt Nārāyaṇa's interpretation According to the commentator the Samhita of all the Rgveda schools is the same, which, of course, is true, as we have seen in the case of the four that are extant The fifth Māṇḍukī has not yet been traced.

There are two copies recently transcribed of the Caranavyūha-bhāṣya in the Deccan College Collections, No. 19 of 1871-72 and

No. 5 of 1873-74. Neither of them contains the name of the author. But the work has been lithographed at Benares and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit Series as an appendix of the edition of the *Pratīśākhya* of the White Yajurveda. In both, the name of the commentator is given as Mahidāsa, who wrote the work in the year (expired) *Tridāśāṅgadharāmīte*, which, in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit Series, is given as equivalent to 1613, but which really means 1633, *tridāśa* meaning 33, the traditional number of the gods. This Mahidāsa or Mahidāsa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the *Līlāvati* written in 1644 Samvat and noticed in my Report for 1883-84 under No 205 (pp. 82 and 368).¹

ĀPASTAMBADHVANITĀRTHAKĀRIKĀS

No. 83 is a transcript of *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana's* *Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikās*. In my last Report I gave the results² of the examination of the fourth part of the work. The following is a list of the authors and works quoted in the first three parts.—

I.—Adhikāra Kāṇḍa

Ātharvaṇa Sūtra 15 b 1.	Bhāradvājasūtrabhāṣyakṛt 4b 10.
Āpastamba 4 b 9.	Bhāradvājīya 24 a 10.
Kaṭha 17 a 12.	Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 23 a 14.
Karka 24 b 1; 25 a 6.	Mantrabrahmaprabhāṣyakṛt
Kaṭiya 22 b 9.	25 a 6.
Keśavaśuddhānta 19 b 5	Laṅkāśi 24 a 12
Keśavasvāmīn 21 a 11.	Laṅkāśikārikā 17 a 8.
Jaimini 23 a 2.	Vāmana 21 b 3.
Devala 21 b 12.	Vartakadarśana 15 a 3.
Baudhāyanamata 5 a 7, 24 b 5	Śālikanātha 14 b 13.
Bhāradvāja 6 a 11.	Śabdānusārīn 18 b 3.

¹ Ante, p. 207. [N. B. U.]

² Ante, pp. 101 ff. [N. B. U.]

II.—Pratinidhi Kāṇḍa

Āpastamba 5 a 7.	Chandogagṛhya 2 b 11; 3 a 6.
Āśvalāyana 3 b 12; 10 b 11.	Dāmodara 3 a 4.
Kaṭha 6 a 5; 9 a 6; 9 b 1, 10 a 6, 9.	Bahvṛc 2 a 5.
Kaṭhaśakhinaḥ 5 a 5.	Baudhāyana 1 b 14, 2 b 14; 3 a 7
Kaṭhaśrutī 5 a 7, 8, 11.	8; 4 b 10; 6 a 14.
Kaṭhāsāya 7 a 12.	Bhāradvāja—Bhāradvāja 3 a 7,
Kātyāsūtra 4 a 14.	13; 4 a 5, 4 b 1, 4, 6 b 6; 7 a 13.
Kātyāyanasāya 1 b 9; Kātyāyana	Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 8 a 12.
6 b 14.	Mādhyaṃdinaśrutī 3 a 3.
Kalpebhāṣya 9 b 11.	Vājinaṃ 7 a 14.
Keśavasiddhānta 7 a 3.	Vidhiratnamata 4 b 11.
Chandoga 2 a 5.	Sāmagāḥ 5 b 5.
Kauṣṭakībhīḥ 2 a 4.	

III.—Punarādhāna Kāṇḍa

Ātharvaṇa 5 b 6.	Bhavanāga 32 b 3.
Karka 7 b 8, 8 a 6.	Bhavabhāṣya 19 b 8
Karmadīpa 28 a 13, b 5	Bhāradvāja 17 a 3, 28 b 5.
Kātyāyana 24 b 2, 6.	Mādhyaṃdinaśrutī 4 a 5, 11.
Kauṣṭakīśrutī 14 a 8.	Yajñapārśva 30 b 7.
Chandogapariśiṣṭa 16 a 1, 21	Laugākṣī 13 b 8, 25 a 7, 13.
a 6.	Vājinaḥ 4 b 10.
Bahvṛc 4 b 9, 11; 32 b 3.	Satyāśādhādī 4 a 11.
Baudhāyana 4 b 6; 19 b 1.	Sutrakāra 3 a 13.
Baudhāyanīyaka 32 a 12; 35 b 1.	

The Vāmana in the list of the first part is spoken of as having given a certain opinion on a sacrificial point in commenting on the Puruṣārthadhikaraṇa (Brahmasūtra, III 4.1.) He thus appears to be an old writer on the Vedānta.

Devala, Dāmodara, Laugākṣīkārīkā, Karmadīpa and Bhavabhāṣya, mentioned in the first three Kāṇḍas do not occur in the fourth, a list of the names mentioned in

which is given in my Report for 1883-84¹ "Jaimini" given in that Report under the head of "other authors" must be considered to be the author of a Kalpa Sūtra.

Professor Hillebrandt states in the preface to his edition of the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra that Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana ignores wholly the Sūtra of Śāṅkhāyana and adduces the authority of my last Report. In the first group of names at page 28 of the Report,² I have put down Śāṅkhāyana occurring twice in the fourth part of Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana's work as the name of a Vedic Śākhā or school to be on the safe side. But it is quite possible, or even probable that in the two passages, the author means to speak of the author of the Sūtra, for Śāṅkhāyanāsaya, or the opinion of Śāṅkhāyana, is what is spoken of. Still, from the fact that the name does not occur in the first three parts of Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana's work, and occurs only twice in the fourth, it would appear that the Sūtra was rarely studied as is stated by the Professor.

DIGAMBARA JAINA LITERATURE

DHARMAPARIKṢĀ OF AMITAGATI

In the Collection of Manuscripts of the Digambara sect of Jainas, we have a copy of a work of Amitagati not known before, the Dharmaparikṣā, as well as one of his Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha. The date of this last is known to be 1050 of the Vikrama era, while that of the new work is given at the end to be 1070, corresponding to 1014 A D.

In this work, Amitagati represents a demi-god (Vidyādhara) of the name of Manovega, son of a prince of demi-gods of the name of Ajātasatru, to be a devout follower of the Jaina faith. He had a friend of the name of Pavanavega, who, however, was not a Jaina. Manovega ardently desired

1 Ante, pp. 101 ff [N.B.U.]

2 Ante, p. 101. [N.B.U.]

that his friend should be of the same faith with himself; and while moving in his aërial car and thinking in what way he should be converted, his car stumbled when he reached Ujjayini. Then getting down near the great garden of the city, he found a famous Jaina saint of the name of Jinamati discoursing on religion. At the end of the discourse, which is given at some length, the Vidyādhara asked the saint whether his friend would ever become a believer, and was told that he would, if Manovega went to Puṣpapura with him, showed him the contradictions and discrepancies in the doctrines of other sects by conversing with the followers of these, and instructed him by arguments and illustrations.

Manovega accordingly went with his friend to Puṣpapura. The method he follows is, on each occasion, to assume a different form, to go to the place in that form, beat a drum, and sit on what is called the 'golden' seat. People of all sorts gather round him, he shows them something which is out of the ordinary course of things, or tells a story with many inconsistencies and improbabilities, and when they raise questions he asks them whether, in their own religious works and beliefs, there are not things equally out of the way and equally inconsistent and improbable. After they admit that there are, he turns to his friend and calls his attention to these faults in the ordinary religious works of the Brahmins, and thus endeavours gradually to convert him to his faith.

Thus, at the first visit to Puṣpapura, the two friends appear as young men adorned with golden ornaments and gems, and still bearing heaps of hay and faggots of firewood to sell. The people asked them the reason of this incongruity, whereupon Manovega, after telling them a good many stories of unthinking persons who do not consider a thing properly or impartially, to induce them to give a calm consideration to his observations, asks them in return how it was

that the Great Viṣṇu—the Creator, Protector, and Destroyer of the world, by whose mercy men attain to eternal bliss, and who pervades everything, and is eternal and pure,—became a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula, and looked after the cows and played with the cowherds, how it was that he went to Duryodhana as a messenger at the bidding of the son of Pāṇḍu like an ordinary foot-soldier, how it was that on the battlefield he became Partha's charioteer and drove his chariot, how it was that he became a dwarf and, like a beggar, begged of Bali in humiliating terms a piece of land, and how it was that the All-knowing, the All-pervading, the Unchangeable Protector of the world, was oppressed in every way by the fire of separation from Sītā like a mortal lover. "If Viṣṇu does things like this, no mortal can be blamed for doing them; if a mother-in-law is ill-conducted, the daughter-in-law cannot be reproached for acting likewise. When the whole world is in the inside of him, how can Sītā be taken away from him? Nothing existing in space can be taken out of space. If the god is all-pervading, how can he be separated from his beloved? If he is eternal, how can he be afflicted with separation? How can the Lord of the world do the behests of others? Kings do not do the work of their servants. How can the All-knowing ask others (what he does not know), how can the Ruler (of all) beg, how can the Wakeful sleep, or the Unsensual be a lover? How can He, like an ordinary miserable being, become a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, a dwarf and three Rāmas successively?"

After having argued thus with the Brahmins, he went to the garden and spoke to his friend in the same strain "Friend, I will tell you another thing. There are six periods mentioned in the Bhārata in order, having each its peculiarity like the

१ स मत्स्यः कच्छपः कल्पात्सूक्तो नरकेसरी ।

वामनोऽमृतं जिघा रामः परः प्राणीव दुःखितः ॥

seasons. In the fourth period there were sixty-three eminent men: the twelve Supreme Sovereigns, the twenty-four Arhantas (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Keśavas, and the nine enemies of these nine. All of them have passed away ; there is no substance existing that is not destroyed by death (time). The last of the Viṣṇus (Keśavas) was the son of Vasudeva, and his Brahman devotees call him the Pure, the Supreme Being. (They say) 'He who meditates on the god Viṣṇu, who is all-pervading, a whole without parts, indestructible and unchangeable, and who frees a man from old age and death, is free from misery.' He is traditionally known to have ten (forms) —A fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, Vāmana, Rāma, Rāma, and Rāma, Buddha, and Kalkin.¹ Having spoken of him as a whole without parts, they represent him to have ten different forms though there is inconsistency."

It will be seen that the idea of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had become quite an article of ordinary belief by the year 1070 of the Vikrama era or 1014 A.D., and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon. In the first of the two verses quoted in the notes, the two last incarnations have been omitted, probably because the object was to represent the birth of Viṣṇu in previous ages of the world, while the ninth belongs to the present and the tenth to a future age.

On another occasion Manavega transforms himself into a Pulinda and his friend into a cat without ears, and offers the cat for sale, saying that the smell of the cat drove mice away for ten or twelve Yojanas on all sides. In the story he told of the cat

१ मीनः कूर्मः वृथुः प्रोक्तो नारासिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुधः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥

There is a marginal note on वृथु in which the word is explained as meaning सूकर or "boar." The three Rāmas are, of course, Paraśurāma, Rāma the son of Dāśaratha, and Balarāma or Kṛṣṇa.

the Brahmans discovered an incongruity ; and Manovega, on his part, tells the following story as occurring in one of the Purāṇas of the Brahmans containing like incongruities.

There was a recluse of the name of Maṇḍapa Kauśika. On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses. Seeing him sitting in their company, the recluses rose up, afraid to touch him as if he were a Cāṇḍāla. Maṇḍapa Kauśika asked them why they rose up, as they should at the sight of a dog. They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmācārin, and without going through the intermediate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of a son. A man without a son does not go to Heaven, nor are religious mortifications successful if gone through by one in that condition. He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage, but as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him. Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this, when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder. By doing so no sin was incurred by either party, as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (Tāpasaṅgama). For, they said

पत्यो (त्यौ) प्रव्रजिते स्त्रीषु प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।

पञ्चस्वापस्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

“ In these five distressful conditions, viz, when the husband has renounced the world, is an eunuch, is not found, has fallen away from caste, or is dead, another husband is allowed to women ”

The text on this subject occurring in the Smṛtis of Parāśara and Nārada, and also in that of Mann, according to a statement of Mādhava contained in his commentary on Parāśara, though not found there now, is

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते स्त्रीषु च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चस्वापस्तु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference between the two texts is little ; the words are merely transposed in the first line, and we have प्रगृहे for गृहे. This transposition, however, allows of the proper locative पश्यी of पश्यि being used without the violation of the metre.

* In connection with another story of a re-marriage, the Brahmins of Kusumapura are represented to have said to Manovega, who had on that occasion appeared there in the form of an ascetic, "Even if a woman is married once, when through ill-luck the husband dies, it is fit that she should go through the ceremony [of marriage] again, provided there has been no cohabitation. When the husband has gone away from home, a good wife should wait for eight years if she has already borne a child, and for four if she has not. If husbands in five such conditions are taken when there is reason, the women do not incur sin. This is what Vyāsa and others say."

From all this, it follows that widow-marriage was not a thing unheard of in 1014 A D., and that the principal Smṛti texts were very well-known at the time and quoted in support of it

The story goes on. Maṇḍapa Kauśika married a widow as directed by the recluses, and they lived together as husband and wife. A girl was born to them, and she grew to be a woman of uncommon beauty. Her name was Chāyā. Subsequently, Maṇḍapa Kauśika conceived the idea of going with his

-
- 1 एकदा परिणीतापि विपद्ये देवः (देव) योगतः ।
 भर्तर्यक्षतयोनिः स्त्री पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥
 प्रतीक्षता(ते)ष्ट वर्षाणि प्रसूता वनितां(ता)सती ।
 मप्रसूता च चत्वारि प्रेषिते सति भर्तरि ।
 पञ्चस्थेषु गृहीतेषु कारणे सति भर्तृषु ।
 न दोषो विद्यते स्त्रीणां व्यासादीनामिदं वचः ॥

The numeral 'five' here must refer to the five cases mentioned in the text given above

wife on a pilgrimage to holy places ; but as Chāyā, on account of her tender age, could not be taken along with them, he was for a long time considering who would be the proper person to whose care he should commit her. Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva would not do, on account of their various misdeeds in matters of women, which are here narrated in detail and with zest ; and the only person fit to take care of the girl was Yama, the God of Death. The father committed the girl to his care and went away with his wife. Yama, however, enamoured of her beauty, used her as his wife, but, in order that she might not be seen and taken away from him, he concealed her in his stomach.

After some time, Vāyu, the God of Wind, remarked to his friend Agni, the God of Fire, that Yama was the happiest of the gods, living as he did in the company of a woman of incomparable beauty. Agni asked how he could have access to her, but Vāyu replied that Yama concealed her in his stomach and it was not possible even to see her. Still, he said, when Yama went to perform ablutions and the sin-wiping ceremony (Aghamarṣaṇa) he disgorged her, and then only she was to be found alone. Agni took advantage of that opportunity and appeared before her on one occasion. He could win her easily and spent some time in amorous intercourse with her. When it was time for Yama to come back, Chāyā told Agni to disappear, as he would destroy both of them if seen together. But Agni refused to go, whereupon she swallowed him and kept him concealed in her stomach.

Agni having thus disappeared from the world, the usual course of sacrifices and of cooking was interrupted, and gods and men were greatly troubled. Thereupon Indra told Vāyu to find out Agni. Vāyu searched for him everywhere, but did not find him. He informed Indra of this, but said that there was one place which he had not searched and

where he was likely to be found. Thereupon he invited all the gods to a feast. He gave one seat and one offering to each of the gods, but provided Yama with three. Yama asked why he gave him three. If he was thinking of his beloved who was concealed within him, he should give two; but why three? Vāyu promised to explain the reason, and told him to disgorge Chāyā. This Yama did, and when Chāyā appeared, Vāyu told her to disgorge Agni. She did let out Agni accordingly and everybody was surprised.

Here we have one of the many stories about the disappearance of Agni.

In this way the Vidyadhara goes on transforming himself into a different person on each occasion, discoursing with the Brahmins and afterwards pointing out the absurdities of the Brahmanic sacred books to his friend. The following are some of the observations he addresses to the latter. "All people divide property between themselves everywhere, but the division of a woman [among several men] is censured even by the censurable.¹ The Vyāsa who was the son of Yojanagandhā was a different man from him who was the son of Satyavatī, a happy princess. Parāśara the king was a different man from Parāśara the ascetic, people confound them, being deluded by the identity of name. Duryodhana and others were the sons of Gandhārī, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the five Pāṇḍavas are well-known in the world as the sons of Kuntī and Mādri. All the sons of Gandhārī, together with Karṇa, allied themselves with Jarāsaṁdha and the Pāṇḍavas with Keśava. The powerful Vasudeva, having killed Jarāsaṁdha in battle, became the [one] lord of the earth on the whole surface of the earth. The sons of Kuntī having practised religious austerities went to the place of Śiva or a holy place;

1 This is an allusion to Draupadī's becoming the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas.

the two sons of Mādri being desirous of salvation attained to accomplishment in all respects. Duryodhana and the rest having resorted to the teaching of the Jina reached the abode of the gods in accordance with their respective deeds. This is old history, but it is told in a different manner by Vyāsa, how can men whose minds are warped by a false faith speak the truth?"

Again, Manovega said to his friend, "You have heard the Śāstra of our opponents which is full of incredible things. He who follows their precepts or the directions laid down by them does not obtain the desired fruit. Does anybody ever obtain oil by wringing sand? It is not possible for monkeys to kill Rākṣasas, what a difference between gods possessed of the eight great virtues and unintelligent brute creatures! How can huge mountains be lifted up by monkeys, and how can they stand (float) on the sea the waters of which are deep? If Rāvāṇa became incapable of being killed by the gods through a boon [of Śiva], how could a god becoming a man kill him? It will not do even to say that gods became monkeys and killed the Rākṣasas, you do not get what you want even thus. How can the All-knowing Śaṅkara grant such a boon—a boon which was the source of irremediable harm to the world, even to the gods? When one thinks over the Purāṇas of the opponents, one finds no worth in them, can anybody find butter by churning water? These [beings]* Sugrīva and others were not monkeys, and Rāvāṇa and others were not Rākṣasas, O friend, such as people imagine. All these were men, pure, righteous, and spirited, following the religion of Jina. They were called monkeys because their banner had a monkey on it, and the Rākṣasas, who were acquainted with a great many powerful arts, were so because they had a Rākṣasa on their banner. One who desires salvation should have his eyes clear and believe these beings to be as they were described by Gautama, the lord of the Jinās, to Śreṇika."

Again ; " Thus were great and righteous men of olden times described differently from what they were by Vyāsa and others, whose minds were darkened by a false faith and who were not afraid of being precipitated into the great Hollow. The deluded Vyāsa spoke a falsehood when he said that Duryodhana, the bee on the lotuses in the shape of the feet of the Jina, who was in his last bodily form, died, being killed by Bhīma. Kumbhakara, Indrajit and others whose hearts were anxious to embrace the lady Mukta or Salvation, had the nature of a Rākṣasa attributed to them, which is sinful, involving, as it does, the abominable practice of the eating of flesh and even of men. Vālmīki spoke falsely when he said that the great-souled Vāli, who was the bridegroom of the bride in the shape of Perfection, and the fetters of whose deeds were broken, was struck by Rāma and killed "

A good deal of this is written in the manner of a sectarian, but it does appear that the stories of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana are differently told by the Jainas, and point perhaps to different authentic rescensions.

In the event, Pavanavega's mind is turned away from the popular religion, whereupon Manovega takes him again to Jinamati, the saint of Ujjayīni, who instructs him in the Jain faith.

Amitagati's spiritual genealogy is as follows —1 Virasena the best of the Māthuras (monks of Mathurā), 2 Devasvāmin, 3 Amitagati, 4 Nemiseṇa, 5 Mādhavasena, 6 Amitagati, the author.

AN ANTHOLOGY BY DHANAMJAYA

Nos. 1145 and 1146 are two copies of a thesaurus by a Digambara Jaina of the name of Dhanamjaya. At the end of the first Pariccheda or part occurs a stanza in which Dhanamjaya is called a Kavi or poet. In the next it is said, "The argumentation of Akalanka, grammatical rules of Pūjyapāda, and the poem of

the poet of the *Dviṣaṁdhāna*—this is a triad of jewels.” “*Dviṣaṁdhāna*” is two-fold interpretation; and a poem each verse of which is written with the intention of bringing out two senses is a *Dviṣaṁdhāna Kāvya*. It appears, therefore, from these two *Ślokas* that *Dhanamjaya*, the author of the thesaurus,¹ is the author of *Dviṣaṁdhāna Kāvya* also. No. 1142 is a copy of this *Kāvya*, and No. 1143 of a commentary on it by *Nemicandra*. Here also the author is named *Dhanamjaya*. *Vardhamāna* in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* quotes *Dhanamjaya*. I find the *Ślokas* in the copy of the *Dviṣaṁdhāna* before me. That in p. 97 of Eggeling’s Edition is the 51st stanza of Canto IX, that in p. 409, is the 22nd of Canto XVIII, and that in p. 435, is the 6th of Canto IV.

The proper title of the poem is *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya* and each verse has two senses, one applicable to the *Mahābhārata* story and the other to the *Rāmāyana* story. As the Jains copy the Brahmins in their profane literature, and as we have a *Meghadūta* of the *Digambara* Jains, and also one of the *Śvetāmbaras*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that *Dhanamjaya* borrowed the idea of a *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya* from the Brahmanic poem of that name by *Kavirāja*.

Kavirāja must have flourished about or after the time of *Muñja* of *Dhārā*, since he compares his patron *Kāmadeva* of *Jayantipuri* with *Muñja*. *Muñja* was put to death in about 996 A.D. by *Tailapa*.¹ *Vardhamāna* composed his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* in the year 1197 *Vikrama* or 1141 A.D. Both *Kavirāja* and *Dhanamjaya*, therefore, must have lived in the interval between those two dates, the latter being considerably younger than the former, if the supposition of imitation is correct.

According to *Mr. K. B. Pathak*, the *Kanarese* poet *Abhinava-Pampa* speaks of one *Śrutakīrtitaraividya* as the author of a *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya*. A writer of the name of *Meghacandra*

¹ See my Report for 1882-83, p. 45. [= *Anta*, p. 51. N. B. U.]

appears from a certain statement of his to be a contemporary of this Pampa, and Meghacandra's son wrote a work in 1076 Śaka or 1154 A.D.¹ There is nothing to show definitely that Śrutakīrti was the same as Dhananjaya and his Rāghavapāṇḍaviya the same as Dhananjaya's. But the date of the son of a contemporary of Pampa does harmonize with the dates arrived at before, and is not against the supposition of the identity of the two individuals and the two poems.

NOTICES OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING
TO THIS COLLECTION

- [Originally included in the Report on search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1887-91, pages LV—LXXXVIII]

PRAYOGAPĀRIJĀTA BY NṚSĪMHA

No. 294 is Prayogapārijāta Pakayaññakāṇḍa.

The following are the authors and works quoted in this Manuscript.—

Agnipurāṇa.	Devala.
Atri.	Devīpurāṇa.
Amarakośa.	Nārada.
Ādipurāṇa.	Nāradiyapurāṇa.
Āpastamba.	Padmapurāṇa.
Āśvalāyanācārya.	Pulastya.
Uśanas	Pracetas.
R̥gvidhāna.	Bṛhaspati.
Kālanirpaya.	Brahmapurāṇa.
Kūrmapurāṇa.	Brahmavaivarta.
Garuḍapurāṇa.	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
Gobhila.	Bhagavadgītā.
Candrikā.	Bharadvāja.
Chandogapariśiṣṭa.	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
Jātukarpya.	Bṛgu.

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 14.

Matsyapurāṇa.	Viṣṇupurāṇa.
Marīci.	Vyāsa.
Mārkaṇḍeya.	Śaṅkha.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.	Śambhu.
Yama.	Śatatāpa.
Yājñavalkya.	Śālaṅkāyana.
Laṅkāṣi.	Śaunaka.
Varāhapurāṇa.	Śaṭṭrinśanmata.
Vasiṣṭha	Sumanta.
Vāyupurāṇa.	Seurapurāṇa.
Vṛddhamanu.	Skandapurāṇa
Vṛddhavasīṣṭha.	Smṛtibhāskara.
Viśvāmitra.	Smṛtyarthasāra.
Viṣṇu.	Hārita.
Viṣṇudharmottara.	Hemādri.

Prayogapārijāta is quoted in the Prayogaratna by Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa whose latest known date is 1568 A.D., and it quotes Hemādri whose latest date is 1272 A.D. No closer approximation to the date of Nṛsimha, the author, can be made. In a passage on fol. 73 he states that he will give the names of the articles not to be used in certain rites in the Karnataka language, wherefore he appears to have been a Kanarese Pandit.

GĪTAGOVINDA WITH A COMMENTARY

No. 346 is Gītagovinda with a commentary entitled Rasikapriyā. The 1st leaf is wanting and the opening words of the 3rd verse.

This is a commentary on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda by Kumbhakarṇa, who, as stated in the introduction, was a prince belonging to the dynasty that ruled over Medapāṭa or Mewar in Rajputana. The progenitor of the race was Bappa and the first prince of note was Guhila, after whom the dynasty was called by the name of Gehlote. In the course of time a famous prince of the name of Hammira belonging to the family ruled

over Mewar He was succeeded by his son Kṣetrasimha and this latter by Lakṣa. After Lakṣa his son Mokala came to the throne, and Mokala was followed by Kumbhakarṇa.

These names are also given by Tod in his Annals of Rājasthāna and in this order. The dates of accession of the princes are according to him the following —

Hamnira, 1301 A.D

Khaitasimha (Kṣetrasimha), 1365 A.D.

Lakṣa, 1373 A.D

Mokala, 1398 A.D

Kumbho (Kumbhakarṇa), 1419 A.D, and reigned to 1469 A.D

This king is noticed in my Report for 1882-83 as the patron of the architect, Maṇḍana, the author of the Rājavallabha-maṇḍana. Tod mentions Kumbho's having composed this commentary or what he calls "Appendix to the divine melodies in praise of Crishna."

In the commentary the author quotes Kārikās from the Kāvya-prakāśa and also some of the instances. The metre of the first verse of the original, which is Śārdūlavikrīḍita, is thus defined —

सूर्याश्वैर्मस[ज]त्ततास्सगुरवः शार्दूलविक्रीडितं ।

and Vasantatilakā of the next is given as

उक्ता वसंततिलका तमजा जगौ गः ।

These are the definitions of the two metres given in the Vṛttaratnākara of Kedārabhaṭṭa, so that this work is not later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In commenting on the 3rd verse, Kumbhakarṇa makes out the six following poets as mentioned therein —

Umāpatadhara,

Jayadeva,

Śaraṇa,

Govardhana,

Śrutadhara,

Dhoyī (Kavikṣmāpati),

and reports the tradition that these six Pandits adorned the court of Lakṣmapasena. A verse from Goi-Dhoikavirāja, quoted by Jahlapa will be found in the succeeding pages. Kavirāja is a paraphrase of Kavikṣmāpati. Lakṣmapasena came to the throne in Bengal after 1168 A D, as will be seen hereafter, '

PŪRṆABHADRA'S PAÑCOPĀKHYĀNA

No 371 is Pañcopākhyāna.

This is an edition of the Pañcatantra prepared under the direction of a Mantrin or minister of the name of Soma and completed on the 3rd Tithi of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 1255 by a man of the name of Pūrṇabhadra. The text of the Pañcatantra, he says, had become corrupt, and he corrected every letter, word, sentence, story and verse. Accordingly we find on comparing this edition with the existing text as printed in the Bombay Sanskrit Series that there are differences of reading in almost every line. Some of the prose passages and verses in the latter are omitted and sometimes there are others in the place of those occurring there. Sometimes there are verbose prose passages to which there is nothing corresponding in the existing text. The work might be characterized as Pañcatantra re-written. Who the Soma-Mantrin mentioned by the author was it is difficult to say. The date in all probability refers to the era of Vikrama, wherefore it is equivalent to 1199 A.D.

PADYAVENĪ BY VENĪDATTA

No. 375 is Padyavenī by Venīdatta, son of Jagajjivana, grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, and belonging to Yājñika family.

Names of authors and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Akabbarikālidāsa
Akāḷajalada
Anantabhrātā

Amara
Amaracanda.
Āśāmitra.

Indrakavi.
 Uddāmakavi.
 Kavikankapa.
 Kavirāja.
 • Kavindra.
 Kāldāsa.
 Karmācalanrpati.
 Kṛṣṇadāsa.
 Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita
 Kerali.
 • Kesarikavi.
 Kṣemendra.
 Gaṇapati.
 Gūrjara.
 Govardhana.
 Govindabhaṭṭa.
 Gauri.
 Gauripriya.
 Ghaṇāśyāma
 Candracūḍa.
 Cintāmaṇi.
 Cintāmaṇidīkṣita.
 Jagajjīvana
 Jagajjīvanavijyā.
 Jagannātha
 Jayadeva
 Trivikramabhaṭṭa.
 Daṇḍin.
 Dāmodarabhaṭṭa.
 Devasiddhivedin
 Deveśvara.
 Dhūrta.
 Nāthopādhyāya.
 Nīlakaṇṭha.

Padmāvatī.
 Pīṅgaḷa.
 Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.
 Bālakṛṣṇa
 Bālājībhaṭṭa.
 Bindukavi.
 Bilhapa
 Brahmendrasvāmin
 Bhartṛhari
 Bhavadēva.
 Bhānukara.
 Bhuvanānanda.
 Bhūpatimīśra
 Bhojaprabandha
 Madhusūdanasarasvatī.
 Madhusūdanasvāmin.
 Mahākavi
 Mādhava.
 Maithilā
 Morikā.
 Mohana
 Mohana Oṭṛā (drā ?)ka
 Raghunāthopādhyāya.
 Ratnāvalī
 Rāmānāthakavirāja
 Rāmacandra.
 Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa
 Rāmacandrāgamin.
 Rāmacandropādhyāya.
 Rāmajit.
 Rāyabhaṭṭa.
 Rudra
 Rūpaka.
 Lakṣmaṇa.

Lakṣmaṇasena.	Śaṁgadhara.
Lakṣmaṇasenaputra	Śiva
Lohmā.	Śivānanda.
Varṇasīmīśra.	Śiṣṭa.
Vāṇikaṇṭhābharāṇa.	Śrīyājñika.
Vāṇirasālavṛjyā.	Śrīharṣa.
Vāhinīpati.	Śaṁmāsika.
Vijāśeṣara (Dvijāśekhara ?)	Sadāśiva.
Viṭṭhaleśvara.	Sarvadāsa.
Virāja.	Sārvabhauma.
Viśvambhaṭabhyatṭa.	Simhadatta.
Venīdatta.	Subhāṣitamuktāvali.
Verādidatta (dattā ?).	Smarapungava.
Vaidyabhānu.	Harinārāyaṇamīśra.
Vyāsa.	Hariharabhaṭṭa.
Śaṁkaramīśra.	Hanūmat.

Dr Rajendralal Mitra notices a MS dated 1701 of a glossary composed by the author and entitled *Pañcatattvaprakāśikā* (Vol. IV, p 48). From the letters SK printed after the date, it appears that it is to be referred to the Śaka era Prof Aufrecht, however, seems to refer it to the Vikrama era and consider its equivalent (1644 A D.) to be the date of the composition of the work (Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p 314)

PADYĀMṚTATARANGINĪ BY BHĀSKARA

No 376 is Padyāmṛtataranginī by Bhāskara, son of Āpājibhaṭṭa and belonging to the family of Agnihotrin

Names of poets and works occurring at the end of verses —

Akabarīyakālidāsa	Gadādhara.
Anyokṭikaṇṭhābharāṇa.	Guṇākara.
Amaruśataka.	Gauḍa
Kāvyaṇṭhābharāṇa.	Candrakavi.
Gaṇapati.	Jayadeva

Trivikrama.
Devagana.
Dharaṇīdharabhāṭṭa.
Paṇḍitarāja.
Prastāvacināmāṇi
Bhaṭṭanīlakaṇṭha.
Bhānukara.
Bhāvaśataka
Bhāskara.
Bheribhānkara.
Matkṛta (Bhāskarakṛta)
Bhāskaracaritra.

Mūrtakavi
Rāmacandra.
Lakṣmaṇa.
Vamśīdharamiśra.
Vālmiki.
Vidyāpati
Viśvanāthavāhinīpati.
Śaṅgadharma.
Śaṁkṣika.
Sadaśiva.
Sabhyakāṇṭhābharāṇa.
Haribhāṭṭa.

The commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara to be noticed below, apparently by the same author, was composed in Vikrama 1732 or 1676 A D. Probably this author is the same as the author of the Paribhāṣābhāskara noticed in my Report for 1883-84 p. 60;¹ for in both cases the author's name was Bhāskara, his father's Āpāji, grandfather's Hari, and great-grandfather's Puruṣottama, the family name being Agnihotrin. In the colophon of the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara, Bhāskara's other name is given as Hari. Probably his grandfather's name was given to him according to the usual Maratha custom. Bhāskara's chronological relations with Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and Nāgojibhāṭṭa mentioned in the Report² are consistent with the above date.

SABHYĀLAMKARAṆA BY GOVINDAJI

No 417 is Sabhyālamkarāṇa by Govindaji (Sanskritized into Govindajit).

Names of poets and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Amaraka.
Amaracandra.

Uḍḍiyakavi.
Utpala.

¹ Ante, p. 164 [N B U]

² Ante, p. 162 [N B U]

Kalāśa.	Bhāravi
Kavirāja.	Bhāvamīśra.
Kalidāsa.	Bhāsa.
Kumārādāsa.	Bhīmasūmha
Kṣemendra.	Bhīmasena
Gāṇapati.	Bhojaprabandha.
Gadādhara	Mahānāṭaka
Gopāditya	Māgha
Govardhana	Murāri
Ghaṭakharpara.	Medha (dhra ?).
Jayamādhava	Raghupati
Trivikrama	Rajasekhara.
Daṇḍin.	Rāghavanandadeva
Darpaṇa.	Rudra.
Dharmadāsa.	Lakṣmaṇa.
Nirmala	Vararuci
Nilakaṇṭha.	Varāha
Nilakaṇṭhasūkla.	Vāsudeva
Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.	Vikāṇatambā.
Balabhārata.	Vedavyāsa
Bāṇabhaṭṭa.	Śakavṛddhi
Bilvamangala.	Śārngadhara.
Bilhaṇa	Śivasvāmin
Bhaṭṭasomeśvara.	Śrihara
Bhartṛhari	Śāṇmāsika.
Bhavabhūti	Saṁkula
Bhānukara.	Harihara.
Bhānupaṇḍita	

ALAMKĀRAMAṆJUSĀ BY DEVASĀMKAARA

No 519 is Alamkāramañjuṣā by Devaśamkara.

[After the Introduction] follow the following verses, in which Bājirāv the First of the Peshwa family, and his descendants

Mādhavarāv and Rāghava or Rāghunātharāv are noticed, and curious etymology of the word Peshwa is given —

पेषणं रिपुगणस्य महाजी यज्ञकार बहुधोषतस्तज्ञः ।
 वाति पेषमिति पेशल्लभर्थे पेषषापदमुपैति वदन्तं ॥ ६ ॥
 पेषषा इति पदं स्पृशन्वशी बाजिराव इति कोपि महींद्रः ।
 नाकनाथ इव देवसमूहैर्वदितोभयदहो नरदेवैः ॥ ७ ॥
 तस्य शुद्धतमर्वशकरीरौ सूदयौ परविमेदसमर्थौ ।
 माधवो मधुरिपोः समतेजाः राघवो रघुपतेः समकीर्तिः ॥ ८ ॥
 यौ बिलोक्य हरिणा इव सिंहं शत्रवो हि विदिशो विभजंते ।
 ताविमाविह महीनरदेवौ प्रायशः प्रतिपदं किल वर्षौ ॥
 रम्यमन्यदपि वस्तु तदीयं बाजिहस्तिमटवीरशरादि ।
 वर्णनीयमिह संभवदुक्त्याभ्यर्हितत्वमनयोस्तु तथापि ॥
 उपमानोपमेये द्वे धर्मसादृश्यवाचके etc

This is a work on Alamkāras alone like Appayya Dikṣita's Kuvalayananda. The instances are framed by the author, and in them he sings of the glories of the Peshwas Mādhavarāv the First and his uncle Rāghunātharāv, who is spoken of as Rāghava. This is the latest instance of the embodiment of the idea of making the flattery of a royal personage subserve a scientific purpose, the earliest known to us being Halāyudha's Kavirahasya and later ones, the Ekāvalī to be next noticed and the Pratāparudriya.

Both Mādhavarāv and Rāghunātharāv are styled kings, and in the instances, sometimes Mādhavarāv is spoken of, and sometimes Rāghunātharāv. Mādhavarāv became Peshwa in 1761 and up to 1768 his uncle was associated with him in the Administration. The author, therefore, had that state of things before his mind's eye and must have composed his treatise during that period. Rāmāstrin, the celebrated Nyāyādhīśa or Chief Justice in Mādhavarāv's time, is thus spoken of —

कृत्यामिमानोक्षिपदो महामुनेर्बृह्यैव दर्पः कणमुखादेशितुः ।
 श्रीरामशास्त्री भवतीह तादृशो न किं मुखि श्रीनृपमाधवार्षितः ॥

Rāmaśāstrin is thus placed on a level with Gautama and Kaṇāda.

From the following colophon it appears that the author's name was Devaśamkara, his father's Nāhānābhāyi, and his surname Purohita. He was a Gujarati Brahman, native of Rāner, probably the same as Rānder, and lived at Urahpattana, which must be Olpād. Both places are near Surat.

इति श्रीरानेरनगरजन्ममुखा उरःपत्तनकृतनिकेतनेन पुरोहितोप-
नामकेन भट्टदेवशंकरेण पुरोहितनाहानामाधिष्ठितेन विरचितालंकार-
मञ्जूषा समाप्ता ॥

VIDYĀDHARA'S EKĀVALĪ WITH MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

No 535 is Ekāvalī with Mallinātha's commentary

This is a transcript, caused to be made by me for our Collection, of a Manuscript belonging to Govind Śāstrī Nirantar of Nāsik. In Part I of my "List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries, etc.," published in 1893, that Manuscript bears No 133. The author's name is Vidyādhara.

The Ekāvalī is a work on the Alamkāraśāstra written on the lines of the Kāvyaaprakāśa. Like the latter it consists of Kārikās followed by an explanation. Sometimes we have the same expressions and passages as in the older work. It consists of eight parts called Unmeṣas, the subjects treated in which are the following —

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| I.—Dhvanivyavasthāpana. | V—Gunanirūpaṇa |
| II.—Śabdārthanirūpaṇa. | VI—Doṣanirūpaṇa. |
| III.—Dhvanibheda. | VII.—Śabdālamkāra. |
| IV.—Guṇibhūtavyangya | VIII—Arthālamkāra |

In the first of these we have the subject-matter of the first Ullāsa of the Kāvyaaprakāśa and the latter part of the fifth, in which Vyāṅgya or Dhvani, i.e., suggested sense, is established

as something independent of the Abhidheya or conventional and Lakṣya or figurative, and as forming the soul of a Kāvya. The second Unmeṣa corresponds to the second Ullāsa, the subject-matter of the third Ullāsa being despatched with a short notice at the end. The third and fourth of the above correspond to the fourth and fifth parts of the Kāvya prakāśa, the fifth to the eighth, the sixth to the seventh, and the seventh and the eighth to the ninth and tenth. There is nothing corresponding to the sixth Ullāsa of the Kāvya prakāśa, for Mammāṭa himself considers that as a separate chapter to be unnecessary, as its subject-matter is embraced in the ninth and tenth Ullāsas.

At fol. 8 b and 9 a and b occur the following verses —

एष विद्याधरस्तेषु कांतासंमितलक्षणं ।
 करोमि नरसिंहस्य चाद्रुश्लोकानुदाहरन् ॥
 अंतरेण नरसिंहभूपति नेतरोस्ति मम बाह्ययोचितः ।
 चंद्र-चूडमपहाय जान्हवीवारि बोदुमपरः क ईश्वरः ॥
 विश्वोल्लङ्घनजांधिर्की वितनुते कीर्तिं विघसे श्रियं
 हेलाधिकृतप(य)क्षराजविमवां चिताकरं हंत्यघं ।
 दुग्धे स्वादुतरान्सान्वितरति स्फारं क्रियाकौशलं
 काव्यं निवृत्तिमाद्यहत्यपि परिस्पदापहं चेतसः ॥
 कृत्वा काव्यमपा(धा)प विश्वमहितां कीर्तिं कविप्रामणीः
 श्रीहर्षः श्रियमद्भुतां हरिहरो लेभेर्जुनक्षमाभृतः ।
 मृत्योस्त्रासमपाचकार मलयक्ष्मामंडलाखंडल-
 स्तर्कचिञ्च विलोक्यते न किल यत्काव्यात्समुन्मीलति ॥

What is peculiar to this work is that the instances of the rules have been framed by the author and they are all in praise of a prince of the name of Narasimha. It will be seen that Vidyādhara mentions Harihara in the above. The prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, must have been the ruler of Malwa of that name whose earliest and latest known dates are

1211 A.D. and 1216 A.D.¹ Harihara, a Jaina poet named Madanakirtti, and Someśvara the author of the Kirttikaumudī and Surathotsava, were contemporaries² and the last wrote the Surathotsava while Vastupāla was alive. Vastupāla died in 1298 Vikrama, i. e., 1242 A.D.³ So that all these authors, flourished during the early decades of the 13th century.

In the body of the work certain attributes are applied to Nṛsimha or Narasimha of a nature calculated to afford help in determining his identity. They are as follows —

F 31 a त्रिलोकीकल्याणं जयति तव दोस्तकलपते । F 92 a श्रीमन्सु-
त्कलमूमिपाल, F 95 a त्वामुत्कलाधीश.

F 33 b धर्मस्यैव महोदयो विजयते वीरः कलिगेश्वरः । F 66 a
यशोरशिः कलिगेश्वरः .

F 49 b कलिगेश्वरे, 52 b इत्याहवे वीक्ष्य कलिगनाथं नाथं त्यमी
प्राजलयः सपत्नाः ।

F. 61 a केवामेष न वर्णनीयमहिमा वीरः कलिगेश्वरः । कलिग-
वसुधाधिप.

F 93 a धौः पारिजातेन कलिगनाथ.

F 99 a हम्मीरमानमर्दनं भवतस्तेजो विभावसुं जयति ।

Narasimha was thus king of Utkala and Kalinga. Utkala is the name of modern Orissa, and the province bordering on it to the south was called Kalinga. They both appear to have constituted one kingdom. Narasimha is represented by his magniloquent flatterer to have humbled the pride of Hammira. It is more than doubtful whether he actually did so, but from the use of the epithet we may safely infer that Narasimha was a contemporary of Hammira, but which Hammira is meant must be determined, as there were three princes of that name.

1 See my Report for 1883-84, p. 105 [=Ante, p. 250 N.B.U.].

2 Ibid, p. 67 [=Ante, p. 158 N.B.U.].

3 Ibid, pp. 22 and 14 [=Ante, p. 93 and p. 80, respectively N.B.U.].

The first belonged to the Harauti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependent of Prthvirāja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus a quo for Vidyādhara (who must have been a protégé of Narasimha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince) is, as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammira cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D.

Another Hammira was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was, as stated in the Introduction to the *Rasikapriyā*,¹ an ancestor of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapāṭa or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A.D. to 1365 A.D. A third was the king of Śākambari of the race of Chāhuvāna mentioned by Śāringadhara in the beginning of his anthology, and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the *Hammira Mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Śamvat, i.e., 1283 A.D.² It was this Hammira who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura) with bravery against Alla-ud-dīn Khiljī for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A.D.

Both these princes bearing the name of Hammira were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayacandra as having attempted the conquest of Southern countries, he was probably the Hammira alluded to by Vidyādhara. The Mahomedan power must have been firmly established in India at the time of Narasimha, for his panegyrist says in the following verse, which contains an instance of the figure called Vyākṛtī, that the supreme lord of

1 Ante, p. 321 [N.B.U.]

2 Kirtane's edition, pp. 27 and 66, v. 56.

the Śakas trembled when he heard a peal of thunder, thinking it to be the sound of the drum of the marching army of the lord of the Utkalas, and concealed his fear and tremor by pretending that the embrace of his beloved had sent a thrill of joy into his frame.

आकण्ठ्योत्कलभूपते जलमुचो निर्घोषमाकस्मिकं
त्वत्सेनापदहन्नेन सहसा संजातकंपाकुलैः ।
अंतर्भीतिपराहतोपि दयिताकण्ठप्रहृष्टीकृत्या
सांद्रानंदमयीं दशामभिनयत्यंगैः शकाधीश्वरः ॥

The Mahomedans were, for some time after the conquest of the country by them, called Śakas by some of the Sanskrit writers, and the name Yavana to designate them came into more general use afterwards

All these considerations lead us to about the end of the 13th century as the period when Narasimha and Vidyādhara, the author of the *Ekāvalī* flourished. And from the list of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W W. Hunter and copied by Mr Sewell in his "Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India," it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A D to 1307 A D. If the Hammira alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327. There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyādhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282. But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument.

Thus then the *Ekāvalī* was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era. It is quoted by Mallinātha in his commentaries and also by Appayya Dikṣita in the *Kuvalayananda*. In the *Ekāvalī* I

find quoted the verse *Kīmasubhīr glapitaiḥ*, etc., which occurs in Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhiya*.

The commentary called *Tarala*, or central gem, of the *Ekāvalī*, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallinātha, the celebrated commentator on the *Kāvya*s. In the sixth of the Introductory verses which has a double sense, the commentator says that "this *Ekāvalī*, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary (this *Tarala*) kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, though it has a string and is an ornament when it has not the central gem. Now that the *Ekāvalī* necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (*Tarala*), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory."

It would thus appear that the *Ekāvalī* was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary, from which it is to be concluded that Mallinātha wrote the *Tarala* after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original. What the duration of the period was it is difficult to determine. But it must have been pretty long, since the *Ekāvalī* is not a string of unintelligible *Kārikā*s which require a commentary from the very beginning, but consists of *Kārikā*s and the author's *Vṛtti* or elucidatory remarks. At any rate it would not be unsafe to suppose that Mallinātha did not live before the middle of the 14th century.

In the *Catalogus Catalogorum* Professor Aufrecht mentions apparently three different works of the name of *Ekāvalī*, evidently because he had not the means of going beyond the vague statements contained in the catalogues before him. The second is by Mahāmaheśvara Kavi noticed by Burnell (54 b). This work is the same as the one I have described, for its beginning, *Prāleyācalakanyakā* etc., is the same as that of my *Ekāvalī* (see the extract in Part I of my 'Lists' referred to above,

p. 64) and like the latter contains eight Unmeṣas. Where Burnell gets the name Mahāmaheśvara Kavi from, if it is not to be taken as an epithet of Vidyādhara, and the curious identification with Abhinavagupta, the famous author of the Dhvanyālokalōcana which he calls Kāvyaālokalocana, I do not know.

The commentary Tarala noticed by Professor Weber (Berlin Catalogue, No. 1723) is the same as the Tarala mentioned above, as will be seen from the extract. It is a commentary on Vidyādhara's work. The third noticed by Professor Aufrecht is, of course, the same as ours, since the name of the author is the same, and the first must also be the same, though no particulars are given. Mallinātha cites the Ekāvalī which he has commented on. So that it follows that we know of one work only of the name, and its author was Vidyādhara and commentator Mallinātha.

PIṆGALĀRTHAPRADĪPA

No 545 is Piṅgalārthapradīpa.

This work appears from a statement in Dr. Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81 (p 71) to have been composed in Samvat 1657 or 1601 A D. Burnell's Manuscript of the work was written in Śaka 1554 i e, 1632 A D (Tanjore Cat., pp 53 and 175), and Kielhorn's in Samvat 1716 or 1660 A.D.

Among the works and authors quoted are the following :—

Hārāvalī.	Śrutabodha by Kādhāsa.
Śālivāhana.	Udāharaṇamañjarī, composed
Vāṇibhūṣaṇa.	by himself.
Vṛttaratnākara.	Dāśakumāra.
Piṅgala and Piṅgalanāga	Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa.
Chandoratnākara.	Chandomañjarī.
Vṛttamaṇṭikavārtikadūṣkaro- ddhāra, composed by himself.	

In the instances of the different metres, there are Prakrit verses in praise of several princes of the middle ages. They are as follows .—

I. Candēśvara—

19a गाढमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चंदो चंदण हारो तावअ रुअं पआसंति ।

चंडेसरघरकिस्ती आवअ अप्यं न दंसेइ ॥

Com. यथा चंद्रभ्रंवनं हारः एते तावदेव रुपं स्वात्मनं श्वेत्यामि-
मानेन प्रकाशयन्ति चंडेश्वरस्य राज्ञो वरा कीर्तिर्यावदात्मानं न दर्शयति ।

II. Cedipati—

21b उद्गाथामुदाहरति । जहा ।

सोऊण जस्स णामं अंसू णअणाइ सुमुहि रुअंति ।

मण वीरचेइपणो पेछामि मुहं कहं जहिळं से ॥

Com. चेदिपतावनुरका काचिदर्शनोत्कळिका कुलवधूका निज-
सखीमाह । यथा । श्रुत्वा यस्य नामाश्रूणि नयने सुमुखि रंधन्ति मण
वीरचेदिपतेः प्रेक्षिष्यामि(ष्ये)मुखं कथं यथेच्छमस्य ।

III. Hammira—

(1) 21b and 22a गायिनीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

मुंचहि सुंदरि पाअं अप्पहि हसिऊण सुमुहि खगं मे ।

कप्पिअ मेछसरीरं पेछइ वअणाइ तुह्य धुअ हम्मीरो ॥

Com. संग्रामयात्रायां वरणपतितां पत्नीं प्रति वीरहम्मीरवचनं ।
यथा । मुंच सुंदरि पादं संग्रामयात्राविघ्नं मा कुर्विति भावः । हे सुमुखि
अर्पय हसित्वा मम खगं ।....कल्पयित्वा छेदयित्वा म्लेच्छशरीरं
प्रेक्षते वदनानि युष्माकं ध्रुवं हम्मीरः ।

(2) 25b रौळामुदाहरति । जहा ।

पअमर दरमर घरणि तराणि रह धुल्लिअ ज्जुं पिअ ।

कमठपिट्ठ दर परिअ मेरुमंदरसिर कं पिअ ।

कोहे चळिअ हम्मीरवीर गअज्जहसुसुत्ते

किअउ कट्ठ हाकंद मुळि मेळइके पुत्ते ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविर्धीरहस्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । पद्मरेण
मर्विता धरमिः । तराणिः सूर्यः स्थितस्तदा धूत्या समाच्छादितः ।
तराणिरथस्तास्मिन्समये धूत्या समाच्छादित इति वा । कमठपृष्ठमधः
पतितमतिभारादाविकूर्मोप्यधस्ताद्गत इति भावः । किञ्च । मेरुमन्दर-
योरपि शिरः कंपितं । यदा कोपेन चलितो हस्मीरधीरो गजयूथसुयुक्त-
स्तदा कृतो हाकष्टाकंदः । मूर्छितं च मेरुच्छानामपि पुत्रैरिति ।

(3) 36b कुंडलिकामुदाहरति । अहा ।

ढोला मारिअ ढिल्लिमह मुच्छिअ मेळसरि ।

पुरजज्जल्लामंतिधर बलिअ धीरहस्मीर ॥

चलिअ धीरहस्मीर पाअमर मेहणि कंपइ ।

दिगमग णह अंधार धूलि सूरजरह ढंकइ ।

दिगमग णह अंधार आण खुरासानक ओल्ला ।

दरमरि दमसि विपक्क मारु ढिल्लिमह ढोला ।

Com. कश्चिद्वंद्वी धीरहस्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । यदैव
ढिल्लीमध्ये प्रयाणडिडिमः समाहतस्तदानीमेव मूर्छितं म्लेच्छशरीरैर-
न्तरं पुरस्कृतजाजलमंत्रिधरबलितो धीहस्मीरस्ततश्चलिते धीरहस्मीरे
...(पाद) भरेण मेदिनी कंपते । दिग्मार्गे नभसि चांधकारः । स्फुरित
इति शेषः । धूलिः सूर्यरथमाच्छादयति । एवं दिग्मार्गे नभोमार्गे चांध-
कारावस्तृत आनीतः खुरासानस्यातुलो दंडः । हे राजन् त्वं चरण-
मर्दनेन (आहत्य ढिल्लीमध्ये डिडिमं) दमयसि विपक्षान्किमुत संग्रामेण ।

(4) 37b गगनांगनमुदाहरति । अहा ।

मंजिअ मलअ चोलवइ णिवलिअ गंजिअ गुज्जरा ।

मालवराज मलअगिरि लुकिअ परिहरि कुंजरा ।

खुरसाणा खुहिअ रणमह अहिअ लंधिअ साअरा ।

हस्मीर बलिअ हारव पलिअ रिजगणह काअरा ॥

Com. यथा । भग्नो मलयराजः । चोलपतिर्निवृत्तः । गंजितो गूर्जर-
पतिः । मालवराजो मलयगिरौ लीनः । परित्यज्य कुंजरान् खुरसाणाधि-
पती रणमध्ये खुहिअ क्षोभं प्राप्य अहितं सागरं लंघते स्म । यद्वा ।

अधिकं यथा स्यात्तथा लब्धते स्म । ततोपि दूरतरं गत इति भावः । एवं
हस्मीरे वलिते सति हारावः पतितो रिपुगणेषु कातरेषु ॥

(5) 43b लीलावतीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

घर लगाइ अग्नि अलह बहबह कह जहपह दिगमग अणलभरे ।

सबदेस पसरि पाइक लुट्टइ भणिथण हर जहण दिआवकरे ।

भअलुकिअ थकिअ बहरितरुणीगण मेरवमेरिअसइ पळे ।

महि लुट्टइ फिट्टइ रिउ सिर दुट्टइ अक्कण वीरहस्मीर बळे ॥

Com. कश्चिद्वंदी वीरहस्मीरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति । यथा । यस्मिन्
क्षणे वीरहस्मीरश्चलितः (स्) तस्मिन् क्षणे शत्रुगृहेषु लग्नोऽग्निर्वध-
हेति कृत्वा ज्वलति । नास्ति पंथाः कुत्रापि दिग्मार्गोऽनलेन भृतः ।
यद्वा । जहपह इति कवित्पाठस्तत्र नमोमार्गो दिग्मार्गश्चानलेन भृतः
पूर्णः । तस्मिन्नेव च क्षणे सर्वदेशे प्रसृतः पदातिश्चलति पदातिवर्गः
(गौ) धनीनां शत्रुवधूनां स्तनौ गृह्यन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । घणेति
पाठे घनस्तनौ गृह्यन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । सपदातिश्चलतीति । यस्य
हस्मीरस्य मैरवमेरीशब्दे पतिते सति पलायमानवैरितरुणीगणाः भ्रांताः
संतो मयेन क्वचिन्मिलीना रिपुरपि मद्यां लुठति शिरः पिट्टइ आहंती-
त्यर्थः । त्रोटयति केशानितिशेषः ॥

IV. Sāhasāṅka—

22a सिंहिणीमुदाहरति ।

वरिसइ कणअह बिट्ठि तप्पइ भुअणे दिवानिशं जग्गंतो ।

णीसंक साहसंको णिदइ इवं च सूरबिंबं च ॥

Com. विक्रमादित्यं दृष्ट्वा कश्चित्कविः स्तौति । यथा । वर्षति
कनकस्य वृष्टिं तपति भुवनानि दिवानिशं जाग्रत् । निःशंकं साहसांकः
निर्वर्तींद्रं सूर्यबिंबं च ।

V. Kāśīśvara—

(1) 23a अथाद्यनंदाख्यं स्कंधकमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चंदा कुंदा कासा हारा हीरा तिळोअणा केलासा ।

जेत्ता जेत्ता सेत्ता तेत्ता कासीस जिणिआ ते किसी ॥

Com. कश्चित्कवी राजानं विबोदासं स्तौति । यथा । चंद्रः कुंदः
काशः द्वारः (रो) हीरं त्रिलोचनः शिवः कैलास इति यावत् श्वेतानि
तावत् हे काशीश वाराणसीय ते राजन् विबोदास ते कीर्त्या जितानि ।

(2) 46a दुर्मिलासुवाहरति । जहा ।

जे किञ्जिअ घाला जिण्णु नेवाळा मोट्टता पिहंत चले
मंजारिअ वीणा वप्पहि हीणा लोहाबळ हाकन्द पळे ।
उडा उडाविअ किती पाविअ मोलिअ मालवराउबळे
तेळंगा भविअ बहुरिणलमिअ कासीसर र(रा)अ अखण चळे ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविः काशीश्वरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति । यथा । तेन काशी-
श्वरेण घाला व्यूहः कृतः । अस्मिन्नेषांतरे नृपालाः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपाला
जिता एव । नेवाळा इति कश्चित्पाठस्तत्र नेपालो देशविशेषो जित
प्रवेत्यर्थः । मोटासाओत्तरदेशो लक्षणया तद्देशस्थलोकः पिट्टयक्षुरः
शिरश्च ताडयन्निर्गतः । भग्नाग्नीनाग्नीनदेशस्थाः । कीदृशाः । दर्पेण
हीनाः । लोहाबळे हाक्रंदो हाहाकारः पतितः । किं च उत्कळ उडायितः ।
ततश्च कीर्तिरपि प्राप्ता मोटितं च मालवराजस्यावन्तीपतेर्बलं । तैलंगास्तु
बहुतरक्षणप्रस्ता भग्नाः पलायिता एव काशीश्वरो राजा यस्मिन्क्षणे
चलितः ।

VI. Acala—

24b रसिकामुवाहरति । जहा ।

विमुह चळिअ रण अचलु परिहरिअ हअगअबलु ।
हळहळिअ मळअणिवइ असु जस तिहुअण पिअइ ।
वनरसिणरवइ लुळिअ सअलउवरि असु फुळिअ ।

Com. विमुखं पराङ्मुखं चलितो रणावचलाख्यः कश्चिद्राजा ।
परिहृत्य हथगजबलं.....मलयनृपतिः.....हलहलित आकस्मिक-
संजातसाध्यसोभूत् । यस्य यशस्विभुवनं पिबति । अथ च वाराणसी-
नरपतिरपि लुलितः पराङ्मुखो बभूव । सकलस्य लोकस्योपरि यस्य
यशः पुष्पितं विकसितपुष्पसदृशमभूत् ।

VII Karna—

(1) 26a गंधाणामुदाहरति । जहा ।

कण्ण चलंते कुम्म चलइ पुणवि असरणा ।

कुम्म चलंते महि चलइ भुअणमयकरणा ।

महि अ चलंते महिहर तह व सुरअणा ।

चक्कवइ चलंते चलइ चक्क तह तिहुअणा ।

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णनरपतिं स्तौति । यथा । कर्णे राज्ञि संग्रामार्थं चलति सति कूर्मेः...पुनरशरणस्सन् चलति...एवं च कूर्मे चलति सति भुवनमयंकरा मही धरणी चलति ।.....मह्यां चलंत्यां सत्यां महीधराः.....पर्वता मेघादयश्चलन्ति । तथा च सति तदाभिताः सुरअणाः ...चलन्ति । एवं चक्रवर्तिनि महासार्वभौमे कर्णे चलति चक्रं दिक्चक्रं तथा त्रिभुवनं च चलति ।

(2) 33a पज्जटिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

अ गंजिअ गोलाहिबइ राउ उइंड उइइ समअ पराउ ।

गुरुविक्रम विक्रम जिणिअ जुज्जता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ बुज्ज ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णनरपतिं स्तौति । यथा । हे कर्णे तव पराक्रमं कोपि बुध्यते । अपि तु न कोपि ।...येन त्वया गंजितो गौडाधिपतिः । यस्य तव भयेनोईड उन्नतदंडोपि उड्ढायि स उत्कलदेशः पलायितः । गुरुविक्रमो यस्यैवंविधो विक्रमो येन त्वया युद्धे जितः ।

(3) 42b सिंहावलोकनमुदाहरति । जहा ।

हणुउज्जअगुज्जअराअदळं ।

दळदळिअबळिअमरहट्टबळं ।

बळमोलिअमालवराअकुळा ।

कुळउज्जळ करणुलिकण फुळा ।

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णमुपवर्णयति । यथा । हतं उज्ज्वलमतिस्फीतं गुर्जरराजस्य दलं सैन्यं येन सः । तथा दलेन स्वसेनासमुदायेन दलितं क्षूर्णीकृतं महाराष्ट्राणां बलं कटकं येन । बलेन.....मोदितमुत्खातं मालवराजस्य.....कुलं येन । एवंविधः कुलोज्ज्वलः करणुलिः करणुलिबंधोन्मथः कर्णः फुला स्फुरतीत्यर्थः ।

KINGS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING VERSES

I. This extract refers to Candēśvara. The verse contains nothing historical. Who this Candēśvara was, it is difficult to say with certainty. But he was not unlikely Candamahāsena or Candā of the Chohan race, who ruled over Dholpur and built a temple dedicated to Candāsvāmin, and consecrated it in the Vikrama year 893 or 842 A.D.¹

II. Cedipati is lord or king of the Cedi country. What particular King is meant cannot be determined, but he may be Karna, of whom more below

III. What is historical in the passages about Hammira is that he was at war with the Mlecchas, i.e., Mahomedans, whose king reigned at Delhi. His marches are described. He had a counsellor or follower of the name of Jājala. The kings of Khorasan, Malava, Malaya, and of the Gurjaras, and Colas were defeated. This is probably a tall talk always indulged in by sycophants. I have shown² that there were two Rajput Hammiras, one of whom was a Chohan and held the fortress of Ranthambhor and the other a Gehlote, who ruled over Mewar. It is not distinct which of the two is meant. Both fought with the Mahomedans. Perhaps the Chohan prince is alluded to here, as Nayacandra represents him to have a faithful follower of the name of Jājadeva.³ Jājadeva and the counsellor Jājala alluded to in III (3) are probably one and the same person.

IV. Sahasānka was a prince who reigned at Kanoj and who is mentioned by Mahēśvara in his introduction to the Viśvaprakāśa. One of his works, as also one of the works of the author of the Nāṣadhīya, is called Sahasānkaritra. Govinda IV of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty, whose latest known date is 933 A.D., was

¹ Inscription translated by Dr Hultzsch in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol XL, p 88.

² Anta, pp 330 ff. [N. B. U.]

³ See Kirtane's edition of Hammira Mahākāvya, p. 91, v 88, and p. 181, v. 16.

also called *Sahasāṅka*; and the description given of him in his *Sāgalī* grant, that "he rained down gold in showers," closely resembles that given in the above verse. The commentator says that by *Sahasāṅka* is meant *Vikramāditya*, which is but a random statement.

V. and VI. Who the lord of *Kaśī* is, whose fame by its fair colour put to shame moonlight, etc., I do not know, nor that other prince or *Vārāṇasī*, who fled from the field of battle. *Acala* also, who turned his back against his enemy, is unknown to me.

VII. *Karṇa* was a prince of *Cedi*, belonging to the *Karacūli* race. He is here represented to have humbled the lord of *Gauḍa*, to have scared away the king of *Utkala* or *Orissa* (*Odra*), vanquished *Vikrama*, defeated the powerful army of the *Gūjara* king, pulverized the forces of the *Mahārāṣṭras*, and extirpated the race of the *Mālava* prince. Whether he was able to do all these things is more than questionable, but it appears certain that he was constantly engaged in wars with his neighbours, and had succeeded in establishing his sway over some of them. He was a contemporary of *Bhīmadeva* of *Gujarāt* and *Āhavamalla* of *Mahārāṣṭra*. Perhaps the *Vikrama* he is represented to have vanquished was *Vikramāditya* I of the later *Calukya* dynasty who was the uncle of *Āhavamalla* and the immediate predecessor of his father on the throne. About the time of *Bhoja*'s death *Karṇa* formed a confederacy with *Bhīmadeva* against *Mālava* and sacked *Dhārā*,¹ and it was *Udayāditya*, the son of *Bhoja*, that freed the country from his power. Some of the Inscriptions also speak of him as having humbled the neighbouring princes.

In the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, *Gopāla*, who was the commander of the forces of *Kirtivarman*, a *Candella* prince, is represented

¹ Early History of the Deccan, 2nd ed., p. 82 [= Volume III of this Edition, p. 114 N. B. U.]

to have defeated Karna and re-established the independent sovereignty of his master by delivering him from Karna's yoke. A copperplate grant issued by Karna bears a date which is equivalent to 1042 A.D.¹ Vikramāditya I came to the throne in 1008 A.D., Āhavamalla reigned from 1040 to 1069 A.D., and Bhimadeva of Gujarāt from 1022 to 1064, 1072, or 1074 A.D.² It is quite possible that on some occasion during his long continued wars he may have "vanquished Vikramāditya I, and pulverized the forces of the Mahārāṣṭras" as represented in the above verse, but it appears from Bilhāṇa that he was eventually defeated or deposed by Āhavamalla.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EXTRACTS

The above extracts present vernacular speech in three forms. The oldest form, i.e., the Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit, we have in I, II, III (1), IV, and V (1). It had become classical as Sanskrit itself and could be used for literary purposes at any time.

Then we have another form in VI, and VII (1), (2), (3). This resembles the Apabhraṃśa form, as we have it in the instances quoted by Hemacandra in his Prakrit grammar and in the 4th Act of the Vikramorvaśīya.

A third stage is represented by III, (2), (3), (4) and (5), and V. (2). This is what might be called the earliest form of the modern Hindi, the forms *Ḍhīlmaha*, "in Delhi," and *Jakhana* or *Jakkhana* "when," being specimens of the new formations which became necessary after the old terminations had gradually faded away up to the Apabhraṃśa period.

The last two forms must represent the vernacular speech of the period when the poets wrote, and since they could not have

¹ *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 299, 302-3.

² *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 81, 82, 84, and my Report for 1883-84, p. 150. [Former = Volume III of this Edition, pp. 112 ff N B U.]

praised the particular princes if they had died and been forgotten at the time when they lived, the conclusion is not unwarranted that the forms of the language used by them were the forms current about the time when the kings flourished. Thus about the time of Karna, i.e., in the first half of the eleventh century, the stage of development at which the vernacular tongues had arrived, was still that represented by the Apabhramśa, the origin of which is to be referred to about the seventh century; and they began to assume their modern character about the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, when the poet Canda flourished, and that was the form they had in the time of the Chohan Hammira, i.e., 1283—1301 A D

NYĀYARATNAPRAKĀŚA OF VĀCASPATI

No. 775 is Nyāyaratnaprakāśa.

This is a commentary on the Nyāyaratna of Maṇikanṭha by Vācaspati who wrote it at the command of Padmavati the queen of Pratāpa. Pratāpa was the son of Viryabhānu and belonged to the Chohan race. He is spoken of as the lord of the Pāñcāla country. As this country is to be identified with the north-eastern portion of Rajputana, nearest to Agra and Gwalior, these princes probably belonged to the branch of the Chohan race that ruled over Dholpur and the surrounding districts noticed under No 545. The Manuscript appears to have been written in Samvat 1616 in the month of Kārttika, i.e., in 1559 A.D.

ADBHUTASĀGARA BY BALLĀLASENA

No. 801 of 1884-87 is Adbhutasāgara by Ballālasena, king of Gauda.¹

The Manuscript is incomplete, but the second which by oversight has been put into the Dharmasāstra branch, is complete. Prof. Eggeling has described a Manuscript of the work in his

¹ See also No. 231 of 1887-91.

Catalogue of the India Office Library As, however, it is incomplete, and the introduction which gives the date, and is important for historical and chronological purposes, is wanting, I proceed to describe the Manuscripts in our Collection.

In the introduction we have verses about the king and his genealogy. Some of them are unintelligible owing to the corruption of the text.

Then follow verses in which the authorities used are stated:—

ग्रंथेन बृहद्गर्गं गर्गपराशरवसिष्ठगार्गीयान् ।
 बार्हस्पत्यबृहस्पतिकठश्रुतीर्ब्रह्मसिद्धान्तं ॥
 आथर्वणाद्भुतासितषड्विंशब्राह्मणवैष्णवकृतीः ।
 गार्गिमथर्वोशनसे(सौ?) कालावलि सूर्यसिद्धान्तौ ॥
 विज्यवासिबादरायणौशनसः । शालिहोत्रविष्णुगुप्तसुश्रुतान् ।
 पाठकाप्यराजपुत्रदेवलान् । भार्गवीयवैजयाप्यकाश्यपान् ॥
 नारदमयूरचित्रे चरकं यचनेम्बरस्य मतं ।
 निखिलं वराहमिहिराचार्यग्रंथं वसंतराजकृतिं ॥
 मार्कण्डेयपुराणं स्कावं भागवतमाद्यमाग्नेयं ।
 पाञ्च मत्स्यपुराणं रामायणमारतास्थाने ॥
 हरिवंशविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे निबन्धिष्यति क्षितिपः ।
 एमिर्युद्दीतसारान्बहुशोन्यान्वीस्य सोत्याक्षीत् ॥
 विषमपदवाक्यमंगो विरुद्धवचनार्थमेवपरिशुद्धिः ।
 पुनरुक्कलिखनतोस्मिन्बहुशो बहुसंमतिर्ग्राह्या ॥

After this we have a short statement of the contents; but the contents are given more fully in a *Sucipatra* attached to No. 231 of 1887-91, to which reference may be made.

Then occur the following verses giving the dates of the commencement of the work by Ballālasena and its continuation by his son and successor, Lakṣmapasena.—

द्वाके खनधर्षेद्वे आरेभेद्भुतसागरं ।
 गौडेन्द्रकुंजरालानस्तंभबाहुर्महीपतिः ।

ग्रंथेऽस्मिन्समाप्त एव तन्मयं साम्राज्यरक्षामहा-
दीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणाभिजङ्गतेर्निष्पत्तिमभ्यर्च्य सः ।
नानादानवितांबुसंबलनतः सूर्यात्मजासंगमं
गंगायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥
भीमहृस्मणसेनमूपतिरतिश्लाभ्यो यदुद्योगतो
निष्पन्नोऽद्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ ब्रह्माळभूमीमुजः ।
ख्यातः केवलमस्तुषः (?) सगरजस्तोमस्य तत्पूरण-
प्रादीप्येन मगीरयस्तु भुवनेष्वद्यापि विद्योतते ॥

No 801 of 1884-87 comes down to the end of *Pravarṣapād-
bhutāvarta*, which ends on fol. 199 a of No 231 of 1887-91, the
total number of leaves of the latter being 390 At the end of
each *Āvarta* we have the following colophon *mutatis mutandis* —

इति भीमहाराजाधिराजनिःशंकशंकरभीमहृह्लाळसेनदेवविरचिते
भीमहृतासागरे काकाहृतावर्तः ।

At the end of the whole after अविरचिते we have भी-
महृतासा[ग]रः समाप्तिमगमन् ॥

From the statements in the Manuscripts, it appears that the
Sena kings of Bengal traced their descent to the lunar race of
Kṣatriyas, while the popular belief in Bengal is that they
belonged to the Vaidya caste. The first prince mentioned is
Vijayasena. He was followed by Ballāṣana, and after him
his son Lakṣmaṇasena ruled over the country. The work, it is
stated, was begun in 1090 Śaka by Ballāṣana, and before it
was finished, he raised his son to the throne and exacted a
promise from him to finish it. Then he gave many gifts and
“went to the city of the gods with his wife” The work was
afterwards brought to a completion by the labours of
Lakṣmaṇasena.

At the end of a Manuscript of the *Dānasāgara*, another
work by Ballāṣana existing in the India Office Collec-

tion, the date of its completion is given as Śaka 1091.¹ Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*,² gives 1019 Śaka as the date. Prof Aufrecht has recently justified this last by correcting the Śaśinavadāsa, i.e. 1091, occurring in the India Office Manuscripts, to Navasāsīdāsa, i.e. 1019.³ But there is nothing to show that the former expression is wrong beyond Dr Mitra's second-hand statement of the date. And the date of the commencement of the Adbhutasaṅgāra as to the correctness of which there can be no question and which will not admit of such a correction as is applied in the other case, is Khanavakhendu, i.e. 1090 Śaka, with which Dr Mitra's date of the Dānasaṅgāra, 1019 Śaka, can in no way harmonize. That date, therefore, must have been arrived at by somebody misreading the correct expression Śaśinavadāsa as Navasāsīdāsa. So that Ballaṣasena died after 1091, i.e. 1169 A.D., and Lakṣmapasena succeeded him

But Dr Rajendralal Mitra, in another place, gives 1106 A.D. as the date of Lakṣmapasena's accession on the evidence of an era called after Lakṣmapasena which is current in Mithilā and is used also in some Inscriptions and Manuscripts.⁴ General Cunningham mentions a copper-plate Inscription in which Śaka 1321 and Samvat 1455 are given as corresponding to Lakṣmapa Samvat 293, from which 1106 A.D. comes out as the initial date of the last era, and considers that era to begin with the death instead of the accession of Lakṣmapasena, as he takes another more famous era to begin with the extinction of a dynasty instead of its foundation.⁵ Now, the date arrived at in this manner is inconsistent with the statements we find in both the works of Ballaṣasena which represent him to be living

1 Eggeling's Catalogue, p. 545.

2 Vol. I, p. 151

3 Z. D. M. G., Vol. LI, p. 329

4 Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVII, p. 397-99

5 Archaeol. Reports, Vol. XV, p. 160 ff.

in 1168 and 1169 A D , and Lakṣmapasena to have been raised by him to the throne some time after 1168 A.D.

From the introduction to the *Dānasāgara* it would appear that Hemantasena, the father of Vijayasena, first raised the family to importance and probably wrested the province of Bengal from the preceding dynasty of the Pāla kings. Assigning about sixty years, which I consider the smallest possible period for the reigns of the three predecessors of Lakṣmapasena, we are brought to about 1046, A D as the date of the foundation of the Sena dynasty of Bengal on the supposition that Lakṣmapasena began to reign in 1106 A D. But that is not possible, as an Inscription of Mahāpāla, one of the most powerful princes of the Pāla dynasty, is dated Samvat 1083, corresponding to 1027 A D¹, and as his reign lasted for 52 years it may have extended even to 1050 A D. He had a good many successors, the names of four of whom occur in some of the Inscriptions. In the colophon of a work entitled *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* by Śrīdharadāsa the author gives 1127 Śaka, i.e., 1205 A D, as the date of its compilation, though the metre of the verse in which it is given is faulty, and speaks probably of the year of Lakṣmapasena also. But as the text is corrupt, the sense cannot be clearly made out.² Śrīdharadāsa speaks of himself as the son of Vaṭudāsa a feudatory and close friend of Lakṣmapasena.

If then Lakṣmapasena came to the throne in 1106 A D , about a hundred years would have to be assigned to two generations, i.e., to Śrīdharadāsa and his father, which is not reasonable. These two collateral circumstances, therefore, are inconsistent with the supposition that Lakṣmapasena's reign began in 1106, while, as we have seen, there is a direct opposition between that date and those contained in the two works of Ballāṣena. The only way

¹ Ibid, p. 153.

² Rajendralal's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p 141

to reconcile these latter dates with the initial date of the era is to suppose that the era is not Lakṣmapasena's, but that of the foundation of the Sena dynasty by Hemantasena. Ballāṣena, who was living in 1091 Śaka or 1169 A.D., must have died, from the statement in the work under notice, a short time after. Supposing he died in 1172 A.D., the reigns of the first three princes would occupy about 64 years, which is the interval between the date of the foundation of the dynasty and that of Ballāṣena's death. This interval is not too small nor too large, and consequently has an appearance of probability. It was probably usual, in accordance with the prevailing custom, to date events in the years of Lakṣmapasena's reign also, and when after the lapse of time he became the only prince of the Sena dynasty that was remembered and his own regnal years ceased to be used, the era of the dynasty came to be identified with him, and thus the Sena era became the Lakṣmapasena era. The chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties will have to be re-adjusted in view of the date of Mahipāla (1027 A.D.) and the dates of Ballāṣena (1168 and 1169 A.D.) contained in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* and the *Dānasāgara*.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR
SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS
1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91¹**

I publish with this Report another selection from the materials² collected by me, calculated to throw light on some points in the literary and political history and chronology of the country.

This is my sixth and last Report. The Manuscripts collected from May 1891 to the date of the delivery of charge have been made over to my successor.

During these four years the number of Manuscripts purchased for Government is, as will be seen from the catalogue, 1,500, besides a set of Copper-plates with an Inscription of a grant of land, and an astronomical instrument made of brass. Of these 1,267 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana and 233 in the Maratha Country. These have been divided into 19 classes as usual according to the subjects.

A NOTE ON JAHLAṆA'S SUBHĀṢITAMUKTĀVALI

Manuscripts of this work are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjore Library under the names of *Suktimaṅlikā* and *Suktumuktāvali*. There is another copy among the Manuscripts purchased by Dr Peterson for the Government of Bombay during 1884-1886, and is marked No. 370 in the list published in his Report for those years (P). Dr. Peterson

1 Originally published in 1897, at the Government Central Press, Bombay.

2 Most of these 'Materials' dealt with the Manuscripts belonging to the Collection of 1884-87, the notices of which were originally included in this Report after the note on Jalhāṇa's *Subhāṣitamuktāvali*. As the notices of the MSS of the 1884-87 Collection have been now embodied in the Report of that Collection (ante pp. 292-348), the elaborate and exhaustive Note on Jalhāṇa, which follows is therefore what here makes up the Report for 1887-91 [N.B.U.]

published an article on the work in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII. His Manuscript had no beginning or end, and therefore in that article he notices those verses in the anthology only which refer to particular poets. Some years ago our common agent brought me the first fourteen and the 30th leaves of another Manuscript (B). These contain the *Prāsaṭi* in which the history of Jahlapa and his family is given. As it gave a comparatively high antiquity among compilers of Anthologies to Jahlapa, I asked my agent to procure another copy, and he brought me a Manuscript which was in the possession of the late Durgāprasāda (D). It has 199 leaves from the beginning, but on examination and comparison, I find that the matter on the last seven leaves which is introduced with the word *सैविजानाम* does not belong to the present work.

Manuscripts B and D agree with each other, except in unimportant matters, but P, or Dr Peterson's Manuscript, appears to belong to an entirely different recension. B and D contain a great many verses more than P. Thus P, the first leaf of which is the 3rd, the first two being lost, has at the top the second half of the 9th stanza of the first topic mentioned in the *Anukramapika*. This topic or section contains, according to B, 47 stanzas, and according to D, 48, but one stanza has been wrongly copied into it and has been erased, so that these two Manuscripts agree in the number of the stanzas and in the stanzas themselves. But P has only 12 stanzas in this section, and the 9th is the same as the 31st of B and D, the 10th is the 41st in these, 11th, 42nd, and the last, 35th. Thus 8 stanzas between the 31st and 41st do not occur in P at all, and one, the 35th, is put at the end. Similarly in the next section or *Āśirvādapaddhati*, P has 32 stanzas, but D, 110. B keeps pace with D till the 26th up to its 14th leaf and then ends, but it has one stanza not occurring in D. Thus throughout, a great many verses occurring in D are not found in P, so that this is a much

shorter edition of the Sūktimuktāvali, containing perhaps half the matter which we have in the other. D comes down to the section Munyādervarpāna and breaks off with the initial words of a stanza in praise of Agastya, while P goes on up to the section of Dana, of which it has about 4 stanzas.

It is difficult to determine which of these two resensions is genuine. The shorter may be a subsequent abridgment by another person of the longer, or the longer a later enlargement of the shorter, and it is also possible that both were issued by the original compiler himself. But for historical purposes one should be guided by what is common to both, to be on the safe side. The Manuscript P does not seem to have contained the introduction which we find in B and D, as its two lost leaves could not afford sufficient space for it and the Anukramapika. At the end of the introductory Praśasti in B and D, we have the name of Vaidya-Bhānupādita as the author. But whether he is meant to be the author of the last two or three stanzas or of the whole Praśasti it is difficult to say. It would, I think, not be unreasonable to take him as the author of the whole, and thus the fulsome praise of the author and his ancestors, in which the princes themselves, whom they served, are assigned a lower position, becomes intelligible.

The following is the Introduction —

यत्पादाम्मोजसेवारविशुद्धिमनसां प्रातिमं तत्सिरञ्चा
चक्रांगानामपि द्वाग्विलसति मिलितक्षीरनीरजमेद ।
उद्दामाङ्गानरूपप्रबलतममस्तोमसोमस्वभावा
देवीमानंदकंदां विभुमणिविशदां शारदां तां नमामि ॥ १ ॥

जनयतु नतिमात्रामेष संतोषयेवं
कुवलयदलकान्तिः कालिकायाः कटाक्षः ।
प्रकटयति पुरारेः केतकीगर्भपत्र-
त्वयि वपुषि लिपि यः पञ्चबाणप्रशस्तेः ॥ २ ॥

लसम्पूजाकाङ्कुरकोमलानि
स्फुरत्सुधाधामकलामलानि ।
पीयूषसारैकनिकेतनानि
जयन्ति सूक्तानि महाकवीनां ॥ ३ ॥

गीर्वाणासुरमौलिरत्ननिकरप्रैस्त्वम्पूजांभसः
संसेकादिव पादमूलकलितैः स्निग्धैः प्रभापल्लवैः ।
आश्वासं कृपयेव शब्दकरोन्मुग्धैर्नसार्यस्य यः
सोमूर्ध्वत्समुनिः पवित्रचरणन्यासेन पूतावनिः ॥ ४ ॥

तस्याम्बयेभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो
दादाः सदादाननिदानमूर्तः ।
यस्येक्षणाद्विज्जणभूपसैन्यं
दैन्यं गतं संयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य संजाता तनया नयशालिनः ।
मुजा इव हरेः शम्भश्चिक्रमभीविभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥
चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभूवुः ।
क्यातो महीधरो जहः सांबैर्गंगाधरावपि ॥ ७ ॥
उपायैरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजितैः ।
मेढुगिक्षोणिभूपाळराज्यं जातं सदोज्ज्वलम् ॥ ८ ॥

विज्जणबलजलराशि विमथ्य भुजमर्दरेण यः कृतवान् ।
वीरभियमंकस्यां स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्यः ॥ ९ ॥
किं चित्रं यदि भोर्गाद्रोर्नतस्तत्तनयो बहून् ।
आनीय बलिसप्तस्यान्नागान् स्वस्वामिने ददौ ॥ १० ॥
विजित्य विज्जणं याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
निनाथ मिल्लमं जहो राजतां क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥

१ ब्रह्म for वत्स D. २ भूपः for भूतः B. ३ सांबो गंगाधरस्तथा D.
४ मैत्रिणि B. ५ सदाहितं D. ६ पंजरेण for मंदरेण B.

गूर्जरभूभृत्कटकं कंटकविषमेतिवुर्गमे येन ।
 भगदत्तकोर्तिमाजा बुद्धगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥
 मल्लः पल्लवितोरुमीतिरभितक्षस्यद्वलो मैलुगि-
 र्मुञ्जः पुञ्जितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मणः ।
 अञ्जो बुभुक्षपराक्रमो विभुतभूर्मन्त्ररजप्राङ्गणे
 येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभृता किं किं न तस्योर्जितं ॥ १३ ॥
 हारंहारं नृपाणां समिति गजघटामिल्लमायादितासा
 वाशामाशागजानामपि हरणविधौ सांप्रतं ही विधत्ते ।
 स्मारंस्मारं सुराणामधिपतिरिति यन्निक्रमाणां स्म भीतः
 शंके संकेतभूमौ नियमयति निजं कुंजरं कुंजरंभ्रे ॥ १४ ॥
 यदसिनिहतवन्तिप्रातरकाकमुका-
 फलविहितविभूषा मत्तवेतालयोषाः ।
 रिपुनृपतिकबन्धाभृत्यतोद्यापि दृष्ट्वा
 करकलितकपालास्तालमुद्धाटयन्ति ॥ १५ ॥
 आसीद्वङ्गाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गंगाधरोपमः ।
 एकान्बन्धं यो व्यालान्मुमोच्चैकान् यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥
 संगं द्विजिवैर्न चकार दुष्टैरुवाह मूर्ध्ना न जडं कदाचित् ।
 वदाह कामं न जनस्य रुष्टस्तथापि गंगाधर एव सौभूत् ॥ १७ ॥
 तस्याभवत्सूनुर्नूनसखो अनार्वनायः करिषाहिनीशः ।
 समुद्रवधो भुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रैर्मशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥
 उत्पन्नं सुधियां कुले यदसिलैस्स्यकं बुधैर्न क्षणं
 यज्जो विस्मृतमेकदापि सुजनैर्यक्ष्य युक्तं सलैः ।
 दौर्गत्यस्य तथाविधस्य महत्तस्तस्यापि केनापि नो
 यद्दानाम्बुसरित्प्रवाहपतितस्याकारि हस्तार्पणम् ॥ १९ ॥
 सिंहोप्यप्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तदद्भुतं ।
 ययार्जुनं लसत्पत्रं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

१ सो B. २ नेव for चित्र B. ३ पुत्रं for पत्रं B.

विभ्रान्नपरायणः स्फुरदुदस्वर्णार्चितार्थिप्रज-
 स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः समभवच्छ्रीलक्ष्मिदेवः सुधीः ।
 मंत्रैर्निर्जितदेवमंत्रिधिषणैर्जाग्रन्नयप्रक्रमै
 राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेरंघ्रिकलं दत्त्वा स्थिरं यो व्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥
 अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्म्यथितक्षितिभृद्वमौ ।
 चित्रं सोप्यकरोद्भृत्यत्कबंधं समरार्णवं ॥ २२ ॥
 यद्रचितोद्यानध्रीः परिपाकस्फुटितवाडिमप्याजात् ।
 विहसत्यनेकरंभाप्रकटितदशनेष नन्दनं धिपिनं ॥ २३ ॥
 जटोत्कटं लसत्कुस्यं नीलकण्ठोपशोभितं ।
 भाति यद्रचितोद्यानमुत्तमांगमिवैश्वरं ॥ २४ ॥
 तत्क्षारत्वं परिहृतमहो दूरमूरीकृता द्राक्
 पीयूषस्य प्रकृतिसुभगा माधुरी सा धुरीणा ।
 इत्थं यातः सरिदधिपतिर्लुप्तवेषोन्यदेशं
 भीत्यागस्त्यादिति जनपदैस्तर्क्यते यत्तडागः ॥ २५ ॥
 तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्बुधुर्बुधानां सुधीः
 सारासारविचारजासु चतुरः श्रीजल्लणाख्यः क्षितौ ।
 यद्दानोदकवाहिनीमघनघामोघैर्यशस्त्रमा
 जातोन्यः सततोदितो धवल्यत्युच्चैर्जगंत्युत्पणः ॥ २६ ॥
 मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलघट्टेविषर्गोपसर्गं
 राज्यं प्राज्यप्रमाद्यप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
 तन्निर्वाह्यं मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिमकिर्विघत्ते
 सर्वे यः स्वामिकार्यं हितमनयहृता भावुकेनानुजेन ॥ २७ ॥
 भुवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदांघ्रा करिवाहिनी ।
 दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
 यद्गुणैर्प्रथितः शुद्धैरमितैर्ब्रह्मगोलकः ।
 विघत्ते कीर्तिकन्यायाः क्रीडाकन्दुकविघ्नमम् ॥ २९ ॥

ब्रमहे किमगाधत्वं यत्कृपाणवयोनिधेः ।
 मग्ना यत्रारिवाहिन्यो न लक्ष्यन्ते परःशताः ॥ ३० ॥
 निर्दलितराजमापैरार्द्रकलंडैः ससैधवक्षोदैः ।
 यदसिगुणो रसवत्यां संयति मिक्षां करोति कालस्य ॥ ३१ ॥
 न्यंबद्भुवलयं चलत्क्षितिधरं क्षुभ्यत्समस्तार्णवं
 अस्यद्वैरिवधूषिलोचनजलप्रारब्धवर्षांभ्रमं ।
 प्रोदंचसुरगावलीखुरपुटम्याधूतधूळीपट-
 लभादित्यपथं कथं न विदितं यज्जैत्रयात्रादिनं ॥ ३२ ॥
 यद्वैरिधीरैरसिखंडितांगैः समुत्सुकामिः सुरसुन्दरीभिः ।
 वशक्रियाभूर्णमिव प्रकीर्णमामाति धूलिपटलं समीके ॥ ३३ ॥
 क्षणं कांतारागप्रकटितमनोवैकृतयुतः
 क्षणं शाळोत्संगे द्विजकुलरवाकुण्डहृदयः ।
 क्षणं पत्रंज्वानभ्रुतिपुलकितो यद्भयमरात्
 वसन प्राप्नोराण्ये रिपुरवनिपालस्थितिमिव ॥ ३४ ॥
 याञ्जादैन्यलघूकृतास्तृणमिव क्षिप्रं निराळंबना
 नीयन्ते प्रतिसप्त मार्गेणगणा दौर्गत्यवातेन ये ।
 तेषां येन तथा कृतोतिगरिमा स्वर्णोच्चपुंजापणै-
 र्यस्मात्संप्रति तेपि चित्रकटकैर्मृष्टशुलां विभ्रति ॥ ३५ ॥
 कोप्यन्यः कल्पवृक्षोयं चकास्ति वसुधातले ।
 यत्पाणिपल्लवोप्येकः कुक्षतेधः सुरपुमं ॥ ३६ ॥
 कीर्त्या यस्य जगत्त्रये धवलिते सङ्गावले मन्दरे
 विष्ये हेमगिरौ हरक्षितिधरे नो भाति कृपान्तरं ।
 नो चेदर्थिजनाय तेन दत्ता स्वर्णं जगत्पूजितं
 विख्यातः कनकाचलः कथमिव स्वैरं न विभ्राणितः ॥ ३७ ॥
 तेनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसंग्रहान् ।
 सूक्तिमुकावली कंडकंदलीभूषणं सतां ॥ ३८ ॥

१ आजौ for संयति D. भक्षा for मिक्षां B. २ पुत्र for पत्र. D.
 ३ च for न B. ४ तेन यत् D. ५ कदली B.

विबुधैः संनिवेशैः संगृहीतान्वनेकशः ।
 सुधारससनायीनि संति सुकानि यद्यपि ॥ ३९ ॥
 तथापि सर्वतां गीत्वा विबुधैर्गर्वपर्वतं ।
 शम्भुदालोकनीयेयं मत्सरः किं गुणेष्वपि ॥ ४० ॥
 साहित्यविद्याद्वयं ब्राह्ममिच्छसि चेत्सुखम् ।
 तत्पश्य अद्वयकृतां सुकिमुकावलीमिमाम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 नांगुलीयैर्न केयूरैर्न प्रैवेयैर्न कंकणैः ।
 तथा भाति यथा विद्वान् कण्ठसंगतयानया ॥ ४२ ॥
 श्रीवैद्यमानुपंडितस्यैते.

There was a person of the name of Dādā who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yādava king Mallugi, called in other places Mallugi Vijjāna, of the Kalacuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyāna in 1157 A.D., was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully. Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding Chiefs. Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dādā, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjāna.

Dādā had four sons named Mahidhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gangādhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom. Mahidhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjāna. His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies.

After Mahidhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have rendered Bhīllama's kingly power firm. Bhīllama, we know, was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereignty of the Deccan for his family, about the year 1187 A.D. Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of

the Gūrjara prince and obtained fame, as Bhagadatta.—Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahābhārata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery—Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhullama, and vanquished Muñja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhullama could acquire supreme power. The Muñja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhārā of that name. Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhullama.

Janārdana was the son of his brother Gangādhara and he appears to have succeeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhapa the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna. Singhapa, called Simha also, was the son of Jaitrapāla and grandson of Bhullama. If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janārdana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhapa himself came to the throne in 1210 A. D.

Janārdana's son Lakṣmīdeva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was the grandson of Singhapa and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A. D. Lakṣmīdeva constructed a large tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlapa, who with his brother assisted king Kṛṣṇa by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

The following gives the contents of the anthology —

आदौ नमस्कृतिः पञ्चादाशंसावचनानि च ।

सुभाषितप्रशंसातः कविकाव्यस्तुतिस्ततः ॥ ४३ ॥

कुक्षीनां ततो मित्रा सम्मनस्विखळास्ततः ।

कद्व्यप्यतिरथो द्विषिष्याभ्योकिपद्यतिः ॥ ४४ ॥

कृता खेचरभूधारिमेवा ते(स्ते)ष्वादितो रविः ।
 खेचरेषु ततश्चन्द्रः (द्रो)घातमेघास्ततः खगाः ॥ ४५ ॥
 तेषु प्राक्कोकिलो हंसः शिखिष्वांश्वकालयः ।
 खद्योतघातकौ पद्मादित्युक्ताः खेचरास्ततः ॥ ४६ ॥
 भूचरास्तेषु सिंहः प्राक् ततः कुंजरपङ्क्तिः ।
 वासेरकबल्लीवर्धमृगपङ्क्तयः पृथक् ॥ ४७ ॥
 जलधिमणिशंखतटिनीसरसीपद्ममुमाश्च शिखिमरवः ।
 संकीर्णवस्तुवर्णनमित्यन्योकिर्द्विधाथ शृंगारः ॥ ४८ ॥
 प्रथमोत्र विप्रलम्भस्तदनु च संभोगशृंगारः ।
 तत्र वियोगे प्रथमं प्रियगमनं स्त्रीषु मदनजावस्था ॥ ४९ ॥
 प्रभः सखीनां विविधाः प्रलापा वियोगिनीनामथ दूतिकायाः ।
 संप्रेषणं मन्मथजाप्यवस्था सह प्रलापेन वियोगिनश्च ॥ ५० ॥
 दूतीवचः प्रियं प्रति संदेशो विरहिणः प्रियतमायां ।
 तस्या विरहावस्थाकथनं दूत्याः प्रियाप्रभः ॥ ५१ ॥
 दूत्युपहासस्तदनु प्रियस्य कांतावलोकने वाचः ।
 वाच्यं वयसः संधिर्यौवनमस्त्रिणां वयसः क्रमशः ॥ ५२ ॥
 माने मानिन्यवस्थातो नाधिकातिथ्यपूर्विकाः ।
 सव्याख्यानुनयः पद्मादुकिप्रत्युक्तयस्ततः ॥ ५३ ॥
 प्रसादोद्य च संभोगो (ग) ऋतवः कुसुमोद्ययः ।
 कंदुकोदकयोः क्रीडा रवेष्वास्तमयस्ततः ॥ ५४ ॥
 प्रलापाः कामिनामादावभिसारेभिसारिका ।
 चंद्रोद्ययः पानगोष्ठी प्रियाचादुरतः परं ॥ ५५ ॥
 स्रुतेषु तत्प्रशंसा नवयोषित्संगमे सखीवाक्यम् ।
 निषुवनमथ नववध्वा रतिकेली रतिविपर्यासः ॥ ५६ ॥
 निवृत्तिः स्रुतस्यादौ कलहः प्रणयस्य च ।
 नाथिकाजुनयः पद्मात्प्रभातं तत्समीरणः ॥ ५७ ॥
 कलहान्तरिताप्रलपनमतः परं नायकस्य शिक्षयनं ।
 संभोगाधिकरणं कुलटासंकीर्णमिति च शृंगारः ॥ ५८ ॥

रसा हास्यादयो जातिस्ततो भूपतिवर्णनं ।
 क्रियागुणादिविज्ञानि तथा वक्रोक्तिपद्धतिः ॥ ५९ ॥
 रथकरिहरिगिरिवारिधिनीसरोनगरवर्णनं क्रमशः ।
 कूर्मादीनां स्तवनं उद्यानाभ्रमनगरमुत्थादेः ॥ ६० ॥
 नीतिर्विद्या वैचं सपुरुषकारं च साहसं लक्ष्मीः ।
 दानं कुलनारी तद्वृत्तमपत्यं च मित्रगुणौ ॥ ६१ ॥
 कला सेवाय धर्मायै तृप्तिदारिद्र्यपद्धती ।
 संतोषः क्षांतिकरणे वैराग्यं तदनु स्तुती ॥ ६२ ॥
 श्रीमता भगवत्सेन जलहणेन विरच्यते ।
 हरीशयोक्त्यास्त्रिशत्युद्धृतीनामिदं शतम् ॥ ६३ ॥

इति श्रीमहारोहकभगवत्तज्जलहणेदेवविरचितायां सूक्तिमुक्तावल्याम-
 नुक्रमणिकापद्धतिः ॥

THE SECTION ON SPECIFIC POETS

Leaf 30 of B contains the section on specific poets. It begins with the last words of a verse marked 4, which number probably is a mistake for 3, for the next verse has the same number. The leaf ends with the third Pada of verse 19. In D there is evidently a mistake in transcription, for after the first eleven verses of the preceding section which contains quotations about poets and poetry in general, we have another which is probably the 12th of the section, but it ends with the letters ति दीनि which are the last letters of the 38th verse of the section on specific poets, which verse corresponds with the 26th of the same section in P. There is again another similar mistake at the end. After the 61st verse we have one-half of the next, but it is followed by the 11th verse of the section on Sajjanapaddhati, the opening words of which, however, are lost.

The first 38 verses, therefore, of the section and one or two at the end do not exist in D The following extracts give all the verses belonging to the section in the three Manuscripts —

III B, f. 30

भास्वद्वंशवतंसकीर्तिरमणीरंगप्रसंगस्तन-
द्वादित्रप्रथमम्भनिर्विजयते वल्मीकजन्मा कविः ।
पीत्वा यद्वदनेन्दुमंडलगलत्काव्यामृताब्धेः किम-
प्याकल्पं कविनूतनांबुदमयी कादंबिनी वर्धति ॥ ४ ॥
जयदेवस्य.

III B, f 30

यद्दानेन्दोरसृतप्रवाहिनी विनिःसृता पञ्चमधेद्वचंद्रिका ।
तमस्व(श्च)तापं च निहन्ति देहिनां नुतिभ्रुतीनां व्यसिताननेकशः (?) ॥ ५ ॥
सूक्तिसहस्रात्.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जांबवतीजयः ॥ ६ ॥
यथार्थता कथं नाम न स्याद्वरुचेरिह ।
व्यधत्त कंठाभरणं यः सदारोहणप्रियः ॥ ७ ॥
राजशेखरस्थैतौ.

सूत्रधारकृतारमैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ ८ ॥
महृवाणस्य.

भासनाटकचक्रेपि लेकैः क्षिते परीक्षितुं ।
स्वमवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभूत पावकः ॥ ९ ॥
तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्यं ययोर्द्वयोरासीदर्शनारीश्वरोपमं ॥ ११ ॥
राजशेखरस्थैते.

सम्यग्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।

धनुषेव गुणाख्येन निःशेषो रंजितो जनः ॥ १२ ॥

त्रिविक्रममहस्य.

मन्ये बृहत्कथांभोधेर्बिदुमादाय निर्मिता ।

तेनेतरकथाकंथा न विभाति यद्व्रतः ॥ १३ ॥

धनपालस्य.

ब्रुता शिल्पिनि गौणाढ्या स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा

सुरलीढेन्दुलेखेव लोके पूज्यतमामवत् ॥ १४ ॥

अगत्यां प्रथिता गाथाः शातवाहनभूभुजा ।

व्यधुर्धृतेस्तु विस्तारमहो विप्रपरंपरा ॥ १५ ॥

राजशेखरस्येतौ.

कवीनामगलहर्षो नूनं वासवदस्तया ।

शक्येष पांडुपुत्राणां गतया कर्गगोचरं ॥ १६ ॥

बाणस्य.

धोत्रेतराणि करणे भवनान्यसंख्यै-

अत्वारि तृप्तिमहतां विषयैर्लभन्ते ।

धोत्राय पद्मसुकृतस्य जनस्य पुण्याः

ध्रीकाळिदासगिरि (र) एव दिशंति तृप्तिं ॥ १७ ॥

अन्तरं कियदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ।

अंतरं यावदाख्यांति

III. D (f 22b—f 24a)

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।

कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि ह्रमः ॥ ३९ ॥

मा स्म संति हि अत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।

इतीव सत्कृ(कृतो) धात्रा कवि (वी) रत्नाकरोपरः ॥ ४० ॥

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वमिषेशिना ।

आनन्दवर्द्धनः कस्य नासीदानंदवर्द्धनः ॥ ४१ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वचोमयस्य ।

पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजायाः परं विभूषा भवभूतिरेव ॥ ४२ ॥

वाक्यं च द्विपरीशताम्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमा-

त्म्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथाकृद्भाणि चैकादश ।

सूत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान्प्रबंधान् बहून्

विभ्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिषस्वामिनः ॥ ४३ ॥

कयोरप्येतौ.

कालंजरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पंचनाटकीं ।

प्राप प्रबंधराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्रदक्षाननं ॥ ४४ ॥

मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यकालचरः कविः ।

उद्वन्धं(न्व)तः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनाशवः ॥ ४५ ॥

अकालजलद्वेदोः सा हृत्ता वचनचंद्रिका ।

नित्यं कविचकोरैर्या पीयते न च ह्रीयते ॥ ४६ ॥

अकालजलद्वेदोः कैश्चिन्नमात्मकृतैरिव ।

जातः कादंबरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ ४७ ॥

अनुप्रासिनि संदर्भे गोनंदनसमः कुतः ।

यथार्थनामतैवास्य यद्वाग्वदति चारुतां ॥ ४८ ॥

दृष्टादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमंजरीं ।

कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकोराश्चर्यमंजरीं ॥ ४९ ॥

शिः] संधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।

यथा जातं फलं तस्य सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥ ५० ॥

नदीनां मेकलस्रुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः ।
 कवीनां च सुरानन्दश्चेदिमं डलमंडनः ॥ ५१ ॥
 यस्यावरकुलभ्रेणे सुकायश्चेष्ट (सुकायश्चेष्ट) मंडनं ।
 सुवर्णबंधुदधिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ ५२ ॥
 स्थिता माण्डीकपाकत्वाग्निसर्गमधुरापि हि ।
 किमपि स्वदत्ते धाणी केषां विचदि शांकरी ॥ ५३ ॥
 शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः पांचाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
 शीलाममृरिकावाधि बाणोकिषु च सा यदि ॥ ५४ ॥
 के वैकटनितंबेन गिरां गुंफेन रंजिताः ।
 निंदन्ति निजकांतानां न मौग्यमधुरं वचः ॥ ५५ ॥
 सरस्वतीष कर्णाटी विजयांका जयत्यसौ ।
 या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनंतरं ॥ ५६ ॥
 सूकीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
 प्रभुर्देषी कविकर्णटीगतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥ ५७ ॥
 पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे लघु सुमद्रया ।
 कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुमद्रया ॥ ५८ ॥
 राजशेखरस्यैते.

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जाकां तामजानता ।
 वृथैव दंष्टिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुद्धा सरस्वती ॥ ५९ ॥
 कविरमरः कविरञ्जलः कविरभिनन्दश्च कालिदासश्च ।
 अन्ये कवयः कपयश्चापलमात्रं परं वदति ॥ ६० ॥
 यद्योगः परविग्रहे निज इव स्वच्छप्रवेशावधि-
 र्यस्रधानं व्यपनिद्रचिन्मयरसज्योतिःप्रबोधावधिः (वि) ।
 यद्वाग्बंधनोदयो रसवतीकल्लोललीलावधि-
 स्तस्यास्मिन् यदि देवबोधयमिनः केषां गुणाः सावधिः ॥ ६१ ॥

III P. (f 13a— f. 18a)

अथविशेषकविप्रशंसा

यस्मादिष्टं प्रथमतः परमामृतौघनिर्घोषि (ब) ना सरससूक्तिरंग-
मंगिः ।

गंगेव धूर्जटिज्जटांचलतः प्रवृत्ता वृत्तेन वाक्यमहमादिकविं प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥
वामननागस्य.

स्वस्ति पाणिनते(ये) तस्मै यस्य कव्यप्रमादिनः(प्रसादतः ?)

आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जांबवतीजयः ॥ २ ॥

यथार्यता कथं नास्ति मा भूद्वरुचेरिह ।

व्यचक्ष कंठाभरणं यः सदारोहणप्रियः ॥ ३ ॥

भासनाटकचक्रेपि छेकैः क्षिते परीक्षितुं ।

स्वप्रवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभूषण पाषकः ॥ ४ ॥

तौ शत्रिककथाकारौ बंधो रामिलसोमिलौ ।

ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमालीदर्शनारीश्वरोपमं ॥ ५ ॥

हुताशिषिणी (स्त्रिणि) गौणाख्या स्तोकदोषापि सा कथा ।

सुरादील्ले(लीर्ले)दुलेषे(ले)व लोके पूज्यतमा भवेत् ॥ ६ ॥

जगत्यां ग्रथिता गाथा[ः] सा(शा)तवाहनभूभुजा ।

व्यभु(र्भु)तेस्तु विस्तारः(रं)महो चित्रपरंपरा ॥ ७ ॥

अंतरं कियदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ।

अंतरं तावदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ॥ ८ ॥

एकोपि जीयते हस्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।

शृंगारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासो न केनचित् ॥ ९ ॥

(कालिदासत्रयी किमु) राजशेखरस्यैते.

सूत्रधारकृतारंमैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।

सपताकैर्बहो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ १० ॥

कवीनामगच्छर्षो नूनं वासावक्ष्या ।
शक्ष्यैव पांडुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णमोक्षरं ॥ ११ ॥

भट्टबाणस्यैतौ.

वक्रोक्त्या भर्तृमैठस्य वहंत्या मृणिरूपतां ।
आविद्धा इव धुम्बन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जराः ॥ १२ ॥

कस्यापि.

कृत्स्नप्रबोधकृद्वाणी मा रवेरिव भारवेः ।
माघेनेव च माघेन कपः कस्य न जायते ॥ १३ ॥
शक्ष्यद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाख्येन निःशेषो रंजितो जनः ॥ १४ ॥

त्रिविक्रमभट्टस्य.

माघेन विभ्रितोत्साहा न सहन्ते पदक्रमं ।
स्मरन्ति भारवेरेव कवयः कपयो यथा ॥ १५ ॥

धनपालस्य.

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वल्लला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥ १६ ॥

भट्टबाणस्य.

सहर्षचरिता शम्भुतत्तुकावंबरीस्यदा (?) ।
बाणस्य बाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छन्दा भ्रमति सितौ ॥ १७ ॥

राजशेखरस्य.

केवल्लोपि स्फुरम्बाणः करोति विमहान् कवीन् ।
किं पुनः कृतसंधानः पुलिंदकृतसंभिधिः ॥ १८ ॥

धनपालस्य.

बाणेन हृदि लभेन यम्भन्दीपि पदक्रमः ।
प्रायः कवितु(कु)रंगाणां आपलं तत्र कारणं ॥ १९ ॥

इर्ष्य कविभुजंगानां गता भवणगोचरं ।
 विषविषेव मायूरी मयूरी वासिकुंतति ॥ २० ॥
 सरस्वतीपवित्राणां जातिस्तत्रं न देहिनां ।
 व्यासस्पर्द्धा(र्द्धी) कुलाढोभूषप्रोषो भारते कविः ॥ २१ ॥
 अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यथांटाकविचाकरः ।
 श्रीहर्षस्यामयत्सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥ २२ ॥
 कत्रा(र्तु?) पिळोषनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
 तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथं ॥ २३ ॥
 अयो गणपतिं वंदे महामोदविधायिनं ।
 विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कंठगर्जितं ॥ २४ ॥
 प्रसुझाप्तापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिरः ।
 प्रसुझाप्तापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शराः क्षराः ॥ २५ ॥
 राजशेखरस्यैते.

जाते जगति वात्मिकौ शब्दः कविरिति स्थितः ।
 व्यासे जाते कवी चेति कवयश्चेति वंदिनि ॥ २६ ॥
 काळिदासस्य.

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
 कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥ २७ ॥
 मा क्ष संति हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
 इतीव स कुतो धात्रा कवि(वी) रत्नाकरोपरः ॥ २८ ॥
 ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यकु(त)त्वनिवेशिना ।
 आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्धनः ॥ २९ ॥
 राजशेखरस्यैते.

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वधोमयस्य ।
 पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजायाः परं विमूषा भवमूर्तिरेव ॥ ३० ॥
 कस्यापि.

अकालजलवैदोः सा हृद्या वदनचंद्रिका ।
 नित्यं कविचकोरैर्यो पीयते न च हीयते ॥ ३१ ॥
 द्विःसंधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।
 यया जातं फलं तस्य सतां चक्रे धनं जवः ॥ ३२ ॥
 शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः पांवाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
 शीलामहारिकावाचि बाणोकिषु च सा यदि ॥ ३३ ॥
 के वैकटनितंबेन गिरां गुंफेन रंजिताः ।
 निंदति निजकांतानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥ ३४ ॥
 पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे लघु सुमद्रया ।
 कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिस्वातुर्येण सुमद्रया ॥ ३५ ॥
 राजशेखरस्यैते.

नीलोत्पलदलद्वयामां विज्जुकां तामजानता ।
 वृथैव दंडिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ३६ ॥
 भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया ।
 मुरारेः पदचिंतायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥ ३७ ॥
 कयौरप्येतौ.

अमरककवित्वडमरकनादेन विनिष्कृता न संघरति ।
 शृंगारमणितिरन्था धन्यानां भवणविचरेषु ॥ ३८ ॥
 अर्जुनदेवस्य.

वासः शुभ्रसुतुर्घसंतसमयः पुष्पं शरम्भल्लिका
 चानुक्तः कुसुमायुधः परिमलः कास्त्रिकोऽस्त्रं धनुः ॥
 वाचः(च) स्तर्करसोज्ज्वलाः प्रियतमाः शा(द्या)माः वपुर्नूतनं
 मार्गो वैष्णव एव पंचमलया गीतिः कविर्विद्वजः ॥ ३९ ॥
 कस्यापि.

प्रकृत्यैवातिचक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितम्बता ।
 मायाशरासनेनैव बाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥ ४० ॥

केचिद्भर्षगलभहेन विषमद्वेषज्वरेणापरे
 केचिन्मौर्व्यमलेन-^{११} वमीमीळन्ति शांतोत्तराः ।
 तन्नो मंदिरमित्तयो भक्त नः सूक्ष्मेषु सभ्याः पुन-
 स्तत्पाठे वरमस्ति वो घुमुघुमुप्रायं किमप्युत्तरं ॥ ४१ ॥
 छोट्यसर्वद्वयैतौ.

नव्या न व्याकरणसरणिर्यस्य माधुर्यधुर्यं
 नो सौंदर्यं न च नवरसस्रोतसो न प्रवाहः ॥
 यादृक्प्रतीत्या कथयति गिरां देवता देव तादृक्
 काव्यं भाव्यं कथयति मिषग्मानुनामा स पथः ॥ ४२ ॥
 इत्थं कविकुटुंबस्य वचांसि विचिनोति यः ।
 अनिरुचयनस्यापि तस्य वक्ष्या सरस्वती ॥ ४३ ॥
 यस्याक्षौरमिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरो
 भासो हासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ।
 हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसतिः पंचबाणस्तु बाणः
 केषां न स्यात्कविषु कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥ ४४ ॥

इतिविशेषकविप्रशंसापद्धतिः ॥

POETS AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THESE EXTRACTS

The poets and works mentioned in these extracts are as follows —

1. Vālmīki in a verse by Jayadeva and another from the Suktisahasra (B.), in a verse by Vāmananāga (P)
2. Pāṇini, author of the Grammar and Jāmbavatījaya, by Rājasekhara (B. P.).
3. Vararuci, author of Kaṇṭhābharapa, by Rājasekhara (B. P.)
4. Bhāsa in a verse by Bāṇa (B. P.).
 Bhāsa in a verse by Rājasekhara (B. P.).
5. Rāmila and Somila in a verse by Rājasekhara (B. P.), mentioned as the authors of a Śudrikakathā.

6. (a) Guṇāḍhya, the remnant of the story composed by whom after he had burned a large part is highly esteemed in the world (B P), by Rājasekhara.

(b) Guṇāḍhya, also in a verse by Trivikramabhaṭṭa (B. P.).

(c) Br̥hatkathā in a verse by Dhanapāla (B.).

7. Śatavāhana, compiler of Gāthās, in a verse by Rājasekhara (B. P)

8. Vasavadatta (of Subandhu), in a verse by Bāṇa (B. P.).

9 Kālidāsa in a verse by Rājasekhara (P) and in another probably by the same author (B) Raghu, by Rājasekhara (B. P), Raghuvamśa also (D P).

10. Bhartṛmēṭha in an anonymous verse (P.).

11 Bhāravi } mentioned in a verse by Trivikramabhaṭṭa
12 Māgha } (P.). Kīrāta mentioned by Rājasekhara
(B. P.)

13 Bāṇa in the same verse of Trivikramabhaṭṭa in which Guṇāḍhya is mentioned, also as the author of Harṣacarita and Kādambarī by Rājasekhara (P).

14 Pravarasena, author of Setu, by Bāṇa (P).

15 Pulinda contemporary of Bāṇa by Dhanapāla (P). He was probably the same as Divākara, the Cāṇḍāla mentioned by Rājasekhara (P.)

16 Mayūra by Rājasekhara (P.).

17. Dhroṇa or Hroṇa by Rājasekhara (P.).

18. Trilocana, author of Parthaviyaya, by Rājasekhara (P.).

19. Gaṇapati by Rājasekhara (P.).

20. Pradyumna, author of Nāṭakas, by Rājasekhara (P.).

21 Valmiki }
22. Vyāsa } by Kālidāsa (P).
23. Daṇḍin }

24. Kumāradaśa, author of Jānakiharṇa, by Rājasekhara (D. P.).

25. Ratnākara by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
26. Ānandavardhana, author of "Dhvani as the essence of Poetry" by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
27. Bhavabhūti by an anonymous author. Ratnāvali also mentioned (D. P.).
28. Śivasvāmin, author of many hymns to Śiva and of Nāṭakas, Nāṭikās and Prakaraṇas (D.). Anonymous.
29. Bhīmaṭa, lord of Kālāñjara, author of five dramas, the best of which was Svapnadaśanana, by Rājasekhara (D.).
30. Māyūrāja (of the Kalacuri royal race ?) by Rājasekhara (D.).
31. Akālajalada by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
32. Kādambarī-Rāma, author of dramas, by Rājasekhara (D.).
33. Gonandana skilled in alliteration, by Rājasekhara (D.).
34. Kulasekhara, author of Āścharyamañjarī, by Rājasekhara (D.).
35. Dhanamjaya, author of Dvīpasaṁdhāna, by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
36. Surānanda, "among poets the ornament of the Cedi country, as among princes was Raṇavigraha and among rivers the Narmadā," by Rājasekhara (D). Raṇavigraha was a Cedi prince, and brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan, whose dates range from 875 A.D. to 911 A.D., and maternal grandfather of Indra III or Nityavarṣa whose dates are 914 A.D. and 916 A.D. Probably the poet Surānanda was a contemporary of the prince.
37. Tarala, the ornament of the Yāyāvaras, a work by whom was probably called Suvarṇabandha, by Rājasekhara (D.).
38. Śaṅkara, by Rājasekhara (D.)
39. Śīlabhaṭṭārikā, wrote in the Pāñcālī style like Bāṇa, by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
40. Vikāṣanītambā, by Rājasekhara (D. P.).

41. Vijayāṅkā, a Karpāṭī lady, wrote in the Vaidarbhi style like Kālidāsa, by Rājasekhara (D.).
 42. Prabhudevī, wrote in the Lāṭī style, by Rājasekhara (D.).
 43. Subhadrā, by Rājasekhara (D. P.).
 44. Vijjakā, a dark-complexioned lady Anonymous (D. P.).
 45. Amara
 46. Acala
 47. Abhinanda
- } (D.).
48. Devabodhi, a Yogin of great powers (D)
 49. Murāri. Anonymous (P.)
 50. Amaruka, by Arjunadeva (P)
 51. Bilhana. Anonymous (P)
 52. Māyāsārāsana by Loṣṭyasarvajña (P).
 53. Bhuṣagbhānu (P), the same as Vaidyabhānu, which is the name occurring at the end of verses quoted from his work in this anthology and the Padyaveṇī.
 54. Caura (P.)
 55. Harṣa (P.).

INDEX OF POETS WHOSE VERSES ARE GIVEN IN JAHLAṆA'S
SŪKTIMUKTĀVALI

The following is an index of the poets whose names are given at the end of the verses quoted in D together with the first lines or initial words of these verses. The numbers refer to the leaves of D. The references to P are indicated by that letter being prefixed

In folio 29b there is an omission of the nature of the two already noticed consequent on the scribe's not having one leaf of his original before him. Similar omissions of short or long passages there are in folios 45b, 144b, 150b, 162b, 164a and 190a. In these cases and also in the sections at the end which

are wanting in D, I have taken the poets and verses occurring in the shorter recension of the anthology as represented by P.

Wherever after the name of the poet the word एतौ or एते occurs, I have taken the two or more preceding verses to belong to him. But in many cases there are two or more verses at the end of which a poet's name occurs without एतौ or एते. Prima facie, this omission indicates that the last verse only belongs to the poet named, and the omission of the usual subscription of the author's name, or of कस्यापि when the name is unknown, under the preceding verses is due to the corruption of MSS. And from a comparison of D and P and from my knowledge of some of the works quoted from, I find this, as a general rule, actually to be the case. But it is possible that the एतौ or एते itself is omitted through a mistake, and this, too, I have found to be true in a case or two. The safest course under the circumstances is to take the last verse only as belonging to the author named, and this I have followed.

Acala

32 a अमुं कालक्षेपं त्यज जलद, b परभृतशिशो मौनं तावद्विधेहि,
107 a यदा त्वं चंद्रोर्मूर्धिमकरकला ।

Adbhutapunya

101 a आयाते दयिते मरुस्थलमुद्यामु०, P. 117 b आयाते दयिते
मनोरथशतैर्नीत्वा कयंचिद्दिनं ।

Anangabhīma

190 a एतस्मिन्मृगयां गतेपि धनुषाघाते ।

Andhanātha

39 b स्वरनस्वरशिस्वरदारित ।

Abhinandana

141 a एककैव निजवृंदमभ्यगा, लोचनैर्न कुमुदं स्न पीयते ।

Abhinavagupta

55 *a* भोमोः किं किमकांठ एष पतितः, 56 *a* कांतारं परितो
ज्वलत्यतिनले, 76 *a* शीतांशोरमृतच्छटा यदि कराः ।

Amarūka

61 *a* लग्नानां शुकपल्लवे भुजलता, *b* वृष्टः कातरनेत्रया धिरतरं,
कांति कथंचिद्भूदितप्रयाणे । 63 *a* प्रस्थानं वलयैः कृतं प्रियसलैः,
65 *a* तन्वग्या गुरुसंनिधौ नयनयोर्यद्वारि, 62 *a* लोलैर्लोचनधारिमिः
सशपथः, 66 *b* अलसषलितैः प्रेमाप्रार्द्रैः, 70 *a* पत्रं न भ्रवणे न
बाष्पगुरुणोर्नो नेत्रयोः कज्जलं । 73 *a* तैस्तैश्चाद्गमिराज्या किल तदा,
73 *b* पादांगुष्ठेन भूमिं किसलयरुचिना, याताः किं न मिळन्ति सुन्दरि
पुनः, 80 *a* अच्छिन्नं नयनाभु बंधुषु कृतं तापः सखीष्वाहितो ।
101 *b* दीर्घा बंदनमालिका विरचिता, 102 *a* स्फुटतु हृदयं कामः
कामं करोतु तनुं तनुं । *b* चकतु तरला वृष्टिर्मृष्टा खला सखि मेखला ।
वृषादुत्सुकमागते तरलितं संभाषिणि स्फारितं भ्रूमेदो गणितस्मिरं
नयनयोरभ्यस्तमाभीलनं । तद्वक्त्राभिमुखं मुखं धिनमितं, एकत्रासन-
संस्थितिः परिहृता । 104 *a* लिखन्नास्ते भूमिं बहिरवनतः प्राणदयितो ।
attributed to Amarūka elsewhere, संत्येषान्न गृहे गृहे
युवतयस्ताः पृच्छ गत्वाधुना । अंगुल्यग्रनखेन बाष्पसलिलं चिक्षिप्य,
these two attributed to Amarūka in P ; पादासके सुधिरमिह
ते, 105 *b* तथाभूदस्माकं प्रथममविमका, 107 *b* कठिनहृदये मुंच
स्नांति, 108 *b* यद्गम्यं गुरुगौरवस्य सुहृदो, सुतनु अहिहि कोपं पश्य
पादानतं मां । परिच्छाने माने मुखशशिनि तस्याः करधृते । 109 *a* पृष्टे
लोचनवन्मनारुमुकुलितं, 119 *a* मंदं मुद्रितपांशवः, 121 *b* राजौ
धारिमराळसांबुदरवो, 126 *a* नीचोच्चैर्निक्षिपंतः, 132 *a* लीला-
तामरसाहतोन्मथनितानिःशंकदद्याधरः । *b* ललितमुरसा तरंती, 137 *b*
प्रणयाविशदां वक्त्रे वृष्टिं ददाति न शंकिता, 146 *a* संदद्याधरपल्लवा
सषकितं हस्ताग्रमाधुन्वती । 147 *b* गाढाश्लेषविशीर्षबंधनरजः,
148 *b* कराकिसलयं धृत्वा धृत्वा, सुरतविरतौ व्रीडावेशभ्रमसूय-
हस्तया । 149 *b* एकस्मिन्नायने विपक्षरमणीनामग्रेह मुग्धया । 150 *a*

यकस्मिन्नायने पराङ्मुक्तया, P. 118 संदृष्टाधरपल्लवा सन्धकितं,
P. 123 *a* इदं कृष्णं कृष्णं प्रियतम ननु श्वेतमथ किं । *b* कोपात्कोमल-
लोल बाहुलिका, P. 124 *b* अहं तेनाहता किमपि कथयामीति
विजने । P. 125 *b* सुप्तोयं सखि सुप्यतामिति गताः ।

Amṛtadatta

30 *b* कोयं भ्रातिप्रकारस्तव पवन पदं, 16 *b* भक्तिप्रवृत्तिलोकन-
प्रणयिनी ।

Araṣṭhakura

7 *b* अतिविपुलं कुचयुगुलं, 96 *b* मन्येन तस्या विजितः कृशान्याः,
P. 122 *b* नरकं निरंकुशतया, 164 *b* दधिमथनविलोललोलहृग्वेणि-
दंभाद् । 171 *a* कान्तास्त्रैवगत्या कथमपि गलिता ।

Argaṭa or Argāṭha

P. 11 *b* विपुलहृदयामियोन्धे, P. 160 *a* रिक्ताः कर्मणि पटवः ।

Arjunadeva

P. 17 *a* अमरककवित्वडमरुक् ।

Avantivarman

135 *a* अविज्ञातविशेषस्य सर्वतोऽपहारिणः ।; poet's name in P,
not in D.

Āśvikumāra (two)

P. 159 अशीतेनामसा स्नानं

Ākāśapoli

75 *a* पञ्चत्वं तनुरेत् । 84 *a* प्रियादर्शनमेवास्तु । अस्या नेत्रपथं मन्ये ।
यस्मिन्पीडय विरिञ्चेन । तापकाठिन्यचलता । कैः दुरैः केन शैलेन । न
त्वरं भ्रमसे पुंसां । हतमोहादिमामस्यं । क्षीरसागरकल्लोललोल-
लोचनयानया । 89 *b* पाञ्चाली मिथुनेषु नातिरसिका । 137 *b* आवातासि
विमुञ्चयेपशुमरं ।

Ādityabhaṭṭa

169 b यथात्रासु प्रचुरचुरगमेणि ।

[Bhadanta—Ārogya]

103 a चर्मणे रचितेपि दृष्टिरधिकं सोत्कण्ठमुदीक्षते ।

Ichhaṭa

153 b अन्यस्य पवनविजयं, 154 b पितरि मृतेपि हि वेद्या रोदिति हा तात तातेति ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Indurāja

'21 b कुम्भद्वयं यदमरद्विरदस्य धोम्बात्, P. 39 b किंशुचितेन रजशां विक (?), 55 b उदस्योच्चैः पुच्छं शिरसि निहितं, 109 b सा यावन्ति पदाम्यलीकध्वनैराल्लीजनैः पाठिता । P. 117 वृद्धनिबिडित-
भ्याजैः कांची, 183 a उद्देशोयं कनकसिफताफोमकैकांतकांता ।
b उपपरिसरं गोदावरीः परित्यजताज्जगाः ।

Indrakavi

5 b चूडोत्तंसितचारुचंद्रकलिका, 8 b वैत्यानामधिपे नखांकुरकुटी,
सेर्यं स्थली नवमुणांकुरजालमेतत्, 44 a यच्चंद्रार्धविभूषणः पशुपतिः,
स्वस्त्यस्तु विद्रुमवनाय, 47 a स्तोकांशः परिवर्तितांगशफरप्रासारिणः
सर्वतो । 160 a रामः किं कुरुते न किंचिदपि च ।

Uḍḍiyakavi

P. 115 b गाढालिंगनपूर्वमेकमनया द्यूते जितं चुंबनं ।

Utprekṣavallabha

11 a कल्याणमावहतु वः शिष्योः शरीरं । P. 12 a संत्येव
सूकिरसिका बहवो मनुष्याः । 64 b अस्त्रं विमुच्य सकलं प्रथमप्रयोगे ।
66 b बाळे प्रियेण विरहासव कर्शिताया [ऽ] । 68 a कालं पुरा
गरलमंभुनिधेरुदस्थात् । 86 a कृष्णेण कापि गुरुजैव जगानुरोधेणात् ।
काचिसिवारितवर्हिर्गमना जगन्त्या । काचिशिष्टस्य किञ्च, 9 b पंकोद्भव-

त्वपरिवादमयान्मुगास्या [i] । 98 b मुकेरपि प्रियतमा, 101 b येनैव
सुखितनवाभ्युदयप्रसंगा । 129 a कर्जोत्पलाशयनमाप, पूर्वं विरेफ-
परिभूयमयात् । P. 124 b यानि द्रव्यंति विरेहे विदलंति यानि ।
न्यस्तानि शंसवलयानि करे कयाचित् ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Upamanyu

135 a सांध्यरागरुचिरारुणमारात् ।

Umāpatadhara

9 b हिमगिरितनयामयार्द्धमूर्तिः, P. 18 b स्वाधीनो रसनांशुलः,
41 b करमदयिते, 42 a करम रमसा क्रोष्टुं वाञ्छस्य०, यस्याः संभृत-
सालवालवलयं, 50 a अर्काः केचन केचिदक्षतरवः, 54 दिक्चक्रं
तृणमस्सना, 55 b त्वं चेत्संचरसे वृषेण लघुता का नाम दिग्दन्तिनां ।
73 प्रियायाः प्रत्यूषे, 75 b मृणालीहारोयं न भुजगपतिः, 160 b
नियंतव्याः केन स्ववशरसनावल्लिसुभगा । 184 b तेनास्मानि
जलावगाहनरसव्यासकपौरांगमा ।

Kaṭ(ṭu)kāḍitya

113 b अमी हेळोन्मेषव्यसनिषु पलाशेषु ।

Kamalākara

179 a अवाप्तैर्द्राविज्ञा, करिकवलनशिष्टैः ।

Kamalaśyudha

125 b लघुनि तृणकुटीरे क्षेत्रकोणे यवानां ।

Karpūrakavi

41 a तुभ्यं दासेर दासीयं बदरी यदि रोषते ।

Kalaśa

74 a निद्रार्द्धमीकितदृशो मदमन्थराणि । 132 a आत्तमात्तमधि-
कांतमुक्षि ।

Kaliṅga

126 *a* हृणीसीमंतमुद्रां सपदि तरलयन्, 159 *b* शत्रोः भोजपथेन नः कति कति प्राञ्चः, 183 *b* वैतंडभ्रवणाप्रचंडपवन ।

Kavikeli

15 *a* उद्धूय धूलीर्धवली रसातलात् ।

Kaviratna

21 *a* स्फटिकमरकतश्रीहारिणोः प्रीतियोगात् । (the name of the poet from P.) 45 *b* शंखाः संति सहस्रशो जलनिधेः ।

Kavīśvara

161 *b* शुंडादंडप्रहारप्रपदविघटिताः, रक्तं नक्तं चरैवः पिबति च वमति ।

Kāmandaka

84 *a* नामापि स्त्रीति संवादि विकरोत्येव मानसं ।

Kalidāsa

P. 15 *b* जाते जगति बालमीकौ । 71 *a* प्रत्यादिष्टविशेषमंडनविधिः, रम्यं द्वेष्टि यथा पुरा प्रकृतिभिः, 72 *a* अमिमुखं मयि संहतमीक्षितं, क्षिग्धं वीक्षितमन्यतोपि नयने, 74 *b* काकार्यं शशलक्ष्मणः कच कुलं, 82 *a* संक्षिप्यंते क्षणमिष कथं दीर्घयामास्त्रियामाः । एतस्मान्मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानवानाद्विदित्वा । 86 *a* चित्रे निवेद्य परिकल्पितसत्त्व-योगा । 91 *b* स्नानार्द्रमुकेष्वनुधूपवासं । 97 *a* मध्येन सा वेदिविलम्ब-मभ्या । 110 *a* अग्रे स्त्रीनस्त्रपादलं कुरवकं, 125 *a* द्वित्रि (त्र) मुमुकुदमुकुलमिषतुर, 128 *b* चलापांगां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो, आश्लिष्टबालतरुपल्लवलोमनीयं । 129 *a* यतो यतः पद्मरजो विवर्तते । लोलां दृष्टिमितस्ततो विमज्जते, 131 *a* पयोधराकारधरो हि कंतुकः । 133 *a* एता गुरुभ्रोणिपयोधरत्वात् । 135 *a* शुद्धमाचिलमवस्थितं, 137 *b* शिरसा प्रणिपत्य याचितानि । रजनीतिमिरावगुंठिते पुरमाणे 150 *b* नचा इव प्रवाहो विषमशिला, 151 *b* तन्वी इयामा शिखर-

दशना, अपि तुरगसमीपावुत्पतंतं मयूरं । 175 *b* यदाळोके सूक्ष्मं
 व्रजति, मुकेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकायाः । अयमरविचरेभ्यः, 176 *b*
 तीव्राघातप्रतिमुखतरस्कंधमग्नैकदंतः । 189 *b* व्याघ्रानभीरमिमुखो-
 त्पतितागुहाभ्यः । लक्ष्मीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभावः । अपि तुरग-
 समीपावुत्पतंतं मयूरं । परिचयं बल उद्धनिपातने । मेदळेदृशोदरं,
 191 *a* नीवापाः शुक्लगर्मकोटरमुखम्रष्टास्तरुणामधः । *a* बल्मीकाग्र-
 निमग्नमूर्तिरुरग, प्राणानामानिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता ।

Kuntalapati (v l. Sihalapati)

79 *a* चित्राय त्वयि धितिते ततमुवा चक्रे नतज्यं धनुः ।

Kumbhaka

90 *b* तरंतीबांगानि स्खलदमललावण्यजलधौ ।

Kumārādāsa

95 *a* कांतिप्रकर्ष[?] दशनच्छदेन संच्याघने बद्धपदं हरंत्याः । *b* नाथं
 शशी तत्प्रतिरूपमन्यत् । 96 *b* वपुः प्रकर्षादुपचीयमान । 98 *b* पश्य-
 न्हतो मन्मथबाणपातैः । 105 *a* बाळे नाथ विमुञ्च मानिनि रुषं,
 (poet's name given as Śrīkumāra in P.) 132 *a* अंतर्जला-
 वारितमूर्तिघाता । P. 114 *a* नियतमिह पतंति दंतधार । 184 *b*
 प्रचंडघातोपरमेन निमग्नं । 191 तेजसा तपसो दीप्तः । 192 *a* शिरः
 प्रदेशलंबिन्या ।

Kumuda

16 *a* इदं कौस्तुभोज्जासि ।

Kṛṣṇapilla

113 *b* कावेरीवारिवेष्टहृदि, P. 122 *b* अंगैरनंगभममुखहृदिः ।

Kṛṣṇamīra

15 *a* मुक्ताभा नृकपाल, 59 *a* इदमपद्म कपाटं ।

Kokkoka

P. 156 *a* विलसदमलदीपे पुष्पदामावकीर्णं ।

Kṣemendra

7 *b* जयति स नामिसरोरुहमधुकरपटलैः, 14 *a* सुवर्षगिरिकर्षिके
तरलतारकाफेसरे । 16 *b* आदिमत्स्यः स जयतात् । 24 *b* दानोद्यता
श्रीः भुतमप्रमादं । 28 *a* चीनेष्व श्लेषहीनस्य । *b* यत्करोत्यसि केशं ।
उक्तं परस्यामिषतां । व्यर्थं भुतमलसस्य । यद्वर्ज्यते परिकुशैः । 61 *a*
अङ्गेनाबलासंगाज्जिता, 69 *b* अवधिदिवसः प्राप्तध्यायं, poet here
called Kṣemeśvara in P.—77 *a* अङ्गेनङ्गज्वरदुतवहस्यधुवि
ध्यानमुद्रा । 92 *b* पुङ्ढरीकमिवाभाति नासार्वशगमौक्तिकं । author's
name in P.—115 *a* मित्रां कायच्छायां ध्रुयति महिषः, 116 *b*
आध्मातोद्धतदावधन्विहसुहृदः, P. 114 *a* दृश्यते पानकेलीषु । 145 *a*
वामस्फंघनिषण्णशाङ्गकुटिल, 147 *a* अकृत्रिमविद्यासाङ्गं । 154 *a*
काकाह्यौल्यं यमात्कौर्यं । *b* कलशाद्रिनिर्गत, इतिषेधी सिद्धो मे ।
प्रथमं स्ववित्तमखिलं । उत्तिष्ठति नमति वणिक्, 155 *a* भगदत्तप्रभा-
वाढ्या । P. 161 *b* दक्षस्युदिततेजसां, हृदोदलननिश्चलैः ।

Gaṇapati-kavi.

14 *a* यायाद्भ्रजैर्ब्रह्मदनः ।

Gādhikabhallūka

118 *a* पञ्चैषोर्जयघोषणा गुणनिधेः ।

Gelpandita

166 *a* संख्यातुं यदि दानमस्य नृपतेः, लूतस्तत्र पिनद्ध ।

Goidhoi-kavirāja

132 *b* निजलयनप्रतिविंबैरंजुनि ।

Gotrānanda

7 *a* क्रीडासरोषगिरिजाचरणारविद् । 75 *a* हे यामिनीश जडिमा
कतमस्तवैष । *b* स संतापः क्रूरः कुसुमसुमगा साङ्गलतिका । 77 *a*
भ्रासेषु प्रथिमा मुखं करतलं, 94 *a* विभ्राणो मृगसख्यमेव किमपि,
100 *b* तद्वक्त्रस्य कलङ्कं येष तुलना, 105 *a* येन श्रोत्ररसायनं, 134 *b*

आपृष्टोसि व्यथयति मनो दुर्बला वासरभीः। मित्रे कापि गते सरोरुह-
क्षणे बन्धानने ताम्यति। उद्गाढप्रणवे रक्षां परिबृढे, 137 a केतः
कातरतां जहीहि, 141 a जाते यौवनपीनघाति शशिनि।

(Bhadanta-?) Gopadatta

192 b शार्दूलौ जेह्गर्मे मुकुळितनयना लेडि शाधं हरिण्याः।

Gobhaṭa

24 a अनुहरतः खलसुजनावप्रिमपाश्चात्यभाग्योः सूच्याः। (the
first Pāda from P.) 26 b उपकारमसंप्राप्य तुष्येत्साधुः, सवर्षा-
हानिराकाशां (शः)। वंदितोऽप्येष दोषाय। अपूर्वः कोपि कोपाभिः।
(author called Gobhaṭa here).

Govardhanācārya

P. 127 b अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवचने स एव परिहासः।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Govindarāja

36 a निजकुलोचितचेष्टितमात्मनो।

Caturmukhamahādeva

55 b विष्णो त्वया द्विजपति।

Candraka

21 a येन ध्वस्तमनोमयेन, 107 b प्रसादे वर्तस्व प्रकटय मुदं,
134 b एकेनाह्णा प्रविततरुषा।

Candrakavi

31 a जलधर जलभरनिकरैः।

Īādheśvara

100 b अतो यतौगादपयाति कंजुकः।

Oiyāka

71 b अहो अहं नमो महां। 74 b प्रथमधिरहस्तेद्व्यापिनी यत्र
षाळा।

Chittappa

P. 3 *b* भूत्ये वोस्तु कपालवाम जगतां, D. (10 *b*) gives the latter half only. विभं स्रस्यति etc. 11 *b* कल्पान्ते शमितत्रिविक्रम-महाकंकाल, 37 *b* निरानन्दं कौवे मधुनि विधुरो, 165 *a* अभ्युदृता वसुमती दक्षितं रिपूरः । 168 *a* यस्याधो गगनं रसातलमुपर्यमोघयो-म्यन्तरे ।

Jaghanasthalibaṭuka

98 *a* वपुरनुपदं नामेरुर्ष्व विधाय मृगीदृष्टो ।

Jayagupta

123 *b* द्वयमिदमत्यंततमं ।

Jayatungodaya or Jayatunga

9 *a* सूक्ष्माय शुचये तस्मै । 68 *b* किं ते न संति गिरयः । 88 *a* समं विहासौकुरितः स्तनाभ्यां ।

Jayadeva

11 *b* गिरितनयैकपयोधरनिहिततनुः, P. 12 *b* अपि मुदमुपयातो वाग्बिहासैः ।

Jayamādhava

128 *a* उच्चित्य प्रथममवस्थितं मृगाक्षी पुष्पोधं ।

Jayavardhana

P. 160 *b* नाकस्यप्रसरो जडेण्वपि कृता ।

Jaladeva

84 *b* विनैषांमोवाहं बहलदधि ।

Jalamānuṣṭrudra

181 *a* एतस्माज्जलधेर्जलस्य कणिका ।

Jāika

164 *b* अंगुष्ठाग्रिमवकितांगुलिरधः ।

Jitamanyu

168 b दिग्भारणे सुरबधूपरिगीयमान ।

Jivanāga

41 b कुमुदशबलैः फुल्लामोजैः सरोमिरकंकटां ।

Jhalajjhalavāsudeva

61 b ग्रहरविरतौ मध्ये बान्धः ।

Dumboka

74 b पुरस्तन्व्या गोत्रस्सलनचकितो, 83 b नायातो यदि तादृशं स शपथं कृत्वा ।

Tarunabāpa

64 a मदकलकलकंडकंडनाद ।

Trilocana

24 b कृष्यंति चारुरितैः सुजनस्य संतः ।

Trivikramabhaṭṭa

P. 14 b शम्भुद्वानद्वितीयेन, 15 b सिंदूरस्पृहया स्पृशंति करिणी-
कुंमस्थमाधोरणाः । 71a हृद्योद्यानमरुसरंगितसरस्तीरे, कर्पूरांशुनि-
षेकमाजि, 77a त्वद्देशागतमारुतेन मृदुना संजातरोमांशया । 86 b
अमंक्षामंक्षनिर्ष्यद् । सर्गव्यापारशीलस्य । दग्धो विविर्विचसे । लावण्य-
पण्यपरमाणुदलं, 87 b भजन्नासीभिद्रापरेष्वयमुपेन्द्रः, 88 a
परिहरति वयो यथा यथास्याः, 89 b कुरंगीवांगानि स्तिमितयति
गीतध्वनिषु यत् । 93a आबन्धन्यपरिवेषमंडलमलं, 97 a मध्ये
त्रिबलीत्रिपथं पीवरकुचचत्वरे च धवलदृशां । 99 b आकारः स
मनोहरः, 101 b किञ्चित्कंपितपाणिकंकणरवैः पृष्ठं ननु स्वागतं ।
132 b अविरतमिदममः स्वेच्छयोच्छालयंत्याः । 133 b पूर्वार्धं
विदितोदया, 134 a विस्तेषाकुलचक्रवाकमिथुनैः, 136 b किमु
कुवलयनेत्राः संति नो नाकनार्यः । 137 a विकलयति कलाकुशलं ।
न गम्बो मंत्राणां न च भवति मैषज्यविषयो । पौष्पाः पंच शराः

शरासनमपि, 140 *b* कैलासायितमद्रिमिर्घिटपिमिः, 182 *b* पषा सा
विध्यमध्यस्थलविपुलशिखो, 186 *a* जगनीतिमुदितमनसा । 189 *a*
किं स्याद्वजनपर्वतः स्फटिकयोः, किमभवः पार्श्वेषु, 190 *a* कश्चिच्च-
द्रुलकोकिलाकलितनूतनूतान्कुरं । पटलमल्लिकुलानां, स्कंधशाखांतरा-
ल्लेषु । P. 155 *b* प्रियविरहविषादस्यौषधं ।

Danḍin

131 *a* वनिताकरतामरसामिहतः पतितः पतितः पुनरुत्पतति ।
173 *a* न मया गोरसामिहं ।

Darpaṇarāghava

P. 122 *a* निजांशुकावृतां प्रार्चीं शुंबस्यकैलुरागिणि ।

Dāmodaragupta

154 *b* अविदग्धः भ्रमकठिनो । शृणु सखि कौतुकमेकं ।

Dīpaka

9 *a* युवासि (क यासि) खलु चौरि मत्प्रमुषितं स्फुटं दृश्यते ।
31 *b* हृद्या नद्यः कमलसरसी राजहंसावतंसा । 153 *b* कोशं कुशो-
दायति काशाय । 154 *a* सकाणं लोलनेत्रं कुलयुवतिमुखं ।

Durlabharāja

P. 158 *b* अतिकृष्णेष्वतिगौरेष्वति, यदंतुरेपि मूर्खो रोमचितो ।
इन्दियुतो यदीर्घो, वक्रानुगतं रूपं ।

Devagupta

64 *a* विद्वन्मतापोपशमार्थमंगे ।

Devabodhi

19 *a* चंद्रार्कौ यावद्वंद्वीमवदमरसरित्, 85 *a* तमस्तोमः पूर्वं
तदनु सकलः शीतलरुचिः ।

Devarāja

P. 125 *b* अये को जानीते मित्रपुरुषसंगोपि न तथा ।

Dhanamjaya

174 a सर्वस्वापहरो न दस्युकुलजः ।

Dhanapāla

11 a ऋक्षाणां भूरिघाम्नां भित्तमधिपतिना, 12 a अस्थीन्यस्थीन्य-
जिनमाज्ज, P. 14 b माघेन विज्ञितोत्साहाः । P. 15 a केचलोपि
स्फुरन्वाणः ।

Dharma

182 b हेलोन्मूलितनर्तितप्रतिहतव्यावर्तितप्रेरित ।

Dharmakīrti

87 a लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणितः केशो महान्स्वीकृतः । 105 b
मधु विदितं व्यर्थालापैरलं प्रिय गम्यतां ।

Dharmadāsa

172 b शीकरासारसंघाही । पूतिपंकमयेत्यर्थे । अमोहहमये ज्ञात्वा ।
शिखीमुखैस्त्वया वीर ।

Dharmadeva

170 b हारानाहर देवचंद्र धवलान् ।

Dharmāsoka

P. 13 a अनुवृष्टः शब्दैरथ च घटनातः स्फुटतराः । 168 b
निःसृत्याह (परः) सागरात्, 171 a देव स्वस्तुति ?

Dhārmala

P. 142 a आसे सीमंतरत्ने मरकतिनि हृते हेमताडकपत्रे ।
(anonymous in Śārngadhara , not in D).

Dhūtimādhava

129 b अत्रास्मिन् सुतनु कतागृहे ।

Nandana

77 b चंद्रं चंदनकंदमेव लिखितं ।

Naradevavarman

155 *b* आदाय मांसमखिलं स्तनवर्जितं मे ।

Narasimha

54 *b* इतः काफानीलं प्रतिभयमितः, 55 *a* गतमतिजवाद्भ्रातं सर्वं, किमसि विमताः किञ्चोन्मादी क्षणादपि लक्ष्यते ।

Nāgappayya

46 *b* विपन्नं पश्चिन्या स्मृतमनिमिषैः ।

Nācīrāja

. 95 *b* अस्याः स्तितं प्रणयिपूर्णमुखेदुर्विष । 111 *a* निर्वाणांगार-संघैरिष, P 121 *b* उत्पालं (?) हेळयैष द्रुतमभिपततः (poet named Nivirāja).

Nāthakumāra

110 *b* बाणानंकुरयन्ति पुष्पधनुषो धीरस्य, 130 *a* बलकुचतटां-शुकभ्रवण, प्रत्यासन्नसखीकरांजुजयुग, P. 126 *b* मलपदकलेषु कामिनीनां । 155 *a* दुर्दर्शैः रूपैः फले (?) यदि भवेत्, 186 *a* यत्सौघभृंगारसरोजराग ।

Nīdrādaridra

74 *a* जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वमेघ इष्टा मया ।

Nīśānārāyaṇa*

107 *b* कृतककृतकैर्मायाशाठ्यैस्त्वया, किं कंठे शिथिलीकृतो भुजलतापाशः 157 *a* अक्षत्रारिकृताभिमन्युनिघन, *b* कृतमनुकृतं दृष्टं वा धैरिदं गुरुपातकं । यत्सत्यव्रतमंगमीरुमनसा ।

Naimeya or Naimayya

24 *b* यदमी दशन्ति दशना रसना तत्स्वादु फलमवामोति । 53 *a* शाखा संततिसंनिवृद्धनमसो ।

* Perhaps the same as the author of the Venīsamhāra, the 2nd, 4th and 5th of the following verses occur in that play.

Pāṇini

119 b क्षपाः क्षामीकृत्य, 139 b उपोढरागेण विलोकितारक ।

Punaruktapaṇḍita

27 a पञ्चाद्व्यत्युरञ्जान्यत्युनरुक्मवादिष (the name of the author from P).

Puṣpadanta

P. 156 a अंघ्री प्रेमनिबंधनैकनिपुणा छाटी विदग्धप्रिया ।

Prthvidhara

60 a उच्चैर्देवादिह पशुपतौ भूषणीभूय तिष्ठन् । 63 b सा तोरणां-
तिकमुपेत्य दिशो विलोक्य । 183 a पातुं गौतमि चारि तावकमिदं
पीयूषनिर्दूषणं । मातर्गौतमि कीर्तिकल्पलतिके ।

Prakāśavarga

31 b अयि जलद् यदि न दास्यसि । यद्भृतां लघुतृणैरपि
बद्धमूलं । एतद्ग्न पथिकैकजीवितं । 55 b आज्ञाः किं फलभारनम्र-
शिरसो, P. 159 b स्तब्धप्रकृतिलोके ।

Prajñānanda

151 a यत्रावकाशलेशोस्ति । 177 a अनूनवेगाद्यमद्वितीय ।

Pradīpavasumdhara

80 a विद्यासिन्नासीने प्रतिवसति ।

Prabodhacandrodaya

19 a येन त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः ।

Prahlāda

31 a एकस्य तस्य मन्ये । जलद्ः समुद्रसेवामाचरति, 49 b गाता
कोकिल पथ ज्ञाता च, वहसि बालभुजां कुलानि मौलौ । उचंसकौतुक-
रसेन विद्यासिनीनां । यो दृष्टः स्फुटदस्थिसंपुटमिषात्, 50 a
मूर्तिर्नैत्ररसायनं यदि कुतः, 53 b महेशस्त्वां धसे शिरसि ।

Prahlādana

30 *a* रविरधिकलं न्नाद्यापात्रं, 31 *b* स शारो जलधिः, 49 *b* पारेषरःशताः संति महान्तो, 56 *b* रोहणाचलशैलेषु कस्तुकां, P. 25 *b* आलोकवतः संत्येव । P. 18 *b* जडात्मापि भवत्युच्चैराध्व-
न्महतां परं । P. 163 *b* प्रियः प्रजानां वतैव ।

Bāṇabhaṭṭa

5' *a* नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंवि । 7 *a* हरकंडप्रहानंद । 14 *a* वाचः कौषरिपोः
शिशुत्वविकलाः श्रेयांसि पुण्णंतु वः । (last line, the first and
probably some other verses being on leaf 13, which is
lost.) स्वेच्छारम्यं लुठित्वा पितुरुरसि, P. 14 *a* सूत्रधारकृतारंभः,
कवीनामगलहर्षो, P. 14 *b* कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य, 64 *a* दुःखानि
संदिशन्त्याः । 2 *a* नूनमाज्ञाकरस्तस्याः सुधुषो मकरध्वजः । यथा
यथास्याः स्तनयोः समुन्नतिः । सन्मार्गे तावदास्ते प्रमथति पुरुषस्ताव-
देवेंद्रियाणां । (P has the first two only of these and they
are anonymous). 116 *b* कारंजीः कूल (ज) यंतो निजजठररच,
सर्वाशारुचि दग्धवीरुधि, 117 *a* ग्रीष्मोष्मप्लोषशुष्यत्यसि, भ्राम्य-
षीत्कारचक्रभ्रममरितघटीयंत्रचक्रप्रमुक्तं । 118 *b* गंभीरोद्भ्रजितेन
त्रिभुवनविवरं व्याप्य, 121 *b* नृत्यद्वर्हिणि र्दुर्गारचपुषि, 126 *b*
अन्योन्याहतदतनादमुखरं प्रब्धं मुखं, 127 *b* पुण्यामौ पूर्णवांछः,
147 *b* पतन्तु तवोरसि सततं । 177 *a* पञ्चादङ्गि प्रसार्य त्रिकनति-
विततं, 180 *a* नाघन्यानां निवासं विदधति गिरयः ।

Bilhāṇa

6 *a* देहार्जं कुरु पार्वति स्थिरपदं, 15 *a* देहप्रविष्टाद्रिसुतामुखेदु ।
P. 12 *a* कर्णामृतं, सूकिरसं विमुच्य, 21 *a* गृहीतखंडः शशि-
शेखरेण । *b* वचांसि वाचस्पतिमत्सरेण । P. 18 *a* चिकत्वां रे
कलिकाक याहि विलयं । 22 *a* कंकापतेः संकुचितं यशो यत्, *b*
असौ रसौचित्यगुणोज्ज्वलोपि, 39 *b* मातंगैः किमु बलितैः, क्षेत्राः
संतु समासदः (attributed to Bhimapaṇḍita in P.) 40 *a*
येनानर्गलकालकेलिवलित (attributed to Bherībhaṅkāra in

P.) ग्रामाणामुपशान्त्यसीमनि, (no name after this in P.) 49 a सोढप्रौढहिमममातिशनकैः, 65 b शीघ्रं भूमिगृहे गृहाण वसतिं, 66 a यत्संभाषणलालसैव कुरुषे, 67 b शान्त्यानि मर्माण्यपि कीलितानि, 68 a मुग्धस्य ते वद विजुंमुद, चंद्रो न वेदहति ते सखि, ज्योत्स्नां पिबेयुः कियतीं चकोराः । 69 b विरक्तमन्यप्रमदानुरक्तं । अपूजितै-
वास्तु गिरिद्रकन्या । 70 a तस्य त्वया कर्कशावादिनोपि । स वृत्ति घृष्टे यदि रोषणत्वं । वृथा गाथाश्लोकैः, 76 a घर्माशुर्भगवानसूत यमुना, प्राक्षेयाद्विस्वरितमुरसि, 78 a उन्मीलंति नक्षैर्लुनीहि, वाचस्तावद-
पेक्षते पिक्युषा, b वृष्टे वृष्टिमधीतविभ्रमलवा, नीरागामृतलांछने मुखमपि, स्पृशंस्याः क्षामत्वं मदनकर, गृहीतं तांबूलं परिजन, तीव्रः कोपि विजुंमते 79 a गलत्येका मूर्च्छा, 84 b अये केयं लीलावधलं-
गुह, पुरः स्थित्वा किंचिद्वलित, 85 b मन्ये पार्षणचंद्रमध्यशकलेना, 86 b वक्त्रं निर्मलमुन्नता कुचतटी, 89 a गंडे मंडनमात्मनैव कुल्ले, लास्याभ्यासमिवेष चित्रमनया, b दोलायां जघनस्थलेन चलता, 92 a झुलेखायुगुलं भाति । b पुराणबाणत्यागाय । 93 b भाति दंतच्छदेनास्याः । 95 a अयं त्रयाणां ग्रामाणां । सरले अपि दोल्लेखे । b अंगुलीभिः कुरंगास्याः । मुखेदुर्चंद्रिकापूरप्लाव्य मानौ पुनःपुनः । तत्कुक्षौ चरतः किंचिन्नूनं मनसिज्ज-
वतं ॥ 96 b दरिद्रमुदरं दृष्ट्वा । 97 a भाति रोमाली तस्याः । b मन्ये समासलावण्ये । 98 a तजितंबस्य निदति । b मन्ये तदूरु संभाष्य । हेममञ्जीरमालाभ्यां । 99 a अमृत्यस्य मम स्वर्णतुलाकोटि, जाग्रतः कमलालक्ष्मीं । तस्याः पादनलभेणिः । 111 a स्थाने स्थाने मलयमरुतः, मानप्रथिकवर्धनाय कथिताः, b श्रोत्रस्यामृतनिर्मलैकवसति, 112 b कृतप्रकोपाः पवनाशनानां । मलयगिरिसमीराः सिंहल, पानीयं नाळिकेरीफलकुहर, 113 a तन्वानः शीतलत्वं, 117 b विद्युत्पंकज-
खंडपंकपटली, 122 a अथोपगृहे शरदा शशांकैः, 123 a नीलनीर-
दनिचोळ, 124 b शरत्कालातपलास्त । 125 a जडात्मापि स्वकालस्थः । समक्षमपि सूर्यस्य । मद्भैरिणः कठोरांशोः । b अमवन्ननुतोष्माणः । 127 a अंगारहासिषु विलासगृहोदरेषु । b पृ (स्पृ) द्या स्तोक्तं

वितस्तास्त (त) टुहिनकणैः, 128 *b* अताडयत्यल्लवपाणिमैका ।
 असंख्यपुष्पोपि मनोभवस्य । 130 *a* सौंदर्यमिदीवरलोचनानां । *b*
 प्रसार्य पादौ विहितस्थितानां । उल्लस्य दूरं मुहुरानमंत्यः । 133 *b*
 शुचिरिति परितः प्रसिद्धभाजि । 136 *b* मधुर्मांसो रम्यो विपिनमज्जं
 त्वं च तरुणी । 138 *a* कृत्वा नूपुरमूकतां चरणयोः, (The poet here
 called Kāśmīri-Bilhana.) *b* अमिसरणरसः कृशांगयष्टेः 141 *b*
 यथा, ताराचक्रं चरति परितः, (attributed apparently to
 Murāri, but to Bilhana in P.) 144 *b* लीलामीलनतो
 विलोचनयुगे गच्छन्ति, काकुत्स्थेन शिरांसि यानि शतशः, पश्यंतु
 कौतुकमिदं सकलाः कर्पीद्राः । P. 121 ये कुंठीकृतवल्लभप्रणतयः,
 150 *a* यः सैन्यैः स्वरपार्थिवस्य, P. 124 *a* नाडीदलं काचनकर्ण-
 [पा]शे । 156 *a* हा वत्स क्व गतोसि देहि वचनं, 157 *a*
 अत्राकटं विलुठ सलिले निर्जला भूः पुरस्तात् । 160 *a* संधानक्षण
 एव राघवशरैः, 168 *b* सिद्धांगनास्तव यशांसि रतांतरेषु । उग्रप्राह-
 मुदन्वतो जलमतिक्रामत्यनालंबिनि । 186 *b* उष्मायमाणनवयौवन-
 मुग्धभावाः । मन्ये विशालायतवेवचीयी । प्रत्यष्टमि प्रतिचतुर्दश
 तीर्थयात्रा । यस्मिन्पुरे निवसतामयमेव लामो । 187 *a* मुखरमुरजं
 पौरस्त्रीभिः, 190 *a* स्वेच्छाविहाररसिकस्य वनस्थलीषु ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Brjaka

110 *a* असौ मरुभुंभितचारुकेसरः । 125 *a* हिमचवळदंतकेशी ।

Bhartṛmeptha

P. 127 *a* मधु च विकसितोत्पलावतंसं ।

Bhartṛhari

25 *b* ब्रह्मांडमंडलीमात्रं किं लोमाय मनस्विनः । कुसुमस्तवकस्येव
 द्वयी वृत्तिः, 26 *a* कश्चित्कथामाली कश्चिदपि च दिव्यांबरधरः । 28 *a*
 ते तावत्कृतिनः परार्थनिरताः स्वार्थस्य बाधेन ये मध्यास्तेपि
 परोपकारनिरताः स्वार्थाविरोधेन ये । तेमी मातुषराक्षसाः परहितं
 यैः स्वार्थतो हन्यते ये तु &c, जाळं ह्रीमति गण्यते प्रतरुचौ वंभः,

121 *a* उपरि घनं घनपटलं तिर्यगिरयो, 174 *b* यावत्स्वस्थमिदं शरीरमरुजं ।

Bharvu

126 *b* गौरीविभ्रमधूपधूमपटलद्वयामायमानोदराः ।

[Bhatta-]Bhallaṭa

P. 25 *a* गते तस्मिन्मनौ त्रिभुवन, 30 *b* ये आत्मा लघवः सदैव गणनां प्राप्ता न ये कुत्रचित् (attributed to Bhallaṭa in P.) 35 *b* पथि निपततां शून्ये दृष्टा, 36 *b* तद्देव्यं समुदितपयस्तोयतत्त्वं विवेकुं । 37 *a* मा गा विषादमलिपोतक, *b* सोपूर्वो रसनाविषय-विधिः, 47 *b* अंतश्छिद्राणि भूयांसि कंटका बहवो बहिः । 53 *a* चंदने विषधरास्सहामहे ।

Bhavabhūti

62 *b* त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे इदं द्वितीयं । 64 *a* परिमृदितमृणा-लीम्भानमंगं प्रवृत्तिः । 70 *b* गमनमलसं शून्या दृष्टिः, यदिवावानंदं प्रणयिनि जने, 71 *a* धत्ते चक्षुर्मुकुलिनि, 72 *b* प्रेमाग्राः प्रणयस्पृहाः परिचयात्, संमूयैव सुखानि चेतसि परं, 73 *a* यदैवारम्यांतः पदमुपहितं पद्मलदृशा । 75 *a* अमय अलदानंमोगर्मान्, 75 *b* वलयतु इदं गाढोन्नेदं द्विधा तु न मिचते । 76 *a* परिच्छेदातीतः सकलवचनानामविषयः । 105 पुरश्चक्षुरागस्तदनु मनसोनन्यपरता । 108 *a* धिनिच्छेतुं शक्यो न सुखमिति वा दुःखमिति वा । 133 *a* अलनिषिद्धितवस्त्रव्यकनिष्प्रतामिः । 147 *a* किमपि किमपि मंदं मंदमाससियोगात् । P. 134 *b* उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य कृत्ति, 162 *b* भयतः संधिनिर्मुक्तमादौ, (3rd line of the verse beginning with निष्ठा-पस्विचदस्नः) अंशैः कल्पितमंगलप्रतिसराः, 163 *b* दोर्वृद्धांचितचंद्र-शेखरचतुः, 179 *a* गुंजत्कुंजकुटीरकौशिकवटा, 184 *a* इह समद-शकुंताक्रांतधानीर, 188 *b* कठोरपारावतकंठमेवकं । दृष्टिस्तृणीकृत-जगत्त्रयसस्वसारा । 189 *a* त्रातुं लोकानिव परिणतः, 192 *b* उत्पत्तिर्जमदक्षितः स भगवान् देवः, ज्योतिर्ज्वालाप्रलयजटिल ।

Bhāgavata Jayavardhana

143 *b* लावण्यपूरपरिपूरितदिङ्मुखेस्मिन् ।

Bhāravi

26 *a* अभिमानघतो मनस्विनः प्रियमुच्चैः, अभिमानघनस्य गत्वरैः ।
b अपवादादमीतस्य । 131 *a* एकोपि त्रय इव भाति कंदुकोसौ,
 P 159 *b* अभिद्रोहेण भूतानामर्जयन् ।

Bhāsa

141 *a* कपाले मार्जारः पय इति कराण्डेडि शशिनः । 91 *b* अस्या
 ललाटे रचिता सखीभिः ।

Bhāskara

122 *a* कदा नु कन्यागमनप्रवादं ।

Bhāskaravarman

191 *b* बद्धासन्नासनानि स्थिरतरतनवः ।

Bhīma

58 *b* गंभीरस्य महाशयस्य, 115 *b* कानि स्थानानि दग्धान्यति-
 शयगहनाः ।

Bhīmabhaṭṭa, or Bhīmaṭa (P)

78 *a* अस्मिन्मंद्रमसि प्रसन्नमहसि ।

Bhīmasūnḥapaṇḍita

150 *b* संसारः प्रतिभाति येन सरसः ।

Bhūtimādhava

6 *a* करस्पर्शारंभात्पुलकितपृथुरोजकलशे ।

Bheribhānkāra

6 *b* उच्चैरस्तालखेलङ्गुजवन 11 *b* स्पृष्टव्याकृष्टदंष्ट्राधिकटमुख,
 कल्पांतक्रोधनस्य त्रिपुरविजयिनः, 33 *a* येनानंदमये वसंतसमये,
 169 *b* सप्तानामयुगांतसगतिरिह स्यादर्षवानां न किं । 181 *b*

अजांभिनिर्घांतरजम्भयापि । कियहूरे तीरप्रुमकुसुम, मातः शैलस्रुतास-
पत्नि, 182 *a* देवि त्वत्सैकतेषु त्रिषवणविशद, अमुष्मिन्संसारे परि-
कलितसारेतरतया । काकैर्निष्कुपितं श्वभिः कवलितं । त्वत्तीरे
तरुकोटरांतरगतो*, 187 *b* आयुर्वायुव्यथितनलिनीपत्रमित्रं किमन्यत् ।

Bhoja or Bhojadeva

5 *b* आदाय चापमचलं कृत्वा हीनं, 29 *a* उत्पाद्य यत्स्वयमपि
प्रबलानुराग । 30 *a* खेदं ये जनयन्ति ये विदधति क्षिप्रं जगन्नीरसं ।
33 *b* यः संतापमपाकरोति जगतां, 36 *a* हंहो बकोट यदि, आदाय
द्रुतमाकृतेरुपशमाद्विः, 37 *a* जार्ति यथानुसरसि त्वमिह द्विरेफ़,
38 *a* तेजो दर्शयसि त्वमीवृशमपि, 41 *b* कसं वपुर्न च विलोचनहारि
रूपं । 44 *a* पाथोनाथ जगत्यहंकृतिभृतो, 46 *a* यद्वल्गस्यमितो
वृथातटमुषो, 50 *b* भ्रातश्चंदन किं ब्रवीमि, 51 *a* किं ते नम्रतया
किमुन्नततया, *b* आपुष्यप्रसरान्मनोहरतया, 56 *b* रत्नानां न किमालयो
जलनिधिः, ये संतोषसुखप्रबुद्धमनसः, 57 *a* एकस्यायमुदेति मूर्धनि
गिरेः, श्लाघ्यं महत्त्वमेकस्य । यत्पीयूषसहोदरैः क्षपयति, *b* सद्बृत्तस्य
च वंशजस्य च, शुन्नत्वं यदिदं य एष गरिमा, 58 *a* बर्हि विशांभसि
निमज्ज, ते संति हंत बहवो भुवि ये परेषां । स्नेहं यत्स्वमिहावसज्य
निविडं, यत्सद्गुणोपि सरलोपि, सद्दंशस्य प्रविततगुण, *b* अस्पृश्यसंगति-
मिह प्रविहाय, गंभीरस्य महाशयस्य सहजस्वच्छस्य, मीमस्यास्य
प्रतनुषदन, सांप्रज्योतिः पटलवलित, 94 *a* यदपि विबुधैः सिधोरंतः
कथंविदुषार्जितं (attributed to Bhāsa in P.) 110 *b* माकंदेषु
न यद्यपि प्रतिदिनं, 115 *a* अंगारैः क्षचितेष भूः, 119 *a* स्फुरद्भीमा-
भोगः, 126 *b* शीतार्तिप्रसरत्तथाकुलपदन्यासैः, P. 126 *a* शुभे
कार्ये वृद्धौ, 188 *a* किं भूमो जलधेरनंतमहिमस्थानस्य, भूमः किं
नभसो निसर्गमहत्तः ।

* There is no एते after the seven verses in fols. 181-182, but the 1st and the 4th occur in P. and there we have एतौ after the name, wherefore probably all these belong to the same author.

Makaranda

175 b नगच्छाया हि रम्येयं ।

Mañkhapa

• 10 b पायात्कृतानंगपतंगदाहः । 60 a किं नाम दूर्धुर दुरव्यवसाय ।

Mangalārjuna

25 a कथमपि हि भवंति क्षेत्रसद्बीजयोगात् ।

Madana

7 b देवी रतिर्विजयते मृगनामिचित्रपत्रावली, P. 11 b पादविकलता कापि । 19 a यामिन्यां परिवसिमाजि, 37 a यद्यपि चदनसरोरुह-
सौरभलोभेन, 123 a इतम्वद्रः सांद्रः स्मरमयवयः संधिमधुरः ।
मयूखैरेकाद्रेः कलभदशनच्छेदविशदैः । P. 98 a समं पांथैः
कांतैर्धनसमयसंकेतघटितैः (the latter part of this verse only
in D.) 124 a गतो यो वर्षासु क्रकचनिशितां केतकवर्नी । 134 b
दिनमर्तुरस्तमयतः, 135 b नीताः काप्यमिसारिका इव दिशो, 140 a
अमुष्मिन्पंचेषोऽस्मिन्नुचनजिगीषोः, शुचीनां हंसानां हरति मलिनानां,
समुन्मीलत्पूर्वाञ्चलशिखरिपूर्वावणमुगी । 145 b नयनपथि निरोधको-
धनिर्भूतमार, 153 b बंदे पद्मिनि धर्मलाम, P. 121 b अपयांतीना-
मधुना संकेतनिकेतनान्मृगाक्षीणां । 156 b भयान्मदं यस्य क्लमवति
कपोले, 159 b येहंपूर्विकया प्रहारमभजन्स्वप्नस्य मां छिद्रि मां । ये
लंकाधिपतिप्रतापदहनैः, 179 a विष्यक्षोणीचरपरिसरोत्संग, 180 a
मौलौ जलद्वानेन । 184 a इह शिखरकराल, उत्संगे सैकतानां,
स्कंधासकैरिह हि विपिने, 184 b अयमुपगतवृष्णाकृष्णसाराक्षिपातैः ।

Madalasākuvalayanāṭika

72 a किं पकं सुकृतं किमहं इति मे नाद्यापि संधित्युनः ।

Mayurabhaṭṭa

72 a सामिप्रार्थं प्रणयसरसं प्रौढमाकृढरागं ।

From the Mahanāṣaka

8 *b* कूर्मः पादांसयष्टिर्भुजगपतिरसौ, 12 *b* देवा दिक्पतयः प्रयात परतः, 14 *b* विज्ञेशो वः स पायात्, 145 *a* अंके कृत्वोत्तमांगं ग्लवगबलपतेः, 156 *a* सौमित्रे ननु सेव्यतां तरुतलं, हे गोदावरि. रम्यवारि सुभगे, 158 *a* श्वेदाः (क्षुद्राः ?) संत्रासमेनं विजहत, *b* कपोले जानक्याः करिकलभदंतद्युतिमुषि । निस्त्रिंशप्रतिविबिजेन ययुरः । किंचित्कोपकलाफलापकलना, P. 134 *a* यताः शार्ङ्गलहेला-दक्षित, P 136 *b* अंके कृत्वोत्तमांगं ।

Mahāmanuṣya

125 *a* अभ्युत्पन्नस्वभावानां नारीणामिव सांप्रतं । 127 *a* कारणो-
त्पन्नकोपेपि सांप्रतं प्रमदाजनः ।

Māgha

124 *b* विगतसस्यजिघत्सुमघड्वयत् । 127 *a* शिशिरमासमपास्य,
129 *b* अवधितकुसुमा विहाय बल्लीः । मुद्गरुपहसितामिवाक्षिनादैः ।
133 *b* अनुरागवतमपि लोचनयोः । 135 *a* प्रतिफूलतामुपगते हि
विधौ । 142 *b* हावहारि हसितं वचनानां । दत्तमिष्टतमया मधु
पत्युर्गाढमाप, अन्ययान्यवनितागतचित्त । 146 *a* दीपितस्मरसुरस्यु-
पपीडं । वक्षदेव रुच्ये रुचितेभ्यः । 147 *b* आहतं कुचतटेन रमण्या ।
P 124 *a* अधिरजनि जगाम धाम तस्याः । 162 *a* कश्चित्मूर्च्छामेत्य
गाढप्रहारः । नृत्तं युद्धं शूरमास्त्रिष्य काश्चित् । 176 *b* क्षितं पुरो
निजगृहे मुद्गरिक्षुकांडं । स्तंभं महांतमुचितं सहसा मुमोद । 177 *a*
आवर्तिनः शुभफलप्रदशुक्रियुकाः । 186 *a* स्फुरत्पुषारांशुमयूखजालैः ।
चिह्नसया कृत्रिम ।

Mādhavamāgadha

52 *a* विद्धि तैः सेवितैः किं तैः ।

Mādhavaśīla

19 *a* गीतीर्वैणवमंत्रनादमधुराः ।

Māyurāja

156 *a* गङ्गाशोषिताग्निप्रकटजलघरोत्फाळजातस्सितानां । 158 *b*
अप्राप्तप्रथमावकर्तनरुषा ।

Mārulā

67 *b* गोपार्यती विरहजनितं दुःखमग्रे गुरुणां ।

Mālatīmādhava

P. 11 *b* व्याकरणादधिगतमपि कविषदने शब्दबुद्धमन्यावृक् ।
P. 12 *b* निरवधानि पदानि यच्चनार्यस्य का क्षतिः । 40 *b* भद्रां
जार्तिं वहतो मदकरिणश्चेन्न, 56 *a* कामोदरमुदराहितभुवनं यो वहति,
96 *a* निखिलैर्निरस्तमंगैः । *b* अंशुकेन जघनं तिरोदधे कंशुकेन च
कुक्षौ, 181 *a* उत्कलिकाबाहुस्य ।

Māhila

145 *b* पुण्यान्यादाय वेगाच्चटुकतरकरैः ।

Muktākapa

121 *b* यथा रंभं व्योमलजलजलधूमः स्थगयति । 175 *b* केका
(षां) त्वच्चरितैर्निसर्गशुचिभिः ।

Muñja or Sri-Muñja

P. 25 यत्पादाः शिरसा द (न?) केन विधृता पृथ्वीभृतां मध्य-
[तो] । 106 *a* दासे कृतागसि भवेदुचितः प्रभूणां ।

Murāri

5 *b* बाणीभूतपुराणपूरुष, नमस्तुभ्यं देवाधुर, 6 *b* नीललोहितल-
लाटलांछने । 7 *a* श्रीकण्ठस्य कपर्दबंधन, *b* गौरीविमज्यमानार्द्ध, 8 *a*
विरमति महाकल्पे नामीपयैकनिकेतनः । 10 *a* सहस्राक्षैरंगैः, 11 *a*
स्वच्छंदैकस्तनधीः, 12 *b* उद्दामप्रमिवेगविस्मृत, यच्चाट्यप्रमिघूर्णमान-
वसुधा, 25 *b* अमेदेनोपास्ते कुमुदमुदरे, 57 *b* कक्षा वेद्यम्यथा कष्टो,
65 *a* वक्त्रे या मृगनामिपकरचनां, 88 *a* अनाकूतैरेव प्रियसहचरीणां,
93 *b* आरण्ये दयितामुखप्रतिसमे । 96 *a* तदात्वप्रोन्मीलन्प्रवि-
मरमणीयात्कठिनतां । 116 *a* उद्दामसुमणिसुतिन्यतिकर, P. 121 *a*

तमोभिः पीयंते गतवयसि, P 134 a निर्म्मज्जज्झुरंतंमवतिकपिदा,
 135 a चूडारत्नैः स्फुरन्निः, b उम्मुकामिर्विचसमधुना, 140 a
 इंदुर्धसुदयाग्निमूर्तिः, उन्मीलंति मृणालकोमलरुचो, b यत्पीयूषमयूक्ष-
 माक्षिणि । 141 b यथा ताराचक्रं चरति, किं नु ज्वांतपयोधिरेव,
 कमितुरमिसूत्सरीणां, एतस्य कलामेकाममृतमयूक्षस्य, इंदोरेककलाया
 रुद्रेनोद्धृत्य, पीयूषाभ्रयणं जगन्नयदृशां, 143 b न तावद्विबोष्टः स्फुरति
 न च रागोयमधरे । अनेन रंभोद तधाननेन । गोत्रे साक्षाद्जनि
 भगवान् 146 a स्वेदजलपिच्छिकाभिस्तनुमिर्युनां च शायिलमाश्लेषं ।
 156 b भूयिष्ठानि मुखानि चुंबति भुजैः 158 a येन स्वां विनिहत्य
 मातरमपि, त्रैलोक्यत्राणशौढः सरसिजवसतेः, न्यंचक्यंचक्षरित्रीधृत-
 चरणभर, 159 a संतुष्टे तिसृणां पुरामपि रिपौ, स्वेष्टकृत्य हतेषु,
 160 b अस्त्राणि प्लवगाधिपेन विहिताः, यद्यत्कृतं दशमुखाशिरः, प्रागुच्चैः
 शिरसं क्षुरप्रनखैः, आजन्मब्रह्मचारी पृथुलमुजशिला, 165 b
 उन्मीलन्मणिरश्मिजाल, 177 b मेरोर्मदरयंति संमदमघः, 178 a
 भूमेः स्वर्णतया फलोत्तरतरुस्मेरस्य, सोयं कैलासशैलः, b गिरिः
 कैलासोयं, पुरा प्राकेयशैलोयं (Murāri's name in P) 179 b
 रमयति मलयाचलोयमस्मान् । 180 b आकंठदृष्टशिरसाथ विमाध्य
 पाश्वं । 181 a लक्ष्मीरस्य हि पादः । यथादूरापाति त्रिविधयुवतीनेत्र
 सुलभा । b देवस्यांबुजसंभवस्य भवनात्, बलिद्विषत्पादनस्त्रांशुरा-
 जिभिः । 182 a यूपांकुरप्रकरदंतुरतीरलेखा । d देव्या भूमेर्मृगमदमयं
 मंदनं, 184 a जडस्वच्छस्वादुप्रकृतिरुपहृते, 187 a प्लवमानैरपारोयं ।
 b प्रयागः सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः, 189 a मयन्नष्टप्रेयोविरह, 190 a दृश्यंते
 मधुमत्तकोकिलवधू, b प्रियंगुश्यामांगो य इह विहरत्यंबुजवने ।
 191 a बालेयतंडुलविलोपकदर्थिताभिः । तैर्मैधाजननव्रतप्रणयिभिः
 192 a पूरयित्वेव सर्वान् । अविद्याबीजविज्वंसात् ।

Morika

63 b क्लिप्तति न गजयति, 76 b मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय ।

Yaśovarman

75 a आकंदास्तानितैर्विलोचनजलान्यभांत, 81 b बरत्बजेनसमान-

कांतिसलिले मग्नं, 106 b कामस्यापि शराहतिर्न गणिता, (The author has the epithet राजपुत्र here).

Yogesvara

120 b एते केतकसुखिसौरभजुषः ।

Ratnaghosa

174 a बहुलेशेस्पफले कार्ये भाग्यं न सादरैः । b पूर्वमेव परीक्ष्यं स्यात् ।

Ratnacandra

77 a भासैस्तुट्यति वेगिभिर्नयनयोः ।

Ratnakara

24 b ते साधवो मुखनमंडन(ल?)मौलिभूताः, 134 a अस्तावलंबिर-
विशिषतयोदयाद्रि ।

Ralhapa

40 b कर्मे चामरचारुकंदुकलिका, (name of the author from P) 49 a स्वर्णैः स्कंधपरिग्रहो मरकतैः, 139 b शेतेद्यापि न पश्चिनि कुमुदिनी ।

Ravigupta

24 a सुजनो न याति विकृतिं । अण्वपि गुणाय महतां । 27 a अप्यात्मनो विनाशं न गणयति, b स्वगुणानिब परदोषान्, 29 a प्राप्तापि न लभंते भोगान्मोक्षं, 145 a मातर्धर्मपरे द्यां कुद मयि ।

Rājasekhara

5 a सुसद्बुद्धिगोविंद । 7 b कुलगुरुबलानां, 9 a तं वंदे पद्मसन्धानं । 16 a भागिरथीहारलता, 18 b हरिपादः स वः पायात् । कवीनां मानसं नौमि । 22b and P 11 a कर्सेष्या आर्यसारेपि । P.13 b स्वस्ति पाणिनये तल्लै । यथार्थता कथं नास्ति । भासनाटकचक्रेपि । तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ । P. 14 a हुता शिखिनि गौणाख्या । अगत्यां प्रयिता गाथा । एकोपि जीयते, P. 15 a सहस्रैश्चरिता शम्भत् । बाणेन हृदि

कलेन । वर्षे कविभुजंगानां । सरस्वतीपवित्राणां । अहो प्रभाषो
 वाग्देव्याः । कर्ता त्रिलोचनादन्यो । अथो गणपतिं वंदे । प्रसुप्ताच्चाप-
 स्येह । 22 *b* जानकीहरणं कर्तुं । मा स्म संति हि चत्वारः । ध्वनि-
 नातिगमीरेष । 23 *a* & *b* कालंजरपतिश्चक्रे । मायुराजसमो जज्ञे ।
 अकालजलवैदोः सा । अकालजलवन्शोकैः । अनुप्रासिनि संदर्भे ।
 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते । *b* द्विसंधाने निपुणतां । नदीनां मेकलसुता ।
 याथावरकलभेजेः । स्थिता माध्वीकपाकत्वात् । शब्दार्थयोः स्मो
 गुंफः । के वैकटनितंबेन । सरस्वतीष कर्णाटी । सूकीनां स्मरकेलीनां ।
 पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं P. 18 *b* नूनं दुग्धाब्धिर्मयोत्याविमौ सुजन-
 दुर्जनौ । 61 *a* दशा वर्धं मनसिजं । 65 *a* पतस्या विरहज्वरः,
 66 *a* आहारे विरतिः समप्रविषथग्रामे निवृत्तिः, 73 *b* बाणास्संहरं
 मुञ्च कार्मुकलतां, 75 *b* ज्योत्स्नां इयामलिमानमानयत मोः, 76 *b*
 विळीयैदुः साक्षादमृतमयवापी यदि भवेत् । 77 *b* विळिपत्येतस्मिन्म-
 ल्यजरत्सद्रोणसहसा । 84 *b* उपप्राकाराग्रं ग्रहिणु नयने, 87 *b* निर्माद्व्यं
 नयनभ्रियः कुचलयं, 90 *a* दशोः सीमावादः भ्रवणयुगुलेन प्रतिकलं ।
 पर्याप्तस्तनमारपीडितमुरः, मुखं विकसितस्मितं, पद्भ्यां मुकास्तरल-
 गतयः, सारिधूतकलाकुतूहलमनाः । There is राजशेखरस्यैते
 at the end of these; but the 1st and 3rd only occur in P. and there they are
 anonymous, wherefore his authorship of them is more than doubtful.—100 *a* तद्वक्त्रं यदि मुद्रिता शशिकथा,
 102 *a* केयूरीकृतकंकणावलिरसौ, 110 *a* गर्भप्रथिषु वीरुधां सुमनसो,
 113 *a* ये दोलाकेलिकाराः किमपि मृगदशां, सुरतभरलिङ्गपद्मग ।
 116 *a* घटे पंकजिनीदलेच्छुरपरि, 124 *a* कुर्वाणाः कैरवाणां
 मधुकणहरणं, 126 *b* वन्देः शकिर्जलमिव गता, 130 *b* प्रैस्तकुंतल-
 भारशीर्णकुसुमोद्भ्रांत, चंचलेलंछलानि, 131 *b* खेलांचलेन खलहार-
 लताप्रकांडैः । 132 *a* विशंतीनां ज्ञातुं जघनपरिणाहो मृगदशां ।
 133 *b* सैरंभीकरकृष्णप्रफसरत्तारध्वनिः, 144 *a* तरंगय दशौगणे
 भवतु मिषमिदीवरं । 150 *a* द्वित्रैव्योस्ति पुराणमौकिकमणिच्छायै[ः]
 स्थितं तारकैः । 151 *a* स्वादूनां प्रथमाय रूपविमर्षं, P 121 *b* व्रजत्व-

परवारिधि रजतपिङ्गपांशुः शशी । P. 134 *b* रकाम्यकोद्यूकागुद-
कबलबलज्जांगल, 160 *a* एकस्मिन्नपि पातितेपि शिरसि, 162 प्रेयाग्ने
दंतिदंतप्रवसदसुरयं, (No remark here in P. as to author-
ship.) 163 *a* विभ्वस्तहस्तयुगलं, 178 *a* स्वस्तिमानस्ति कैलासः ।
यो धरित्रीभरन्नांतः । भूगोलप्रतिषिष्य । मन्ये हिमांशुः प्रांतेपि । *b*
भीकंठभ्यशुरः स एष भगवान्, 179 *b* अंमोधी विहरंतमंतरहितैः,
180 *a* चटुचटुलकरेणुस्पर्शलीलानिमीलन् । 180 *b* धत्ते यत्किल-
किंचितैकशुरुतां, 182 *b* सेयं सुष्ठु पुरः कलिदतनया, 183 *b* कावेरी
कवरीष भामिनि भुषो, रत्नप्रसूरिति समस्ततरंगिणीषु । रोचोरेखा-
चंदनारण्यदृष्टा । 186 *b* एतच्छांतविचित्रचत्वरपयं, 192 *a* एते
व्योमनि शोषयंति ।

Rāpaka

54 *a* उचुंगैस्तरुभिः किमेभिरफलैः ।

Rāma

97 *b* अमुष्मिह्लावण्यामृतसरसि ।

Rāmīla and Somīla

113 *b* सव्याधेः कृशता क्षतस्य रुधिरं ।

Rissu, Rissuka or Risuka

26 *b* नौञ्च दुर्जनजिह्वा च, 28 *b* शरणं किं प्रपन्नानि । 44 *a*
आदाय वारि परितः सरितां मुखेभ्यः । 167 *a* शनूणामयशो
यशश्च भवतः ।

Rudatī-brahman

67 *a* विधांतो दिवसस्तटीमयमटस्यस्ताषलस्यांशुमान् ।

Rudra

10 *a* पाणौ कंकणमुत्फणः फणिपतिः, 65 *a* मुग्धा स्वप्नसमागते
प्रियतमे, 68 *b* निम्बासैः सखि सांप्रतं खलु गता, 73 *a* बत्सारैरिव
पंकजस्य घटितं, 90 *b* गतं कर्णाभ्यर्णे प्रसरति तथाव्यक्षियुगलं । 91 *a*
ऊरुर्ब्रह्मनिर्दिष्टं प्रथयता, तरत्तारं चक्षुः क्षिपयति मुनीनामपि दृष्टाः ।

103 *b* यत्पादप्रणतः प्रियः परुष्या । 104 *a* विमुञ्चामुं मानं सफलय
दशः, 105 *b* यद्वाचः प्रचुरोपचारस्तुरा यत्, 106 *a* कृतं मिथ्या-
वादेर्विरम, 107 *a* सार्धं मनोरथशतैस्तव धूर्तं कांता । 108 *a*
यत्रार्कयितमिदुना सरसिजैरंगारपुञ्जायितं । 109 *a* सत्यं बल्लभ एष
दुर्लभतमो, सत्यं भामिनि दुर्जनोऽस्मि, वाचो वाग्मिनि किं तवाचं
परुषाः, 121 *a* वाता वांस्तु जलस्पृशो, P. 116 *b* विरम नाथ विमुञ्च
ममांखलं 148 *b* स्वामिन्संवरयालकं सतिलकं भाळं, P. 126 *a*
एकाकिनी यदबला तरुणी, *b* अंभा शेतेत्र वृक्षा, 169 *b* तव
दिग्विजयारंभे । 175 *b* किं गौरिमां प्रति रुषा ननु गौरहं किं ।

Rukmaṭa ?

45 *a* विस्तारो यदि नेदशो यदि न तद्ग्रांभीर्यमंभोनिधेः ।

Lakṣmaṇa

93 *a* द्विजसंगतिमासाच ।

Lakṣmīdhara

57 *b* लक्ष्मीकौस्तुभचंद्रमःप्रभृतिभिः, 97 *b* गंभीरनामिदुदसंनिवेशैः ।
125 *b* कंधते कपयो भृशं, 180 *b* आकंठदृष्टिशिरसा । P. 159 *b* मा
स्य संधि विजानंतु ।

Laghuvallabha-Vāsudeva

143 *a* यथा बहिः कंटकितं वपुस्तव नितंबिनि ।

Loṣṭa(ṭya)śarvaṇīa

P. 17 *a* प्रकृत्यैवातिवकेण । केचिद्वर्षगलप्रेहेण, 143 *a* उद्भिन्ना
कलकंठकंटकुह्रात्, P. 155 *a* आविद्योरगमंडलीकवलनाकांक्षा ।

Vankalāvarta

127 *a* केशानाकुलयन्धशो मुकुलयन्, *b* शुंबंतो गंडमितीरल-
कथति मुखे ।

Vatsarāja

P. 12 *a* सत्काव्यपीयूषसमुद्रमन्ये ।

Vararuci

45 *a* अयं वारामेको निलय इति । (Name of the poet in P.) 60 *b* वामनफलमत्युच्चात्ततो, 83 *b* बहुनात्र किमुकेन; 164 *a* न्यंबंबलचंबुचुवन ।

Varāhamihira

17 *b* छीने श्रोत्रैकदेशे नमसि नयनयोस्तेजसि, 161 स्वर्गस्य मार्गः बहवः प्रदिष्टाः । जीवि (व?) तोपि निहि (ह?) तस्य वा रणे । एकतश्च सुरसुंदरीजनः । हा तात तातेति स वेदनार्तः । लोकः शुभ-
स्तिष्ठतु तावदन्यः । संमूर्छितं संप्रति संप्रहारैः । उरः कृत्वा वेद्यां
मणिफलकगाढस्थितकुचं । 188 *a* पृथ्यां स्थूलतरा बद्धा ततः,
P. 156 *b* समाः षष्टिर्दिग्धा मनुजकरीणां, 158 *a* कर्पासौषधकृष्ण-
चान्यलवण, P. 158 *b* आंत (आर्त?) स्य यानमशनं च बुभुक्षितस्य ।
P. 159 *a* युकेन चूर्णेन करोति रागं ।

Vardhamāna

28 *a* समर्पितास्तेन न कस्य दोषाः ।

Vardhuka

103 *b* यावज्जो सखि गोचरं नयनयोः ।

Vallabhadeva

P. 11 *b* सुकविभ्रमानमिहे, 21 *b* क्लान्तमपोद्गतखेदं तप्तं निर्वाति,
कथमिह मनुष्यजन्मा, संसदि तदेव भूषणमुपकारक, नृपसमसरसी
परितः पूर्णापि जडैः, 22 *a* तेभ्यो नमः कविभ्यो येषां, *b* श्रुतसंपदः
कवीनामुक्तिमिरेव, वकार एव कवयः सूक्तानि महर्घतां नयंत्यन्ये ।
अनवहितः किमशको, 24 *a* सैव परं न विनश्यति । निवसन्नपि
सममितरैः । *b* अणुपकृतिषु सतां रतिः । निभृतं यदुपक्रियते ।
27 *a* अन्यस्माच्छब्दोष्मा क्षुद्रः प्रायेण दुःसहो भवति । दुर्बचनमन-
मिजाताः । *b* उज्ज्वलगुणमप्युदितं क्षुद्रो ब्रह्म । 29 *a* धनमर्थिनाम-
मौल्यं । न परं धनानि दाराः । नंदनैर्ब्रह्मविधैः । अम्युपयुक्ताः सद्भिः ।
29 *b* किमत्रेनो पुत्रः किमु न हरिश्चूडामणिरसौ । 30 *a* कः पश्यति

स्वरमहसः संमुखमपि, 32 *a* सद्यः क्षितं प्रजति सखिर्ल यत्र
 मुकाममर्थं । 35 *b* धुतराजहंसवचसो युका रूष्णीकतैव कंसस्य ।
 39 *b* कथमप्यधिगतरेधैरभ्युषिता, 40 *a* कौपे पयसि लघीयसि ।
b यदि मत्तोसि मतंगज, 46 *b* अयमवसरः सरस्ते सखिलैरुपकर्तुं,
 49 *b* परिमलसुरमितनमसो बहवः, 51 *b* अगुरुरिति वदति लोको ।
 52 *a* फलमरचिततलमुन्नत । 53 *b* मूर्जः परोपकृतये निजकवचविक-
 र्त्तनां सहते । 54 *a* जातस्य सिन्धुतटमनु । P. 39 *a* अमृतांशोः
 किरमेभ्यो जन्मविवृद्धिं महोदधेरुदरे । 56 *b* रतिरसवर्द्धननन्दन ।
 अहिरहिरिति संस्रमपद । यद्यपि विलसति वासुकिः । There is no
 प्ते at the end here , but the sameness of the metre
 affords a presumption in favour of the sameness of
 authorship.

Vasunāga

75 *b* रकाशोक कुशोदरी क नु गता ।

Vasumdhara

19 *b* रामो नाम बभूव हुं तद्वला सीतेति, 35 *a* पतस्मिन्मलयावले ।

Vastupāla

31 *a* संप्रति न कस्य तरवो न सिन्धयो, 42 *a* अन्धा न यदि
 निःशंकपंक, 186 *b* यत्रोन्मुक्तं चातकवृन्दमग्नं ।

Vāgbhaṭa

104 *b* अनालोक्य प्रेम्णः परिणतिमनाहत्य सुहवः ।

Vātsyāyana

P. 156 *a* शास्त्राणां विषयस्तावद्यावन्मंदरसा नराः ।

Vadīśvarakāñcana

17 *a* हरेर्लीला वराहस्य । 175 *b* आर्लिगंते वसुधां निजसुरदक्षिता ।

Vāmana

106 *a* कौपो यत्र भृकुटिरचना ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vāmana

74 a आस्थाभी जगसंकटे मयि मनाक्, निकारकणिका कृता ।

Vāmananāga

P. 13 a यस्मादियं प्रथमतः परमासृतीय, 147 b वीकाचामर-
रुचरो रतिपतेः, P. 155 b सारंगीसम्नताङ्गा जगदपि विजितं ।

Valmiki

98 a तस्याः पञ्चपलाशास्याः, 118 a कशामिरिव हैम्रीभिः ।
मेघकृताजिनधरा ।

Vasiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa

P. 161 a वरं शरावहस्तस्य ।

Vasudeva

83 a अकमलमधूणस्य तस्य नासा ।

Vikāṣanīlamba

112 a किं झारि देवहतिके सहकारकेण । P. 116 a बाका तन्वी
कृततनुरिति त्यज्यतामवशंका ।

Vikramāditya

85 a कावण्यसिधुरपरैव हि केयमत्र । 135 b क्षिपतीव तमौगानि
वर्षतीवांजनं नमः ।

Vijayaśarman

96 a धृतधनवधिरघुतिना ।

Vijāka

47 a माघदिग्गजदानविन्धकरट, 51 a केनात्र चंपकतरो बत
रोपितोसि । 111 a किंशुककलिकांतर्गतमिदुकलास्पदि, 120 a
सोत्साहा नवधारिभारगुरवो मुर्वस्तु नादं घनाः । 124 b विकासम-
सृणोक्तसत्कलमगोपदोः ।

Vidyāpati

P. 13 *a* या केवलं सन (र?)लता न [तद्?] पंडितत्वं, 59 *b* जन्मस्थानं न खलु विमलं ।

Vidyāsāna

P. 25 *b* न्याय्यं यत्तमसः समूहदहनं भास्वंस्त्वया तन्यते । 173 *b* का लक्ष्मीः पदमुन्नतं किमु पदं ।

Vibhākaravarman

142 *b* कांतानवाधररसामृततृष्णयेव ।

Vimalasarasvatī

P. 39 *a* लाक्षाभिः कुरु कंकणं ।

Viśalya

83 *b* अधरेणोन्नतिभाजा ।

Viśakhadeva

16 *a* प्रत्यग्नोन्मेषजिह्वा, 96 *b* तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यातं तन्वंग्या यद्वलित्रयं । 122 *a* अपामुद्वृत्तानां निजमुपदिशंत्या, 174 *b* धन्या केयं स्थिता ते, 191 *a*, विपर्यस्तं सौधं कुलमिष, क्षतांगीनां तीक्ष्णैः, P. 160 *a* मुहुर्लभ्योन्नेदा मुहुरधिगत P 163 *a* तीष्णावुद्विजते सुदौ परिमव° ।

Viśveśvara

7 *a* उच्चैर्ब्रह्मांडपिंडद्वितयसहस्रं, 14 *a* दानस्रोतःसहस्रैर्वशनरु-
चिचयैः *b* कुंभोपांतं त्यजन्निर्मदजलनिषहैः, ते दूरोदंडशुंडाकुहर-
कवलिता, 185 *b* ते चंडीशपुरारिचंडमहसां, 161 *b* शुंडादंडप्रहार,
रक्तं नक्तंचरौघः ।

Viryamitra

72 *b* तरसारं तावत्प्रथममथ चित्रार्पितमिष ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vṛddhi

63 *b* तापापनोददक्षाणि भूणाळानि नतभुवः ।

Vaidyanāthaprasasti

168 *b* सिद्धं सीमंतात् । 169 *b* यद्येतत्क्षयबन्धिधूमपटलं ।

Vaidyanāthapaṇḍita

46 *b* सौवर्णः कमलाकरः शशिकलाः, 51 *a* कुंदे कुंठय कौतुकं
स्यञ्ज, P. 114 *b* सुधामयोपि क्षयरोगशांत्यै ।

Vaidyabhānupaṇḍita

32 *a* चूते समीपवर्तिनि । 39 *a* संति कूपाः स्फुरद्रूपाः सरितः
परितस्तथा । त्यक्त्वा तापनिवारिवारिनिकरान्, 48 *a* शाखाशत-
धितधियतः । 63 *b* खंडिता मा भवंत्वेताः कदापीत्यनुकंपया । 78 *a*
तस्याः स्मरंत्यां शुभग त्वदीयं । 93 *b* तस्या वदनचंद्रस्य, 95 *a*
मातंगकुंभसंस्पर्श । 110 *a* विस्फूर्जद्भालनेत्रानलबहलशिखा, 114 *a*
वर्षत्यग्निकणानिब, 118 *a* व्याप्तं मिश्रेद्रनीलघुतिमिरिष घनैः, 121 *b*
शुभ्राभ्रव्योमसोमः स्फुरदमलकलः, 123 *b* चंचत्कादंबपक्षप्रचलित-
कुमुद, 124 *b* पांसुप्रालेयपूरः प्रसरति गगने, 146 *b* दशा सपदि
मीळितं दशनरोचिषा निर्गतं । (Attributed to Śivasvāmin in
P.) 151 *a* तारुण्यातिशयः स कोपि, 168 *a* कृत्वा कीर्ति-
तडागमद्भुततरं, 185 *a* नो लावण्यविभूषितो, *b* कनककलशधोणीयंत्र ।

Vairāḍa

अर्द्धांगनापुंघपुषः पुरारेः ।

Vyāsa

28 *a* असंभोगेन सामान्यं । *b* मृत्युः शरीरगोसारं । साधुना
दीनमनसा । 100 *a* स्वभ्यस्तरूपाणि नवैव नित्यं ।

[Bhagavad-]Vyāsa

42 *a* गुणानामेव दौर्जन्याद्भुरि भुर्यो नियुज्यते । (Author's name
in P.) 162 *a* परस्परं सायकविक्षतांगास्ते क्षत्रियाः कुंडलिनो
युधावः । भूरेणुविन्धा नवपारिजात । सशोणितैः क्रव्यमुञ्जां स्फुरद्भिः ।
विमानपर्यंकतले निषण्णाः । 174 *b* महतां पीडनोभूर्या । निजामशक्तिं
आनानो ।

[Veda-] Vyāsa

15 *a* जंवालस्फूर्जदूर्जस्वळकरिमकर, 136 *a* नाकाशं न दिशो न भूधरकुलं ।

Śamkaravarman

145 *b* पाभ्योत्फालविकेपाबद्धितचरणो ।

Śakavṛddhi

63 *b* दक्षमानेपि हृदये मृगाक्ष्या मम्मथाग्निना । 94 *b* कंठस्य विदधे कांति । 95 *a* दयिता बाहुपाशस्य । शब्दचङ्गिरलंकारैः । *b* सुदीर्घा रागशास्त्रिनो । 100 *a* मुखेन चंद्रकांतेन । गतिर्वेणी च नागेन ।

Śaṅkuka [son of Bhaṭṭa Mayūra]

69 *a* दुर्बाराः स्मरसायकाः प्रियतमे दूरे मनोत्पुस्तुकं ।

Śarva

106 *b* चवूनां सर्वासां चरणहरणैर्दूषितमिदं ।

Śarvadāsa

115 *a* विशुष्यच्छालांतः, तापावसन्नशयितं । 118 *a* अथ मनसि-
जदिन्त्रयामिशंसी । शीतलादिव संत्रस्तं । अर्द्धेन जलदक्ष्यामं । 125 *b*
न प्रस्तावस्तपनमहसां, अन्ये हि दुःसमुत्तवः प्रथर्यस्वहोमिः । 176 *a*
भूषस्त्रिमंगिकुटिलोन्नमितेन ।

Śaṅḍila

161 *b* मर्तृपिडानुगकरो ।

Śārvavarman (called in MS Śārvvagapa)

P. 39 *a* केनासीनः सुखम[क] रुणेनाकरावुद्धतस्त्वं ।

Śivasvāmin

9 *b* स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो । 69 *a* गतोस्तं धर्मोद्युर्ध्वं सहचरीनीड-
मधुना । P. 118 *a* दशा सपदि मीळितं, 146 *b* मैषा वेगं मृदुतपतनुः ।
(Attributed to Mūrta or Mārka in other Anthologies.)

Śīlabhaṭṭārika

70 *b* इति त्वं तरुणी युवा स चपलः, 83*b* श्वासः किं त्वरितागता
P. 126 *a* यः कौमारहरः स एव हि रहः (वरः)।

Śucigobhaṭa

27 *b* ऋद्धुरेष पक्षवानिति । एते क्षिण्वतमा इति मा मा क्षुद्धेषु
यात विश्वासं । 28 *b* गाढतरवज्रमुष्टेः कोशनिषण्णस्य ।

Śṛṅgārakimnaranāṭaka

80 *b* जीमूतप्रथमांबुशीकरवहः, वेणीबंधवि?दोषितैर्विलुळितैः,
81 *a* द्देष्टव्य (उद्देष्टव्य?) स्वयमेव लेखमुदितप्रस्वेदकंपांगुलिः । बाष्पस्तस्य
न जायते किमु न किं लेखे करः कंपते । मार्गे मे निरपायतां परिणति ।

[Bhaṭṭa-]Śyāmala

165 *b* आलानं जयकुंजरस्य द्विषतां सेतुर्विपद्धारिणेः ।

Śrīṭhakkuraṇya

137 *b* तडिद्धा पंको वा विमिरमयवा ।

Śrīpālakavīraja

110 *b* मंदोयं मलयानिलः किसलयं चूतकुमाणां नवं । 111 *b*
स्तोत्रं जैत्रगुणोदयस्य, 114 *b* पश्यंते स्थलचारिणः क्षितिरजस्यंगार,
115 *b* अपि तरुवनान्युष्मायंते ।

Śrībhogavarman

123 *b* पूर्वं वारिधप्रसंगसमयेनापूरितैः कुक्षिमिः ।

Śrīśaṁkaragaṇaka

85 *a* अमृतममृतं चंद्रचंद्रः । कमलमनंभसि कमले कुचलयमेतानि ।

Śrīharṣa

20 *a* ऽप्यानव्याजमुपेत्य चित्तवासि कां, 64 *a* परिच्युतस्तकुच-
भारमभ्यात्, *b* स्थितमुरसि विशालं पथिनीपत्रमेतत् । परिष्कारं

पीनस्तनजघन, 69 *b* दुर्वाणं कुसुमशरव्यां वहत्या, 71 *b* बाणाः
 पंच मनोभवस्य नियताः, 74 *b* संतापो हृदये (य) सरानलकृतः, 84 *b*
 लीलावधूतपद्मा, 85 *b* कृष्णोर्युगं विलंघ्य सुचिरं, 92 *b**
 नासादसीया तिलपुष्पदूर्णं । 93 *b* विधायापूर्वपूर्णेदुं, 103 *a* भूमणे
 सहसोद्गतेपि, 106 *b* आताम्रतामपनयामि विलक्ष एव । 107 *a*
 शीतांशुर्मुखमुत्पले तव हशौ, 111 *a* उचछिद्रमकांतिभिः किसलयै-
 स्ताम्रां, 129 *b* सुप्तु त्वन्मुखपंकजेन शशिनः, प्रत्यग्रमज्जनविशेष-
 विधिककांतिः । 130 *a* कुसुमसुकुमारमूर्तिः, 133 *b* यातोसि
 पद्मनयने समयो ममैव । 134 *a** पवेलिमं दाडिममर्कषिर्ब ।
 *दिनायसाने तरणेरकस्मात्, 137 *b* समारुढप्रीतिः प्रणयबहुमानाद-
 नुदिनं । 139 *b* उदयतटांतरितमियं प्राची सूचयति, 142 *b*
 अस्तस्रग्दामशोभां त्यजति विरचितां, 143 *a*† सितपुष्पोद्गमोयं ते ।
 आरुह्य शैलशिखरं त्वद्भदनापहतकांतिसर्वस्वः । किं पद्मस्य रुचिं न
 हन्ति नयनानंदं विधत्ते न किं । 179 *b*† माचक्षिगजगंडमिसिकवधैः,
 P. 161 *a* द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि, 169 *a** तादृक्दीर्घधिरं चिदासरविधौ ।
 *अस्यासिर्मुखाः स्वकोश । (Author's name is here given as
 Śrīharṣapandita in P.) 184 *b** वृद्धो वाक्षिरयं तरंगवलिमं,
 191 *b*† वासोर्ये दययेव नातिपृथक् ।

Śrīharṣa, author of Khaṇḍana

166 *b* सुतलं चरणद्वंद्वं । अज्याहारः]सरहरशिरः, आस्ते दामोद-
 रीयामियमुदर, अंगः (तः) संतोषबाणैः स्थगयति, भूशकस्य यशांसि
 विक्रममरेण ।

* The verses marked with an asterisk under this heading and all under the next two headings with the exception of 166 *b* and 10 *a* which I have not been able to trace and of 180 *b* which occurs in the Nāgānanda are from the Naisadhiya. The verses unmarked under the first heading are from the Ratnāvalī and those marked † are from the Nāgānanda. So that though by the expression सप्तदशकारिन् or पण्डित the author meant to distinguish the later Śrīharṣa from the earlier author of the dramas, the scribes have as usual made mistakes, omitting the expression in some cases, and adding it where not wanted in one case at least

Śrīharṣapaṇḍita

10 *a* ब्रूहामस्मकणांकिताविष जडा, 165 *a* प्राणेतद्वपुषामुल्लेखं
(ल्लेखु)सृजतो, P. 159 *a* त्वया विधातर्यदकारि चामृतं । 170 *b*
श(रा)हामन्य(स्य)शतेन किं कलषते । अस्यारिप्रकरः शरश्च, यः पृष्टं
युधि, ऋजुत्वमौनभ्रुतिपारगामिता । P. 114 *b* यत्पद्ममादित्सु
तवाननीयां । 176 *b* सिद्धरघुतिमुग्धमूर्धनि घृत, 177 *a* द्विषद्भि-
रेवस्य विलंघिता विशो । चलाचलप्राप्य (ग्रोथ) तथा महीपतेः ।
हरेर्यदक(क्रा)मि पदै[क]केन खं प्रयातुमस्माकमिर्यं कियत्पदं । अज्ज-
भूमीतटकुट्टनोद्गतेः । धूळीभिर्विषमंघयन् । (The author called
Harṣapaṇḍita here) 180 *b* † उद्गच्छज्जलकुंजरैर्द्रमसा,
185 *b* विललास जलाशयोदरे । अग्रांतभ्रुतिपाठपूतरसना ।
सममेणप (म) वैर्यदापणे ।

Śrutadhara

48 *a* कामं भवंतु मधुलंपटपट्पदीष ।

Śrutadhararāma

27 *a* पीडनं बहुधान्यस्य विधातुं लब्धजन्मनः । ये वर्द्धयन्ति
पापक्षिकौतुकं पृथिवीपतेः । (Name of the author from P.)

Sarvadāsa

173 *a* महानपि सुखीरोपि । *b* सत्यशीलदयोपेतो ।

Sarvajñavāsudeva

135 *b* इदं नमसि भीषणभ्रमदुकूलकोलाहलैः । 136 *b* सद्यः
सांद्रमवीविलुप्तककुमः, 149 *a* व्याघृतहारमणयः, 154 *a* यस्मिन्नास्ति
कषप्रहव्यतिकरो, ससंभ्रमकषप्रहव्यतिकराकुला, *b* तस्ये नितंबतल-
मात्रनिरस्तवस्त्रां ।

Siddhacakraṇavartījayasīmhadeva

122 *b* दूरं तोयचरांचकारकरिणां यूथेषु नष्टेष्वितो । (Name of the
author from P.)

Srikāratna

P. 117 *b* समादिष्टं शिष्टैः परममिह यधिवृत्तिपरं । (Not in D.)
(4th line स सीत्कारभ्यावाद्मृतविजयी सुन्दरदशां ।)

Subandhu

6 *b* स जयति हिमकरलेखा चकास्ति, 9 *a* खिन्नोसि मुंष शैलं ।
(Attributed by mistake to Harihara, but to Subandhu in B. and P) P. 11 *a* अधिदितगुणापि सुकवेः । 27 *b* विष्वस्त-
परगुणानां भवति खलानां, विषधरतोप्यतिविषमः । हस्त इव
भूतिमलिनो । 171 *a* चापं तेन निपीडितं रणरसः सद्योगलद्विदिषां ।

Suktisahasra

6 *b* जयति हरजटाभरो यदंतः । प्रणमत नयने हरस्य, 8 *b* लक्ष्मी-
पाणिद्वयपरिचितं, 9 *b* ज्योतिस्तमोहरमलोचनगोचरं तत् ।
P. 11 *b* जुगुप्सितमिदं धात्रा । 18 *a* केदं गर्जितमेष किंनु दलति
स्तंभो, 61 *a* गंतुं विवस्वदुदये इदयेश्वरस्य । शक्नोमि नासितुमहं,
62 *a* एतत्सर्वं शृणुत च्चनं, *b* अस्यास्त्राणमहो वियोगदुरितात् ,
किं मद्रं पथि गच्छतस्तव वयं ब्रूमः, 63 *a* निक्षिप्य कापि
शयने विषशं शरीरं । श्रुत्वा बहिः कचन कंचन कापि शद्रं ।
65 *b* विभ्रांतो दिवसः प्रपंचितकतैः, 66 *a* अभ्यर्थ्य सप्रणति मंदिर-
मभ्युपेता । 82 *b* ब्रूमः किं परमस्यगात्तव पतिः । शृणु परमिदमंत्ये,
100 *b* कमलशरचिरंभा, 101 *a* श्रुत्वा गर्जितमंथरे जलमुखः सद्यो,
110 *a* यत्प्रारंभविर्जुमितो रतिपतिः शृंगारसंजीवनी । 114 *b* ततः
प्रावुरभूद्ग्रीष्मः । तपनं बिभ्रद्वाकाशो । कापि कापि दिगंते । प्रतिगत-
मर्थिजनानां । रवेः समस्तक्षितिमभ्यगं रसं । भ्रमंत्यः परितश्छायाः ।
तप्ता मही विरहिणामिव चित्तवृत्तिः । (The last only in P and
anonymous.) 118 *b* वज्रेण विजगत्पतेर्बलरिपोः, 122 *a*
जीमूतेषु महत्सु लोकमपरं, *b* खेतः कर्षति सप्तच्छदकुसुमरसा,
यशसो वर्द्धमानस्य । शौणैः परिवृतः पद्मैः । व्योम्नि विभ्रांतजीमूते ।
125 *a* असत्यलोकादाभूमेः । *b* अहो कथमसीमेदं । गिरंति ननु
कल्पांते । 128 *a* आस्कंदितो भुजकृताचलिता । संतु दुमाः किसलयो-

सरपुष्पमाराः । एषा जिगीवति पृथुस्तवका कृता त्वां । *b* आरादसौ
तरुवरः, 130 *b* संश्लेषे कुचयोर्मुखोपगमने, 131 *a* किं वास्या
चलिता कृता मणिमयी, *b* प्रथममनुसरंतीष्वभसि प्राणनाथं । अथ
कृतकविहंगैः पार्थिवोद्भूयंतैः । प्रणयिनि सति सिंघत्यंशुभिः
काचिदन्यां । 132 *a* कलितमभिहतैका तेन राजीवपद्मैः । 136 *a*
यद्येदं बुधिमानमंतिकषयस्तद्विदुतां विभ्रते । भवति हरिरगूढः । 139 *a*
अग्रे धनुःशरकरः स्वयमस्ति कामः । (Work called here Sūkti-
ratnākara.) 140 तंतुघ्नमेण रसनामणिगुंफनाय । 153 *a* स्नानं
सिंधुजले विधाय जनतासंघे, 154 *a* आपूर्यमाणपुलकः सुभगत्वकामः ।
164 *a* हस्ति स्थ(स्थ?)णाश्चरणहननैः, भरालोके भूमौ पतति, *b* पुरो
नुचः पद्माद्रजति, 176 *a* महीचर इवांमोदः । राक्षस्ताया भुजकृपाण-
शरासनेषु । *b* मेरोः पोतमुदन्वतः प्रतिनिधि, 178 *a* उपर्यंशुमतः
सिद्धाश्चरते, भर्तृचितापरा यत्र । यद्दरीषु सुरस्त्रीणां । *b* सद्यः स्यंदन-
चक्रमंगचकित, 180 *b* उत्तंसीकृतचंद्रमाः ।

Sūravarmaṇ

11 *b* आग्नेषाधरर्षिबभ्रुंवनसुखाढाप ।

Somakavi

6 *a* बंदे तदेकं शिवयोः शरीरं । 101 *b* आगच्छन्सुचितो येन ।
186 *a* नक्तं शशांकोपलकुट्टिमेषु ।

Somanāthaprasāsti

12 *b* संध्यातांडवडंबरप्रणयिनो ।

Somaprabhācārya

P. 163 *a* लक्ष्मीः पश्यति नीचमर्णवपयः ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Someśvara

6 *a* कण इव पुरो बन्धेः, 98 *a* अमृतमधुरैः कांचीनादैः, 183 *a*
पते पङ्क्तिपुरंभिमिर्मरजलक्रीडा ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Svāmin

148 *a* हृतोष्ठरागाणि हृतांजनाणि ।

Harūmat

8 a जीयासुः शकुलाकृतेर्मगधतः, न पंकैराळेपं कळयति धरित्री,
17 a पृष्ठभ्राम्यदमंदमंदरगिरि, b पातु त्रीणि जगंति संततमकूपारात्,
चंद्रार्घ्यायितनिःपिधानदशनो, 18 b आकृष्टः शिखया नक्षैर्वि-
लिखितः, कस्त्वं ब्रह्मजपूर्वः, किं छत्रं किं नु रत्नं तिलकमुत तथा,
66 b भगिनि मदनः श्रीमानेष त्वया यदि लिख्यते । 165 b अत्युष्माः
परितः स्फुरंति गिरयः, 166 a आवाल्याधिगमान्मयैष गमितः,
167 a भ्रांत्वा दिग्वलयं क्षितिभ्वर दिवं, 168 a मातुः खेदमयं
ततान पृथुकः, 188 a अस्ति श्रीस्तनपत्रमंगमकरीनिद्रांचितोरःस्थलो ।

Haragapa

152 a ऋज्वी दृष्टिरनुत्पन्नं विहसितं ।

Haribhatta

35 b काक त्वं फलनम्रमात्राधिपिन् ।

Harihara

P. 12 b पदव्यकिन्यकीकृत, 29 b आशाः पूरयति श्रियं धितरति
त्रैलोक्यतापं, 33 a उद्याने सहकारकोरकरसप्रत्याशया कोकिलः ।
उत्कृज्जु घटे घटे बत बकाः, 77 a गंजुं प्रांगणतो ददाति न मुहुस्तस्याः
कुरंगीदृशः । 80 b तन्वी संकेतवैश्मन्यतनुतदतले, चित्रोत्कीर्णादपि
विषधराज्ञोतिभाजो निशायां । 138 b मंदं निधेहि चरणौ परिधेहि
बासो । 144 a यल्लोकोतिशयोकिमेव वदतु स्तोत्रं पुनर्मन्यतां ।
148 a नेपथ्यादपि राजते किमपि सा व्यालुसभूषा तनुः । 150 b
तमोभिः पीयंते गतवयसि, कोपं संवृणु कोपनेभुसलिलैर्धोतांजने
किं कुशौ ।

Halayudha

P. 160 b अष्टांगुलपरीणाह ।

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE FIRST BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1864)

The study of Sanskrit has but recently risen in the estimation of the educated natives of this Presidency and of our educational authorities. The old Sanskrit College of Poona owed its existence and continuance rather to a spirit of conciliation and toleration in our rulers than to their conviction of the utility of Sanskrit as a branch of general education. The modern critical and progressive spirit was not brought to bear upon it. The old Śāstris were allowed to carry all things in their own way. After about thirty years since its establishment, the authorities began to exercise active interference, until at length the College was abolished and a new system inaugurated, which, to be complete and effective, requires, in my humble opinion, a partial restoration of the old institution.

This newly-awakened and more enlightened zeal in favour of Sanskrit cannot last, or produce extensive results, unless books are prepared to facilitate the general study of the language. I have heard students complain that they find Sanskrit more difficult than Latin, and many have actually left the study of their own classical tongue for that of its foreign rival. I do not know if this complaint has a foundation in the structure of the two languages ; but this, at least, I am sure of, that Sanskrit would be considerably more easy than it is, if there were men educated in our English Colleges to teach it, and if books specially adapted for beginners were available. It was with the view of supplying, in some measure, this latter desideratum that this little book was prepared about a year and a half ago. Its plan was originally sketched out by Dr Haug, though in a few places I found it necessary to deviate from it. * * * * *

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION (1871)

It has come to my knowledge that, in some of the schools, in which this book is taught, the teachers consider it to be their only duty to get their pupils to translate mechanically from and into Sanskrit the sentences given in each lesson. They pay little or no attention to the grammatical portion. In others, such books as the common *Rupāvali* are put into the hands of the pupils, and they are made to learn by heart the declensional forms given in these. This shows a misconception of the object of this book, which is evidently to teach grammar, and to teach it not for its own sake, but in its connection with the language, not in a manner simply to overburden the pupil's memory, but in a manner to awaken and encourage thought. The sentences are intended to serve as exercises in the rules and forms, and should be used as such. The teacher should see that the pupil thoroughly understands the rules, and knows the forms, and, in going over the sentences, get him frequently to explain the grammar of the words occurring therein, and such other points. Repeated exercise is what the teacher should particularly attend to. * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE SECOND BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1868)

This Second Book of Sanskrit has been prepared under instructions from Sir A Grant, Director of Public Instruction. Its plan is nearly the same as that of the First Book.

This and the First Book together contain as much Grammar as is needed for all practical purposes, perhaps more. I have adopted the terminology of the English Grammarians of Sanskrit, but have strictly followed Pāṇini, as explained by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita in his Siddhāntakaumudī. Most of the rules are mere translations of the Sūtras. Besides the terms, Guna, Vṛddhi, and a few others, which have been adopted from native Grammarians by nearly all European writers on the subject, I have found it necessary to appropriate two more, viz., *Seṭ* and *Aniṭ*.

The prejudice against mere native terms, in deference to which Professor Benfey seems in his smaller Grammar to have discarded even the words Guna and Vṛddhi, without substituting any others, is, in my humble opinion, very unreasonable, when it is difficult to frame new words to designate the things which they signify. It is very inconvenient to have to describe the same thing again and again whenever one has occasion to speak of it. It will at the same time be somewhat difficult for the learner to make out, when a thing is so described in a variety of cases, that it is the same. Words adapted to express a particular meaning are as necessary here as in other affairs of human life. What an amount of inconvenience would it, for instance, entail, if, whenever we had to speak of the human race, we were, instead of being allowed to use the

word "man," made to describe man's physical and rational nature ! But I must not elevate an ordinary truism to the rank of a newly-discovered truth * * * * *

There is one point in Sanskrit Grammar, in my explanation of which I have departed from ordinary usage, though I think I do agree with Pāṇini and his commentators. It is the sense to be attached to the so-called Aorist. The most laborious student of a dead language is not alive to all the nice shades of meaning, which are plain even to the uninstructed when a language is living. Even to a Mahā-Paṇḍita in these days the sound of *अवदे* is not at all so disagreeable as that of *होएक* is to the genuine Maratha peasant. We know of the distinction between the *Ātmanepada* and *Parasmaipada* only in theory, but that between the *ए* and *ई* of the Marathi Habitual Past, of the *एक* and *ईक* of the Future, we feel. We must, therefore, to determine this question about the Aorist, appeal to such Sanskrit works as, we have reason to suppose, must have been written when Sanskrit was a spoken language.

The Kāvya, the Nāṭakas, and most of the Purāṇas will not do for our purpose. Such books as the Samhitās of the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, or even those portions of the two great Epics which do not bear indications of having been subsequently tampered with, must be referred to. To institute such a wide research I have neither had the necessary time nor the necessary means. But the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa seems almost to decide the point. In this work, whenever stories are told, the so called Imperfect or the Perfect is always used, and the Aorist never occurs¹. On the contrary, when the

1 In the passage noticed below, we have *स ह सर्वान् ईमांश्च प्रापत्* where *प्रापत्* is the Aorist of *प्राप्* with *इ* and is used in the narration of a past event. But in the whole of the Brāhmaṇa there is, so far as I can recollect, not a single instance beside this, where the narrator uses the Aorist in speaking of past action. The evidence being then so overwhelming, some other explanation must be attempted

persons in the story are represented as speaking with one another, they use the Aorist, and the only sense that can be attached to it in these cases is that of the English Present Perfect, in other words, it indicates simply the completion of an action or an action that has just or recently been done. The reason why the Aorist occurs in these cases only is that there is no scope for recent past time in mere narration, and things that have just or recently occurred can come to be spoken of only when persons are talking with each other

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains passages remarkably illustrating what I say. The story goes —“Hariścandra said to Varuṇa, ‘Let a son be born to me and I will then offer him as a sacrifice to you.’ ‘Well,’ said Varuṇa. Then a son was born to him. Then said Varuṇa, ‘You have got a son, sacrifice him to me now’ Then said Hariścandra, ‘When a victim becomes ten days old, then he is fit to be sacrificed. Let the boy become ten days old, I will then sacrifice him to you’ ‘Well,’ said Varuṇa. The boy became ten days old. Then said Varuṇa, ‘He has become ten days old, sacrifice him now to me,’” and thus it proceeds. Now in this and the remaining portion of the Khaṇḍa, the verbs “said” (occurring several times), “was born,” “became” and others that are used by the narrator speaking in his own person are always in the Perfect, while “have got,” “has become,” etc., used by Varuṇa with reference to the boy, are in the Aorist. The latter clearly refer to a time just gone by

In the same manner, in the story of Nābhānediṣṭha, related in the fourteenth Khaṇḍa of the Fifth Pañcaka, the verbs अनाक, अनाकृ, अदुः and आवित used by Nābhānediṣṭha, and

in the present case, and this example ought by no means to be taken to invalidate the position in the text. Perhaps when the reading of Vedic books was fixed, प्रापत् and प्राप्नोत्, which occurs immediately after, were through mistake made to exchange places.

evidently, from the context, denoting events that have just happened, are in the Aorist, as also अवादीः used by Rudra. While when the author, in narrating the story, speaks of certain things as having taken place, he invariably uses the Imperfect, the event from his point of view having occurred at a remote past time. Similar instances, in which the Aorist on the one hand, and the Imperfect or the Perfect on the other, are used exactly in the same way, occur in 1-23, 2-19, 3-33, 4-17,¹ 6-33, 6-34, 7-27, 7-28, 8-7, 8-23, while narratives, in which the Perfect or the Imperfect only is used, and where there is either no conversation, or when there is, it is only with reference to present or future time, are innumerable 7-26, and 5-34 may also be consulted²

1 The cows held a sacrificial session with the object of getting horns after a year they got horns, and then they say to themselves —यस्मै कामवादीक्षामह्या-
पाम तमुचिद्वामः i.e., "The object for which we undertook the sacrificial ceremony we have got. We now rise or break up" Here आपाम is the Aorist of आप् 'to obtain,' and evidently means 'have got or obtained,' while अदीक्षामहि is the Imperfect of दीक्ष् and certainly does not indicate any event that has just happened.

2 To show how rich the language of this Brāhmana is in verbal forms, and especially of the Aorist, I will here give a list of the forms of the Aorist referred to in the text. It will be shown further on that the Brāhmana follows the rules of Pāṇini faithfully in the use of the Aorist, and the following list will show that the forms also of this tense strictly obey the rules laid down by that grammarian, except in a few cases.

अजनि	आदित	मा परिगात	आसिषत्	अग्रहीत्
अभूत्	अवादीः	अवृपत्	अमंस्त	अचारीत्
अहत्	अकृत	अभूः	अस्तृत्	अहोषीत्
अपत्सत्	अदीक्षिष्ट	अवधीः	अदात्	अगासीत्
अवोचत्	मा पात्	अवोचः	अवधीत्	अवोचत्
अमाक	अकर	अवोचम्	अजीजनत्	अशंसीत्
अमाधुः	मा दुषत्	अवोचन्	अजैषीः	अयासीत्
मा दृथाः	आपाम	आह्नास्थाः	अहुः	मा गात्
अदुः	अदर्शम्	आह्नासम्	अवाक्षीः	

We thus see that the so-called Aorist denotes recent past time or the mere completion of an action, and thus resembles the English Present Perfect. And this is confirmed by what Pāṇini says on the subject. The Sūtras which give the senses of the three past tenses are —**लुङ्** 3.2.110, **अजयत्ते कङ्** 3.2.111, **परोक्षे ङिद्** 3.2.115. They are thus to be interpreted—"लुङ् or the Aorist indicates past time, कङ् or the Imperfect shows a past action done previous to this day, and ङिद् or the Perfect, a past event which took place before this day, and which was not witnessed by the speaker." Now the first Sūtra gives a general rule, the second is an exception to it, and the third an exception to this again, the past time, therefore, left according to Pāṇini's system of rules and exceptions, for लुङ् to indicate, is अजयत्ते, that is to say, this day's लुङ् can also, by these Sūtras, indicate past time generally, i.e., express simply the completion of an action without reference to any particular past time. For, the category past time can admit of three divisions only according to the principle indicated in the Sūtras, viz., past time generally and not specifically, the time of this day, and the past time previous to this day. The last is taken up by कङ् and ङिद् and the first two belong, therefore, to लुङ्. By another Sūtra **नानजयत्तवाङिद्या-प्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः**, Pāṇini, 3.3.135, लुङ् expresses recent and continuous past action, in addition. So that according to Pāṇini, लुङ् indicates (1) past time generally, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day, and (3) recent past time.

Now all these characteristics we find in the English Present Perfect and not in the Indefinite Past. For, firstly, if we want to express simply the completion of an action, i.e., past time, generally without reference to any

Of these 44 forms—only five—**अजयत्**, **अकृत्**, **अकृ**, **आवाप्तम्**, and **अप्सुहः**—do not conform to the rules laid down by Pāṇini for the Bhāṣya or the Sanskrit current in his time (Note added in 1885)

particular past time, we do not use the Indefinite Past in English, but the Present Perfect. 'I read Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*' necessarily implies some particular time when the action of reading was done, in other words, the sense of the sentence is not complete without the specification of some time: We must add some such expression as 'two years ago' or the particular time must be understood from the context. But when we say 'I have read Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*,' there is no such necessity. Secondly, the English Present Perfect, like the Sanskrit कृत्, can denote, if it denotes any specific time at all, the past time of this day only. For, 'I have read the book to-day' is good English, but 'I have read the book yesterday' or 'a year ago' is not. And thirdly, the Present Perfect, as is generally admitted, denotes recent time in English.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION (1870)

The observations made in the Preface to the last edition as to the sense of the Aorist, have been confirmed by several passages I have met with, in the Samhitās of the Vedas and in Brāhmaṇas other than the *Āitareya*. But since this is hardly the place for an elaborate essay on the subject, I forbear to make any addition to what I have already said on the subject. I have only re-cast the remarks contained in the Preface on the meaning of the Sūtras of Pāṇini bearing on the question.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (1873)

Grammar was not an empiric study with Pāṇini and the other ancient grammarians of India. Those great sages observed carefully the facts of their language, and endeavoured always to connect them together by a law or rule, and to bring these laws again under still more general laws. Sanskrit Grammar

has thus become a science at their hands, and its study possesses an educational value of the same kind as that of Euclid and not much inferior to it in degree. For, to make a particular form, the mind of the student has to go through a certain process of synthesis. He has to mark the mutual connections of the rules he has learnt, and, in each given case, to find out which of them, from the conditions involved, hold good in that case, and to apply them in regular succession, until he arrives at the form required. A mere unscientific teaching of the forms as such, and mixing them up unconnectedly into a list, our grammarians never resorted to, so long as they could trace a resemblance even between two of them, if not more.

Convinced of the utility of this system, I tried in this book to adhere to Pāṇini so far as was convenient or practicable, and to give his general rules instead of splitting them up into the particular cases they comprehend. In this manner I was also able to compress a great deal of matter into comparatively small space. But the book necessarily became difficult, since instead of placing a ready-made form before the student it gave him only the rules, and required him to constitute it for himself. Experience, however, both as a learner and a teacher has taught me that Sanskrit Grammar learnt according to the latter method is more easily and longer remembered than if learnt empirically.

ON BHAVABHŪTI
BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND
EDITION OF THE MĀLATĪ-MĀDHAVA OF BHAVABHŪTI;
WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JAGADDHARA.
BOMBAY SANSKRIT SERIES (1905)

[The Edition was by Sir R. G. Bhandakar "Dedicated to the memory of E. I. Howard, Esq., Second Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, but for whose enlightened encouragement at a time when Sanskrit did not form part of the regular course of instruction imparted in our colleges, the editor would, in all probability, never have studied the sacred language of his country."] N B U

I

After describing the Manuscript material and the mutual relations of the MSS, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar proceeds —

All the nine MSS are independent of each other, and no two are copies of the same original or closely connected with each other. Hence, when two or more agree, the reading acquires a certain authoritativeness * * * * *

In a large number of cases, however, the agreeing MSS do not form such groups, but one of them agrees with one at one time and with any other at another at random. Looking to the fact that the groups give readings which are intelligible enough and often equally good, though a shade of difference can be discovered, which renders one preferable to the other, the conviction forced itself upon me that these changes were made by the poet himself at different times, and some MSS have preserved the earlier form and others the later. Of course, some of the differences in individual MSS, or even in

those agreeing with each other at random, may have been due to the mistakes of ignorant scribes or to the ingenuity of learned readers.

The Manuscript material for such a play as *Mālatī-Mādhava* is so ample and so satisfactory, that the idea of restoring the text by making conjectures, as if it were hopelessly corrupt, which a certain critic has started, must be entirely condemned. Even in the case of corrupt texts conjectural restoration ought to be resorted to only in cases in which the conjecture is happy and carries conviction with it. European scholars, I am sorry to say, indulge too frequently in it, especially in Vedic literature, when often they are not in circumstances to make a happy conjecture. It is not to be denied that some of the conjectures are striking and hit at the truth, but there are others which are simply gratuitous and provoking.

II

Bhavabhūti was descended from a family of Brahmins surnamed Udumbaras residing in Padmapura, in the country of the Vidarbhas, the modern Berars. They were followers of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Yajurveda, and belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. They were pious Brahmins, regularly worshipping Agni and sometimes performing the higher sacrifices such as Vājapeya. Even at present, there are families of Marathi and Tailanga Taittirīyin Brahmins in and about the country where the Udumbaras lived.¹ The name of Bhavabhūti's father was Nilakanṭha, of his mother, Jātukarnī, and of his grandfather, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla. He was the fifth in descent from one Mahākavi, who was a great sacrificer.

Bhavabhūti was a man of learning. He knew the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, and the Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. He has given indications of his acquaintance with the Yoga in

1 See explanatory notes on the play, Act I. line 31

Malatī-Mādhava and the *Viracarita*,¹ and in the *Uttararāmacarita*, has, in two or three places, alluded to the chief doctrines of the *Aupanishada* or *Vedānta* system, which appears to be somewhat different from that elaborated by Śamkarācārya.² The name of his Guru or teacher was *Jñānanidhi*,³ which looks like one assumed by persons when they enter into the fourth or *Samnyāsa* order and devote themselves to the study and contemplation of the Brahman, and that *Jñānanidhi* was the best of *Paramahansas* or ascetics of the highest order, we are told in the first half of the stanza in the *Viracarita*. He probably initiated our poet into the secrets of the *Vedānta*.

In the Introduction to his Edition of the *Gauḍavaho*,⁴ Mr. S. P. Pandit states that in the colophon of the third Act in a MS. of *Malatī-Mādhava*, received from a friend, he found it mentioned that the play was "composed by a pupil of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila," and in that of the sixth, that it was "composed by Śrīmat Umvekācārya, who acquired his literary power (*Vāgvaibhava*) through the favour of Śrī-Kumārilasvāmin." The conclusion drawn by him is, of course, that *Bhavabhūti* was a pupil of the great *Kumārila* *bhaṭṭa*. The statement in the colophon is certainly curious, and chronologically does not conflict with any known fact. But *Kumārila* was a great *Mīmāṃsaka*, and *Bhavabhūti* does not, in the introduction to his plays, speak of *Mīmāṃsā* as a subject which he had studied, though he makes mention of the other branches of knowledge mentioned above. In his works he brings in, as above

1 *Malatī-Mādhava* Act, V, *Viracarita*, beginning of Act III

2 Act II. शब्दब्रह्मणस्तादृशं विवर्तमितिहासं &c., Act VI. विद्याकल्पेन &c. See note on line 897 Act I. Creation according to Śamkarācārya is a *Vivarta*, while according to *Bhavabhūti* it is a *Pratīkama*.

3 See introduction to the *Viracarita* and the reading of N. O. K1. in the introduction (*Bhavabhūti's* *Pratīvanā*) to the *Malatī-Mādhava*.

4 Page COVI (Intro.) [M. B. U.]

remarked, his knowledge of the Vedānta and the Yoga, but there is no allusion to any thing that may be regarded as peculiar to the Mīmāṃsā. Again, in the nine Manuscripts collated by me and in G. representing as they do the text prevalent in different parts of the country from Kāśmīr to Mysore, some of them very old and in others consulted by other editors, there is no trace of the statement contained in Mr. Pandit's Manuscript. Bhavabhūta does give the name of his Guru Jñānanidhi, and, if he really owed his Vāgvaibhava to Kumārila, it is wonderful that he should not have mentioned the fact himself. Still I am not disposed to reject the statement entirely, but its verification must be left to future research.

Bhavabhūta is the author of three dramatic plays, the Viracarita, Mālātī-Mādhava and the Uttararāmacarita. Śaṅga-dhara, in his Paddhati, attributes two stanzas¹ to him which are found in none of these three. But the first of these is given by Jalhapa in his Suktimuktāvalī, as if belonging to an author named Mālātī-Mādhava, from whose work six more stanzas are quoted by him². The reference is made at the end in the usual way by the expression Mālātī-Mādhavasya. The second of the two stanzas and another have been attributed to Bhavabhūta in another anthology³. Another of the seven stanzas quoted by Jalhapa is given by Śaṅga-dhara, but not ascribed to anybody⁴.

1 निरवधानि पद्यानि यदि नाट्यस्य का इतिः ।

मिश्रकक्षाविनिक्षिप्तः किमिक्षुर्नीरसो भवेत् ॥ Pad. 6. 2, Stanza 146

in Peterson's Ed.

अलिप्तलैरनुयातां &c. Stanza 791, ib.

2 See my Report on the search for MSS. for 1887—91, p. xl. (=ante, p. 395.) [N. B. U.]

3 विवक्षितं in the Nirpayasāgar Edition of the play.

4 दामोदरमुद्रादितमुच्यते यो बहति &c. Report for 1887—91, p. xl, (=Ante, p. 395. N. B. U.) and Peterson's Ed. of Śaṅga. St. 1162.

54 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. II]

Jalhana is the earliest compiler of an anthology known to us, since he lived in the time of Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, who reigned from 1247 A. D. to 1260 A. D., and consequently the information derived from him is more reliable. It appears, therefore, that there was a poet who was called Mālātī-Mādhava, probably from his having had something to do with Bhavabhūti's work of that name, just as some others were called Nīdrādaridra, Utprekṣāvallabha, Sītākāratna, etc., from their using certain modes of expression. In later times his existence was forgotten, and when his name was found connected with certain stanzas, they were taken to be from the famous play of Mālātī-Mādhava attributed to Bhavabhūti. So that the occurrence in the later anthologies of the name of Bhavabhūti after certain Ślokaś not found in his known works, is not a just ground for inferring that he must have written another.

The Viracarita seems to have been Bhavabhūti's first attempt, for it does not exhibit that power and felicity of expression and insight into the human heart that the other two display, and is often heavy and uncouth. Mālātī-Mādhava must have been his second work, and the Uttararāmacarita, the last. In the benedictory stanza at the end of this, the play is represented as the production of his mature intellect.¹ And this is confirmed by internal evidence and the traditionary judgment of the Paṇḍits, among whom a verse declaratory of Bhavabhūti's "having in the Uttararāmacarita excelled" Kālidāsa, has been current²

These two poets are frequently compared with each other and regarded as the leading dramatists in the language. The ordinary belief among the Paṇḍits is that they lived at the same time, and a characteristic anecdote is told with regard to them. Bhavabhūti took his Uttararāmacarita, after he had composed it, to Kālidāsa

1 शब्दमहाविदः कवेः परिणतमहस्य बाणीमिमाम् ।

2 उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते ।

and asked him to give his judgment on it. Kālidāsa was at that time engaged in the game of Śaras, and told Bhavabhūti to read out the play for him. Bhavabhūti did so. All the while, Kālidāsa was deeply engaged in the game, and when Bhavabhūti had finished and asked him what he thought about the work, he said that "it was a very good production, better than his own works, and that the only fault he could discover was a superfluous dot or Anusvāra in the last line of one of the Ślokas." The line meant was *अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीत्* | Act I, and the superfluous dot, that on *एवं*, Kālidāsa thinking that it should be *एव*, as we find it in our text. Undoubtedly, *एव* is much better than *एवम्*, the anecdote, however, can have no historical foundation.

But though Kālidāsa could not have lived long enough to be thus consulted by Bhavabhūti, there can be little doubt that he was our poet's favourite author, and was admired by him. The loves of Śakuntalā and Dugyanta and of the Apsaras and Purūravas, mentioned by Kāmandaki in the second Act of the present play, may, very reasonably, be understood to be allusions to the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* and *Vikramorvaśī*. And in the ninth Act, Mādhava's idea of using a cloud as a messenger to his beloved, and even his manner and mode of addressing it, seem to have been suggested by the *Meghadūta*.

Bhavabhūti is a poet of great merit. He shows a just appreciation of the awful beauty and grandeur of Nature enthroned in the solitudes of dense forests, cataracts, and lofty mountains. He has an equally strong perception of stern grandeur in human character, and is very successful in bringing out deep pathos and tenderness. He is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things or actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feeling. He is a master of style and expression, and his cleverness in adapting his words to the sentiment is unsurpassed.

The genius of Bhavabhüti was, however, more of a lyric than of a dramatic nature. Notwithstanding the originality of conception involved in the plot of *Mālati-Mādhava*, the poet does not show such a skill in the arrangement of his incidents and in the denouement as is displayed by the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭī*, or even of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The incidents subsequent to the scene in the cemetery look like clumsy appendages and not like parts of a whole. *Kapālakunḍalā* is represented to have taken away *Mālati*, simply to give an opportunity to the poet to display his power of depicting the feelings of a man in *Viraha*, and the incident appears by no means to harmonize with, or to arise naturally out of, the previous story. Neither is the poet very skilful in the portraiture of varied character. In this also he is surpassed by *Śudraka*. Bhavabhüti had not the power of putting himself mentally into various situations, of forgetting one and becoming quite a new man in another. But as the poet of Nature and of human passion and feeling generally, he occupies a very high rank among Sanskrit authors.

Kālidāsa, as Prof. Wilson remarks, has more fancy. He is a greater artist than Bhavabhüti. The former suggests or indicates the sentiment which the latter expresses in forcible language. The characters of the latter, overcome by the force of passion, often weep bitterly, while those of the former simply shed a few tears, if they do so at all. In the language of Sanskrit critics, *Kālidāsa*'s *Rasa* is conveyed or *Abhivyakta* by the *Lakṣya* or *Vyangya* sense of words, while Bhavabhüti's is conveyed by the *Vācya* sense.

The excellences and shortcomings of Bhavabhüti's genius are fully seen in the *Uttarāmacarita*. The incidents in that play are but few. There is very little movement. But the description of the forest scenery of *Janasthāna* in the second Act, and the portraiture of the griefs of *Sītā* and *Rāma* in the third, are unrivalled. *Uttarāmacarita* is more adopted for the hall than for the stage, it is more a *Śrāvya* than a *Dṛśya Kāvya*, while the

beauties of Śakuntalā are more perceptible when acted than when read. The merits of the poet are also observable in *Malatī-Madhava*, but not in such a developed form as in the other play, while to his usual faults, must be added the use of long prose speeches containing bewildering compounds. Such a thing can never succeed on the stage. Perhaps in this as in several other respects, Bhavabhūti was carried away by the conventionalism which had begun to prevail, and the rules laid down by the critics, and the free play of his genius was obstructed. Long compounds constitute the poetic excellence called *Ojas*, and this *Ojas* is according to Daṇḍin the very soul of prose.¹

* The scene of the drama is laid at Padmāvatī situated at the confluence of two rivers named the *Parā* and the *Sindhu*. Of the identification and position of the town and the rivers, I have spoken in another place.²

According to the *Rājataranginī*, Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yaśovarman king of Kanauj. This Yaśovarman was subdued by Lalitāditya,³ king of Kāśmīr, who acquired by his conquests a paramount supremacy over a large part of India. The mention of this circumstance enables us to fix the date of Bhavabhūti. But the exact date of Lalitāditya or Muktapīḍa, as he was also called, is still a matter of dispute. Kalhana, the author of the *Rājataranginī*, gives the duration of the reigns of the kings noticed by him, and mentions the year 25 of the *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* Era as the date of the completion of his work. He began the work in 24 *Laukika*, corresponding to 1070 Śaka. According to the method of turning a *Laukika* into a Śaka year, given in my Report on Manuscripts for 1883-84 (p. 84),⁴ the

1 ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।

2 See explanatory notes on the play, Act I., lines, 88-89 (BSS. Edition).

3 कविर्वाष्पतिराजधर्मवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।

जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ *Raj Stein's Edn. IV. 144.*

4 Ante, p. 210 f. [N. B. U.]

Laukika 25 corresponds to 1071 Śaka passed and 24 to 1070 passed. The sum of the durations of the reigns from Lalitāditya to Jayasinha, who had been on the throne for 22 years when Kalhana finished his work, has been given by Mr S P. Pandit as 455 years, 7 months, and 11 days. This being subtracted from 1071, we have Śaka 615-4-19 as the date of Lalitāditya's accession, corresponding to 693 A.D. Cunningham in his original calculation, gives the same, but Mr. Pandit somehow arrives at 625 A.D., and this is the date given by M. Troyer also. But the total of the durations given above includes a reign of seven years (Sapta vatsarān) assigned to Saṃgrāmapīḍa, one of the successors of Lalitāditya, in two of the Manuscripts of the work, while a third gives him a reign of seven days only (Sapta vāsarān). This will bring the date of the accession of Muktapīḍa, with whom we are concerned, to 700 A.D. Considering the arguments urged on both sides, it is difficult to decide which of the two readings is correct, but I am inclined from the context to regard Sapta vatsarān as the correct reading. Lalitāditya-Muktapīḍa thus reigned from 693 A.D. to 729 A.D. or 700 A.D. to 736 A.D.

But a comparison with Chinese chronology throws a doubt on the correctness of the date. The Chinese annals represent Candrapīḍa, brother of Muktapīḍa, who reigned before Tārāpīḍa, another brother and the immediate predecessor of Muktapīḍa, to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in the year 713 A.D., and to have received the title of "king" at his request from the Chinese emperor in 720 A.D., while, according to Kalhana's chronology, Candrapīḍa died in 689 A.D. As Chinese chronology has always proved accurate, there must be a mistake of about 31 years in Kalhana's chronology of the period, supposing Candrapīḍa to have died soon after receiving the title. Lalitāditya himself is represented to have sent an embassy to China some time after 736 A.D.¹ which he could not have

1 Dr Stein's transl. of the Rājatar., Intz., p. 67

done if he died in 729 A.D. or in even 736 A.D. according to Kalhana's chronology. If, therefore, we apply the correction of 31 years, Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's date will have to be understood to be 724-760 A.D. or 731-767 A.D. Yaśovarman, therefore, must have been subdued by Lalitāditya after 724 A.D. or 731 A.D.

And a still closer approximation has been arrived at by Prof. Jacobi. In stanzas 827-831 of Mr. Pandit's edition of the *Gauḍavadhā* are given the portentous events which took place in the world as mentioned in stanza 832 on the occasion "when the corner of Yaśovarman's eye became twisted in consequence of a momentary shaking of his (kingly) position." Prof. Jacobi justly takes this to be a reference to Lalitāditya's invasion.¹ And certainly Yaśovarman's loss of his position was momentary, for the Kaśmīr prince does not appear to have annexed his kingdom, but simply to have gone away after he had received his submission and concluded an alliance. Among the portentous occurrences, one was the assumption by the disk of the sun, when "it was pierced through by Ketu, of the form of an anklet as it were of the Lakṣmī (glory) of the three worlds, dislocated from her foot when she thrust it forth violently in anger" (Stanza 829.) Evidently what is alluded to here is an annular eclipse of the sun, and this, according to astronomical calculations, occurred, as stated by Prof. Jacobi², and was visible at Kanauj, on the 14th of August 733 A.D. It was in that year, therefore, that Yaśovarman was attacked by Lalitāditya. A king of Central India of the name of I-cha-fon-mo is mentioned by Chinese authors as having sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D.³ This I-cha-fon-mo has, I think, been properly identified with Yaśovarman, and here we have the date of Bhavabhūti's patron from another source.

1 *Göt. gel. Ans.*, 1888, nr. 2, p. 67

2 *Ib.*, p. 68.

3 Dr. Stein's transl. *Rājatar.*, Intr., p. 89, and note on IV. 124.

The ambassador of Muktāpīḍa, who was sent to the Chinese court some time after 736 A.D., is represented to have claimed the king of Central India as his master's ally. He is in all likelihood Yaśovarman himself, and, if so, Dr. Stein thinks that Lalitāditya must have subdued Yaśovarman after the date of the embassy, i.e., long after 736 A.D.¹ This goes against the date arrived at from the annular eclipse, but the fact appears to be that, as stated above, Muktāpīḍa did not annex the territory of Yaśovarman to his kingdom, but kept him on the throne and formed an alliance with him, and hence the latter was represented as the ally of the Kāśmīr prince.

From Jaina sources, if they are to be trusted, we arrive at an approximate date for the death of Yaśovarman, which is consistent with those given above. Rājasekhara, the author of the *Prabandhakosa*, tells us that a Jaina saint of the name of Bappabhaṭṭi converted to Jainism. Āmarāja, the son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Bappabhaṭṭi was initiated as a monk in 807 of the Vikrama era. Soon after that event he met Āmarāja, who lived as a voluntary exile in Gujarat. After he had succeeded his father, Bappabhaṭṭi was, at his suggestion, raised to the dignity of Śrī. This occurred in 811 A.V. Between 807 A.V. and 811 A.V., corresponding to 751 A.D. and 755 A.D., i.e., about the year 753 A.D., therefore, Yaśovarman died.

The *Rajataranginī* mentions another poet of the name of Vākpatirāja, who also was in the service of Yaśovarman.² The *Gauḍavadha* alluded to above is the work of this poet, and in it also, he mentions the fact.³ "There was," he says about himself, "nothing interesting about him, but he derived his importance by resorting to the feet of Kamalāyudha."⁴

1 Transl. *Rājatar*, Intr., p. 89

2 St. IV. 144, quoted before.

3 Stanza 797 of Pandit's Edn.

4 Ib. St. 798.

* Kamalāyudha was a poet, from whose work or works quotations are made by Jahlapa and other anthologists. He was thus a contemporary of Vākpatirāja. Then he tells us how, "in his rugged compositions, there still shine certain excellences as if they were the drops of the poetic nectar churned out of the ocean in the shape of Bhavabhūti." Herein he speaks of his indebtedness to Bhavabhūti, from his connection with whom he derived some poetic conceptions or modes of expression. From the manner in which the statement is made, Bhavabhūti appears to have lived long before he wrote this. Since Vākpatirāja mentions the annular eclipse of August 14th, 733 A.D., not as a recent event, he must have written his work a pretty long time after 733 A.D., and before 753, the approximate date of Yaśovarman's death. We may, in general terms, therefore, state that the poet flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century, and Bhavabhūti in the first.

The date thus determined agrees with all that is known of the chronological relations of Bhavabhūti with other writers. In the first place, Bāṇa's omission of his name from the long list given by him at the beginning of his *Harṣacarita* is now intelligible. Bāṇa flourished in the first half of the seventh century. A verse from Bhavabhūti is quoted in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakośa*.¹ Kṣīrasvāmin is mentioned

1 15 St 788—भवभूतजलहिनिगयकव्यामयरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।

अस्स विसेसा अज्जवि वियहेसु कहापिसेसेसु ॥

Com —भवभूतिजलधिनिर्गतकाव्यामृतरसकणा इव स्फुरन्ति यस्य विशेषा अद्यापि विकटेषु कथानिविशेषु । निबन्धेष्विति कचित्पाठः ॥

2 दधति कुहरमाजामत्र—Prof. Aufrecht's paper on *Commentare Zum Amarakośa* in Z. D. M. G. for 1874. Prof. Aufrecht, however, traces the verse wrongly to the *Kirātārjunīya*.

in the *Rajataranginī* as the teacher of Jayāpiṇḍa,¹ the grandson of Lalitāditya, who reigned from 752 A.D. to 783 A.D., according to Kalhana's Chronology. But as Kṣīrasvāmin notices Bhoja as a grammarian and lexicographer, it is highly doubtful whether the author of the commentary was the same as Jayāpiṇḍa's teacher. Supposing the Bhoja referred to was the same as the famous prince of Dhārā of that name, Kṣīrasvāmin will have to be placed between about 1040 A.D., and 1141 A.D., the latter being the year in which Vardhamāna wrote his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, in which he mentions Kṣīrasvāmin.²

Bhavabhūti is also quoted by Vāmana in his *Kāvya-lamkāra-vṛtti*. Quotations from his work occur in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and in a work of Abhinavagupta, who wrote in the beginning of the 11th century. He is, therefore, in all likelihood, the same as Jayāpiṇḍa's minister of that name. Bhavabhūti is quoted by Rājasekhara, the dates of whose patron, Mahendrapāla, king of Kanauj, are 893, 899, 903 and 907 A.D. He is also quoted by Somadeva, the author of the *Yasastilaka*, who wrote the work in 881 Śaka, corresponding to 959 A.D., in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Kṛṣṇa III, by Dhanika, the author of the *Dāśarūpakāvaloka*, and brother of Dhanamjaya, the author of the *Dāśarūpaka*, who lived at the court of Mūñja of Malva (974-995 A.D.), and in the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana** attributed to Bhoja of Dhārā, who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century. Bhavabhūti is also quoted by Vardhamāna mentioned above and by Mammaṭa, the author of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Verses from his work occur in Jalhana's anthology noticed above, and in Śaṅgadhara's *Paddhati* and similar works written in later times.

1 क्षीरामिषाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायात्संभृतभृतः ।

बुधैः सह ययौ बुद्धिं स जयापीडपण्डितः ॥ IV. 489.

2 See Prof. Aufrecht's paper referred to above. The year of Vikrama in which Vardhamāna wrote is given as 1197.

III

ON JAGADDHARA, THE COMMENTATOR OF
MĀLATĪ-MĀDHAVA

Jagaddhara, the author of the commentary on Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* was, as he himself tells us, the son of Ratnadhara and Damayanti. Ratnadhara was the son of Vidyadhara, and grandson of Gadadhara. This last was the son of Rāmeśvara who was the son of Deveśa, son of Caṇḍeśvara. Caṇḍeśvara appears to have obtained from some king or chief the grant of a village of the name of Suragrāma. All his ancestors, except perhaps his father, were Mimāṃsakas. He or his father appears to have been a judicial functionary to some chief. His grandfather resided, Dr Hall states, probably on the authority of Jagaddhara's other works, at Videhanagara in Mithilā. Our scholiast gives in some cases, vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit words, but the reading is often so corrupt and uncertain that it is not possible to find out from these what his own vernacular was.

But none of the facts mentioned by him enables us to determine the period when he lived. All that can be done is to arrive, if possible, from the authors and works quoted or mentioned by him, at a date before which he could not have lived. In his present work, Jagaddhara refers to Amara, the Dharanī, the Śāsvata, the Hārāvalī, the Utpalīnī, the Viśva or Viśvapraśāsa,¹ the Śabdapraśāsa, the Śabdabheda,² the Anekārtha, the Nanārtha, the Ratnakosa, the Medinī, the Amara-

1 What is often called the *Viśva* is really the *Viśvapraśāsa* of Maheśvara. I looked for some of the verses quoted by Jagaddhara from the *Viśva* in the two copies of the *Viśvapraśāsa* in Dr Bühler's Collection, and found them in both.

2 The *Śabdapraśāsa* and the *Śabdabheda* are one and the same work and identical with the *Śabdabhedapraśāsa* which is an Appendix to the *Viśvapraśāsa*. I looked for the passages quoted by Jagaddhara in the copy in Dr Bühler's Collection and found them there.

mālā, the Amaraṭā,¹ the Dhātusaṅgraha, the Dhātupradīpa, the Nyāsa, Bharata, Daṇḍin, the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, the Meghadūta, Māgha, and Naiṣadha.² Of the lexicons quoted by him the date of the Viśvaparakāśa is known. It was composed, as the author himself informs us in a Śloka at the end of his work, in Śaka 1033 corresponding to 1111 A.D.³ Jagaddhara furnishes us with another clue. At the beginning of the seventh Act, after explaining that the root वृज् with ञ् signifies to "take one's leave finally," or to "bid adieu" he tells us that the same root occurs in the Meghadūta and is explained by the commentator in the same way. A great many commentaries on this poem, besides that of Mallinātha, are mentioned in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* none of which, however, is well known. And since Jagaddhara speaks of one commentator only without giving his name, he must be understood to have been aware of one commentary only, so well known as to render a mention of the author's name superfluous. I, therefore, take it he alludes to Mallinātha who, in his scholia on the poem, does explain the root in the same way as Jagaddhara. Mallinātha, therefore, lived before our scholast. Now Mallinātha according to Prof. Aufrecht, flourished after the thirteenth century,⁴ since he quotes from a work of Bopadeva in one of his commentaries. Bopadeva was a contemporary of Hemādri who was a counsellor to Mahādeva⁵ and Rāmadeva, kings of Devagiri, and consequently flourished at the end of the thirteenth

1 Amaramālā and Amaraṭā appear to have been two names of the same book, or the latter is a mislocation.

2 Dr. Hall gives some more names from the other works of the scholast:—the Gītāgovinda, the Uttaratantra, Ratnāvalī, Vāla and Vindhyavāsin, and Mattanāga.

3 See Prof. Aufrecht's *Ori. Cat.* p. 1885. I do not, however, find the Śloka in the Manuscripts in Dr. Bühler's Collection.

4 *Ori. Cat.* p. 118a.

5 *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 116 and 117.

century. Mallinātha wrote a commentary on the *Ekāvalī*, a work on Poetics, and the prince, who is panegyrised in that work, ruled over Orissa till the first decade of the fourteenth century. That is the date of the *Ekāvalī*, but the commentary must be later by about fifty years if not more.¹ Another circumstance which indicates Mallinātha's priority to Jagaddhara is that while the latter quotes from the *Medinī* every now and then, the lexicon is never referred to by Mallinātha.² If the *Medinī* were composed before Mallinātha, we might certainly expect quotations from it somewhere in his vast commentaries. *Medinikāra*, therefore, very probably lived after Mallinātha and certainly before Jagaddhara.

We should make a further advance in the present inquiry if we could determine the age of this lexicographer so often quoted by our scholiast. In the introduction to his vocabulary, *Medinikāra* mentions Mādhava. If this Mādhava is the same as the great Minister of Bukka and Harihara, kings of Vijayanagara, the *Medinī* must have been written in or after the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century.³ In Rāyamukūṭa's commentary on the *Amarakośa*, there are many quotations from this lexicon. Rāyamukūṭa wrote his work, as he himself incidentally tells us, in 1353 Śaka and in 4532 Kaliyuga,⁴ correspond-

1 See my Report on Manuscripts for 1887-91, p. lxxix, and note in the Introduction to Mr. Trivedi's Ed. of the *Ekāvalī*. [=Apte, p. 338, the note on *Ekāvalī* is included in the Volume later.] N. B. U.

2 See Oxf. Cat. p. 118 and Appendices to Mr. Pandit's Ed. of *Raghuvamśa*. Prof. Aufrecht has observed one quotation from the lexicon in the commentary on *Māgha*, but it is a later interpolation. (See the Preface to his Ed. of *Ujjvaladatta*, p. xiv. notes).

3 See Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 107. The date of Mādhava's grant is 1818 Śaka, i. e., 1391 A. D.

4 इदानीं च शकाब्दाः १३५३ इति शब्दादधिकपञ्च [शत?] वर्षोत्तरवर्षाः सहस्रवर्षाणि कलिसंख्यायां भूतानि ४५३२ । Rāya. on Am. I. 1. 8. 22.

ing to 1431 A D Medinikāra, therefore, lived after about 1375 A. D and before 1431 A D But, if the Mādhava alluded to by him was another person, we must determine his date with reference to that of Mallinātha instead of Mādhava, and Rāyamukuta, but the result is about the same, as Mallinātha must have flourished, as stated above, after the middle of the fourteenth century Probably Medinikāra lived about the same time as Mallinātha Jagaddhara, therefore, lived after the fourteenth century, but how long after, we have not the means of determining. A Manuscript of his commentary on the present play was written as we have seen in the year 1764 Vikrama, corresponding to 1708 A D., so that his latest limit is the end of the 17th century

Jagaddhara's commentary is very valuable His interpretation of his author is generally correct and proper, but after having given an explanation which alone is plain and sensible, he often attempts several others which are fanciful and far-fetched, probably to show off his learning and acumen. In a few places he is positively wrong I have considered all these cases in the explanatory notes. His quotations from Bharata and other authors and the information that he gives on several points are of very great use, especially to the University student.

Besides the present commentary, Jagaddhara wrote others, on the Venīśamhāra, Vāsavadattā, Meghadūtā, Bhagavadgītā, and Devīmahātmya.

A NOTE ON EKĀVALĪ

(Originally published in the Late Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi's Edition of the Ekāvalī, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 63, 1903; pp. XXXIII—XXXVII) —N. B. U

In view of the Inscriptions brought to the notice of Mr. K. P. Trivedi by Mr. K. B. Pathak, and others which Mr. Pathak has not mentioned,¹ the remarks made by me on the date of the Ekāvalī, in my Report² on the Search for Manuscripts during 1887-91, require to be supplemented, though the conclusions at which I arrived from the internal evidence, as to the approximate time, when the author of the work flourished, remains not only perfectly unshaken, but is remarkably confirmed, and the Inscriptions do not yield much in elucidation of the point discussed that was not known before.

The list of the princes who ruled over Orissa given by Sir W. W. Hunter and Mr. Sewell is based on the Chronicle of the Jagannātha Temple, and like other productions of the kind, contains a good deal that has no surer foundation than fancy or imagination, mixed especially in the later portion with much that is historically true. It should, therefore, be accepted with caution, and confirmatory evidence of a more reliable nature should be resorted to where available. Such evidence we have in the case of the Ganga Dynasty which ruled over the country, and with which alone we are here concerned. Seven Copper-plate Inscriptions of princes of this family have

¹ For these Inscriptions, See Trivedi's Introduction to Ekāvalī, p.p. XXVI ff. [N. B. U.]

² Ante, pp. 328-324. It will be seen that Manuscript belonged to the 1884-87 Collection, though the notice thereof was originally contained in the 1887-91 Report. [N. B. U.]

hitherto been discovered, three of Coḍagaṅga, two of Narasimha II, and two of Narasimha IV.

The year of Coḍagaṅga's accession is given as 999 Śaka, and the dates of his three copper-plate grants are 1003 Ś., 1040 Ś., and 1075 Ś. The dates of the grants of Narasimha II are 1217 Ś., which was the regnal year represented by the figure 21, and 1218 Ś., and those of the Inscriptions of Narasimha IV are 1305 Ś., which as a regnal year, was represented by the figure 8, and 1316 Ś., represented by the figure 22. In representing a regnal year by a figure, 1, 6, and a figure ending in 6, as well as a figure ending in zero except 10, were, we are told by Babu Manmohan in another paper of his, omitted as inauspicious. Thus the figure 8 represented the sixth year of the reign of Narasimha IV (1 and 6 being dropped), and the figure 22, the eighteenth year (1, 6, 16, and 20 being dropped). Thus 1305 Ś. was the sixth year of his reign, and 1316 Ś., the eighteenth. If 1305 Ś. was the sixth year, 1316 Ś., (ought to be the seventeenth instead of the eighteenth. But this difference is probably due to the fact that a new number was given to the regnal year in the month of Bhādrapada, so that in Caitra, 1316 Śaka was represented by the number 17, as 1305 Śaka was by 6, and in Mārgaśīrṣa the month named in the grant of 1314 Ś., by the number 18. Thus, 1217 Ś., which as a regnal year of Narasimha II, is represented by the figure 21, was the seventeenth year of his reign.

The grants also give the genealogy of the dynasty with the duration of the reigns of the princes. This is given by Babu Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the grants of Narasimha IV, and need not here be repeated. The genealogy is certainly reliable, but the years of the duration of the reigns are certainly not. For, in the first place, in the grants of 1217 Ś.,

1 Uryā Inscriptions of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, Part I, No. 1, 1893.

of 1205 Ś., and 1316 Ś., the year of accession of Kāmārṇava, the successor of Coḍaganga, is given as 1064 Ś. If the latter got possession of the throne in 999 Ś., and his son 1064 Ś., he could not have reigned for 70 years as he is represented to have done, but only 65.

Again if we calculate by adding to Śaka 1064, which is the date of the accession of Kāmārṇava, the number of years for which the reigns of the succeeding princes lasted, we have the following dates for the accession of the last seven princes —

Narasimha I,	1174 Ś	Duration 33 years
Virabhānudeva I,	1207 Ś	„ 17 „
Narasimhadeva II,	1224 Ś	„ 34 „
Virabhānudeva II,	1258 Ś	„ 24 „
Narasimhadeva III,	1282 Ś	„ 24 „
Bhānudeva III,	1306 Ś	„ 26 „
Narasimha IV,	1332 Ś	

But from the contemporary evidence of their own plates, 1217 Ś was the seventeenth year of the reign of Narasimha II, and 1316 Ś, the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasimha IV. Therefore, either the date of accession of Kāmārṇava, 1064 Ś., for which we have no contemporary evidence, is wrong, or the durations of the reigns or both

Now, if 1316 Ś was the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasimha IV, he must have come to the throne in 1299 Ś. Calculating backwards by subtracting the years of the duration of each reign, we get the following dates for the accession of the seven princes —

Narasimhadeva I	1141 Ś.
Virabhānudeva I	1174 Ś
Narasimhadeva II	1191 Ś
Virabhānudeva II	1225 Ś
Narasimhadeva III	1249 Ś.
Bhānudeva III	1273 Ś.
Narasimhadeva IV	1299 Ś.

But according to one of the grants of Narasimhadeva II, 1217 Ś., was the seventeenth year of his reign, and he must have come to the throne in 1201 Ś., while according to our calculation, he got possession of it in 1292, i e., eleven years earlier. Now since we started from a date vouched for by a contemporary document, and thus come to a conclusion, opposed to another contemporary document, the years of the duration of each reign given in the plates must be wrong. The date of Narasimha II occurring in his earlier grant is found on computation to correspond to Monday the 6th August, 1296 A.D., and those of Narasimha IV, Sunday, 6th March, 1384 A.D., and to Tuesday, 23rd November, 1395 A.D.

Now from all this, what we get for our present purpose, is no more than what we got from Sir W W Hunter's list, viz., that about the end of the thirteenth century of the Christian Era, which is the period in which, from the internal evidence the Ekāvali was composed and the king panegyrised lived, there was a Narasimha who ruled over Orissa. The date of his accession is 1201 Ś, i e., 1279 or 1280 A.D., while in the list, he is represented as having acceded to the throne in 1282 A.D. There is a difference of two years only, which can be accounted for in a variety of ways. If the period for which he is spoken of as having reigned, is to be regarded as correct, he held power till 1314 A.D., while according to the list, he ruled over the country till 1307 A.D.

That Narasimha II was the Narasimha of the Ekāvali is rendered highly probable, or I might say, certain by the fact that in the Inscriptions of Narasimha IV, he is in one place called कविप्रियः "or favourite of poets" and in another, कविपुत्रवत्सलः "the moon that made the night lilies in the shape of poets expand." The description applies to the hero of the Ekāvali, both because he was chosen for his panegyric by Vidyādhara, and because he must have patronized him and others like him.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA

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INTRODUCTORY

Before entering on the subject of this paper it is necessary to give to the reader a general idea of the comparative antiquity of the different portions of Sanskrit literature referred to therein. The hymns contained in the R̥gveda Samhitā are the oldest, but they were composed at different times and some of them are much later than the others. The verses of these hymns when used for sacrificial purposes are called Mantras. The Brāhmaṇas which contain an explanation of the sacrificial ritual come next, but there was a very long interval between them and the hymns. Then we have the Āraṇyakas which contain the Upaniṣads. There are treatises of the latter name which are very modern and form by no means a part of the Vedic literature though sometimes they profess to do so. Later than these are the Śrauta or Sacrificial Sūtras, and contemporaneous with them, or somewhat later, are the Grhya Sūtras. The Dharma Sūtras in which the religious and sometimes a civil law is laid down are still more modern.

The Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda contain the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portions mixed together. Some of the Mantras may be as old as the later hymns of the R̥gveda Samhitā, but the Brāhmaṇa portion must be of about the same age as the Brāhmaṇas of the R̥gveda. Some of

the hymns of the Atharva Veda may be as old as the later ones of the Rgveda ; but others are considerably more modern.

Buddhism rose in the later part of the sixth century before Christ ; and the death of Buddha took place about 477 B. C. The genuine Upaniṣads must be earlier than Buddhism. The Grammarian Patañjali lived about 150 B. C., and Pāṇini, the author of the Sūtras on Grammar, must have preceded him by several centuries. Yaska the author of the Nirūkta, which contains an explanation of the difficult words in the hymns, must have flourished before Pāṇini.

From about the middle of the third century before Christ, to about the end of the third after, Buddhism was the favourite religion of the masses. During that time Brahmanic literary and religious activity was a good deal impaired. In the fourth century Buddhism declined and there was a Brahmanic revival, and the Brahmanas re-edited some of the books on the religious and the civil law which had been written in the form of prose sentences called Sūtras, and gave a new and more popular shape to them. Thus arose the Metrical Smṛtis or Smṛtis composed in Anuṣṭup Ślokas which now go by the name of Manu, Yājñavalkya and other sages of the antiquity. They of course contained mostly the same matter as the old Dharma Sūtras, but they brought the law up to the time. This species of literature having come into existence in this way, other numerous Smṛtis of the like nature came to be written subsequently.

The old Purāṇas were also re-cast about the period, and a good many new ones written. The Mahābhārata is mentioned by Pāṇini and in Āśvalāyana's Gṛhya-Sūtras, but was consolidated into something like its present shape probably three or four centuries before Christ, but passages were interpolated into it from time to time, and it must have been retouched at the time of the revival.

CASTE

More than four thousand years before Christ, according to the latest researches, the Sanskrit speaking people called the Āryas penetrated into India from the North West. They were at first settled in Eastern Kabulistan and along the upper course of the Indus, and thence they gradually descended the river to the South, and spread also to the east in the upper part of the country watered by the five rivers of the Punjab. Their progress at every step was resisted by another race or races which in the R̥gveda are designated by the name of Dasyu or Dāsa. The Dasyus are contrasted with the Āryas and are represented as people of a dark complexion who were unbelievers, i.e., did not worship the Gods of the Āryas and perform the sacrifices, but followed another law. The Āryan Gods Indra and Agni are frequently praised for having driven away the black people, destroyed their strongholds and given their possessions to the Āryas. "From day to day," it is said in one hymn, "he (Indra) drove the people who were black, all alike, from one habitation to another." Those who submitted were reduced to slavery, and the rest were driven to the fastnesses of mountains. The process was carried on in all parts of the country to which the Āryans penetrated. The old word Dāsa came to denote a "slave" generally, and the word Dasyu acquired the significance of a "robber," as those aborigines who had taken themselves to mountain fastnesses subsisted on robbery. The latter word came also to signify "one beyond the Āryan pale" as these tribes of robbers were.

While the Āryans were in the Punjab they were divided into a good many tribes, each having a king of its own, and a family or families of priests. There were among them three social grades or ranks. To the first belonged the priests, who composed Brahmins (with the accent on the first syllable), i.e., songs or hymns to the Gods and knew how to

worship them, and were called Brahmins (with the accent on the second syllable). The second grade was occupied by those who acquired political eminence and fought battles and were called Kṣatriyas. All the other Āryas were referred to the third grade and were distinguished by the name of Viśas or people generally. These three classes formed one community, and such of the aborigines as had yielded to the Āryas, were tacked on to it as a fourth grade under the name of Dāsas, which word had now come to signify slaves or servants. Such grades existed amongst ancient Persians also. In the course of time these grades became hereditary and acquired the nature of castes, and were called Brāhmapas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The fourth class came to be called Śūdras, which probably was at first the name of the aboriginal tribe which had acquired a distinct position in the community, and was afterwards generalised.

These four castes are mentioned in one of the latest hymns of the R̥gveda. The first two formed definite classes with a definite sphere of duties and were the aristocracy of the community. Since the Vaiśya class included all other Āryas, there was a tendency in it towards the formation of sub-classes or communities and possibly there were such sub-classes, which according to some, formed independent castes. The Śūdras being the aborigines, there were in all likelihood several castes amongst them corresponding to the several races which inhabited the country before the invasion of the Āryas. These were of course denied the privilege of keeping the sacred fire or performing the sacrifices, and were not allowed to read or study the Vedas. The two highest castes do not seem, in the times to which the old religious literature refers, to have split up into sub-castes. No such are referred to in that literature, though they are supposed by some scholars to have existed. There were tribes of Kṣatriyas or Kṣatriyas and Gotras of Brāhmapas, but not castes.

With this social constitution the Āryas spread over the whole of Northern India, and the Śūdra population, incorporated with their community, became so large that it influenced the future development of the country. The Sanskrit language was corrupted and the Vernaculars began to be formed.

THE ABORIGINES AND THE FORMATION OF THE PRAKRITS

The languages of Northern India including the Marathi are offshoots of the Sanskrit, and they were formed not by a course of gradual corruption and simplification such as we meet with in the case of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race, but by a wholesale corruption of Sanskrit sounds, i.e., mis-pronunciation of Sanskrit words by a race, the vocal organs of which were not habituated to utter those sounds, and by a generalization of such grammatical forms as were in common use, through ignorance of the special forms. Thus arose in very ancient times the Prakrit including the Pali or the language of the sacred books of Southern Buddhists; and these have, in the course of time, become the modern Vernaculars. The phonetic difference between these and the old Prakrits is but slight when compared with that between the latter and the Sanskrit, which shows that there was, when the Prakrit was formed, a special cause in operation, viz., the incorporation of alien races, and this cause has ceased to exist in later times. The Prakrits and through them the Vernaculars have got some special sounds and also words which are foreign to Sanskrit, and this points to the same conclusion.

Thus then these dialects show that the new races that were incorporated with the Āryan community had to give up their own languages and learn those of their Āryan conquerors.

The Prakrits and the Vernaculars bear the same relation to Sanskrit that the Romance languages, Italian, French, etc., bear to the Latin, and just as these were formed by communities

composed of the old Romans and an overpoweringly large element of the Celtic and the Germanic races, so were the languages of Northern India formed by mixed communities of Āryans and aborigines. As a matter of fact, some of the vocal peculiarities of the makers of Prakrits are displayed by the people of different Indian provinces at the present day. Thus like the former, the Gujarathis of the present day cannot pronounce the Sanskrit sound **जौ** but always make **जो** of it, the Bengali cannot utter the conjunct consonant in **Īvara** and other words and invariably changes it into a double consonant, making **इस्सर** of **ईश्वर**; the Deśastha Brahmans of Eastern Mahārāṣṭra pronounce a dental nasal as a cerebral, and the Sindhi and also the Bengali cannot utter **क्ष** but must make **क्ख** of it. The Bengali shows also the peculiarity of the old Māgadhī speakers by his incapacity to utter the three different sibilants and his giving them all a palatal sound. This would show that among the speakers of the Modern Vernaculars, there is such a large aboriginal element that it has overpowered the Āryan element, and they may as well be regarded as descendants of the aborigines as of the Āryas.

All this preponderating influence of the aborigines is to be accounted for not only by their large numbers but by the fact that men from the Āryan community frequently married Śūdra wives though the marriages were considered inferior, and sometimes Śūdra men married Āryan women. The fact that some of the Law-Books allow of the former and prohibit the latter, shows that in practice there must have been many such cases, since the law never deals with imaginary circumstances but always such as are actual. The origin of certain castes is traced in those books to such marriages, and it is even represented that under certain circumstances, and after the lapse of a certain number of generations, the offspring of those marriages can attain to the caste of the original progenitor. If

then, the descendant in the fifth and sixth generation of a child of a Śūdra woman by a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya man, could become a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya when such marriages were permitted, it must be understood that there is some aboriginal blood flowing through the veins of the high caste Hindus of the present day.

To Southern India the Āryans penetrated at a comparatively late period, when communities and nations of aboriginal races had already been formed. They did not settle there in large numbers and thus were unable thoroughly to influence the latter, and incorporate them into their community. Hence they preserved their own languages and many of the peculiarities of their civilization, and these the Āryans themselves had to adopt in the course of time. The Kanarese, the Tamil, the Telgu and the Malayalam belong to an entirely non-Āryan stock of languages.

THE CASTES AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

It was not possible in the nature of things that the castes should always follow the profession or calling which brought them into existence, and which is laid down for them in the ancient Law-Books. The Brahmins alone could officiate as priests at sacrifices and in the domestic ceremonies, and a great many devoted themselves to that occupation. There were those who preferred plain living and high thinking, and taking a vow of poverty devoted their lives to study. But there were still others who took to agriculture, trade, and other much meaner occupations and also to politics, and there was in the olden times even a Brahmanic dynasty reigning at Pataliputra. But politics and war were the special occupation of the Kṣatriyas. They also devoted themselves to Philosophy and Literature, and in the Upaniṣads they are several times mentioned as teachers of religious philosophy, and Brahmins

as learners. In one place it is said that Brahma Vidyā was first cultivated by them.¹

It was on account of this philosophic culture that religious reformers sprang from their ranks. Buddha was a Kṣatriya and so was Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism. Vasudeva whose name is closely connected with the Bhakti school, either as the name of the supreme being, or as a teacher, was a Kṣatriya of the Yādava Clan. A Brāhmapaṇḍita, says Āpastamba, study the Vedas under a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher when reduced to that necessity. The Vaiśyas followed the occupation of trade and agriculture. The Śūdras are condemned to be the slaves or servants of the other castes by Brahmanic Law Books. But as a matter of fact since by that name several social groups or castes were designated, it was impossible that that occupation should have been enough for them or have satisfied them. They often pursued an independent calling and became artizans. Patañjali mentions carpenters and black-smiths as belonging to the Śūdra class. The lowest of them, the Cāṇḍālas were in the same degraded condition as they are now.

ENDO GAMY

Endogamy, i.e., marriage within and not without the limits of a group, is a characteristic of castes. But as already stated, a man from the higher castes could marry a Śūdra woman under the law, and generally, a marriage connection could be formed by a man belonging to any of the higher castes with a woman of any of the lower castes. The marriages, were, however, considered to be of an inferior nature, and the issue took rank after that of the wife of the same caste. Marriages in the reverse order, i.e., of a man belonging to a lower caste with a woman of a higher, were, like the marriage of a Śūdra man

1 See Ante, p. 198 [N. B. U.]

with an Āryan woman alluded to before, strictly prohibited by the law books, but since they speak of the issue of such marriages and give the law with reference to them, there must have been in practice many cases of the kind. After a time however, these became obsolete, and the marriage of a man of a higher or Āryan caste with a Śūdra woman which had been allowed by the law before and frequently practised, was also prohibited by the later legislators. And in practice, all marriages between members of different castes gradually went out of use.

• The Brahmanic religious writers mention a good many castes which they assert sprang from inter-marriages between persons of different castes. The origin thus assigned to the castes is in a good many cases evidently fanciful. Some of them such as Vaideha and Māgadha must have arisen from the locality, others such as Rathakara or chariot-maker, from the occupation, and still others such as Cāṇḍāla from the race. But it will not do to throw discredit over the whole statement. The Indian authors are always inclined to reduce everything to a preconceived system. The castes are four, and if we find many more in the real life, they must have sprung by inter-marriages from these four. This is the theory on which they have gone, and certainly its application to all cases must be wrong. But in order to render the conception of such a theory possible, there must have been a few cases actually of castes springing up from such marriages. But which of the castes mentioned by them are mixed castes of this nature it is not possible to determine. All the so-called mixed castes are considered Śādras, which shows that some of them at least were aboriginal tribes which had become castes. Similarly some castes are named which are said to have sprung from Vṛātyas or persons who had set themselves free from the Brahmanic ordinances about the orders, i.e., had in practice given up the

Brahmanic religion. The same observation as that made above is applicable to this case viz., some castes must have arisen from this cause, but which we cannot say.

COMMENSALITY

Commensality within and not without a group is in almost all cases another characteristic of castes. But in the olden times we see from the *Mahābhārata* and other works that *Brāhmanas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* could eat the food cooked by each other. *Manu* lays down generally that a twice-born should not eat food cooked by a *Śūdra* (IV. 232), but he allows that prepared by a *Śūdra*, who has attached himself to one or is one's barber, milkman, slave, family friend, and co-sharer in the profits of agriculture, to be partaken. (IV. 253). The implication that lies here is that the three higher castes could dine with each other. *Gautama*, the author of a *Dharma Sūtra*, permits a *Brāhmaṇa*'s dining with a twice born (*Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya*) who observes his religious duties (17. 1). *Āpastamba*, another writer of the class having laid down that a *Brāhmaṇa* should eat with a *Kṣatriya* and others, says that according to some, he may do so with men of all *Varnas* who observe their proper religious duties except with the *Śūdras*. But even here there is a counter-exception, and as allowed by *Manu*, a *Brāhmaṇa* may dine with a *Śūdra* who may have attached himself to him with a holy intent (I. 18 9, 13, 14).

CONNUBIUM

In modern times it is of the essence of caste that there should be connubium only within its limits, and commensality also except in the case of a few sub-castes. But if in ancient times there could be inter-marriages between the three *Ārya* castes, and also, in times earlier, between all the four, and inter-dining between the first three and some individuals of the fourth, in what respect are they to be considered as castes?

Only in this — that a certain dignity of position was transmitted from father to son, and that marriage with a woman from a family of a lower hereditary position, was considered to be of an inferior nature

FORMATION OF NEW CASTES

For a long time the four castes preserved their original Vedic character as social grades though heredity had become associated with them. But we can plainly observe the operation of strong tendencies to greater exclusiveness, in the gradual contraction of the sphere of connubium and commensality which we have noticed above. We can also discover the operation of causes which lead to the multiplication of castes

The difference of locality gave rise, as we have seen, to a difference of caste in the case of Śūdras. Brahmanic law-givers represent several provinces such as Avanti, Magadha, Saurāṣṭra and the Deccan as unholy and consequently not fit to be inhabited by the Āryas (Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra, 1 2, 13, 14), and persons who have gone to others, such as Puṇḍra and Vanga are considered positively to have lost castes, and cannot be readmitted except by the performance of certain purificatory rights. This shows a tendency to the formation of separate castes among the Āryas, on account of change of locality. The Magadha Brahmins are spoken of even in sacrificial Sūtras as a degraded class. Udraka (Northern) Brāhmaṇas are frequently mentioned in Buddhist Pali Works in a manner to show that they constituted an order or even a Jāti (caste) of Brahmins. This class or caste seems to have been regarded as highly respectable.

The operation of race in the formation of castes we have already observed. The original Śūdra caste and a good many others that afterwards came to be included in it, were due to this

cause. As the Āryans spread far and wide in the country, these two causes came into full operation.

A third cause is the same as that which brought about the formation of the Vratya classes. When the ordinances and usages of caste are violated by some members of it, the others excommunicate them, or regard them as having ceased to belong to their castes. This cause came into active operation probably during the time when early Buddhism enjoyed ascendancy and was followed by the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes. Animal sacrifice was prohibited by the Great Aśoka in the first half of the third century before Christ; and along with that some of the ordinary usages were given up. The Brāhmanas must have looked upon those who did so as having lost caste, and this fact is probably at the bottom of the view held by them that in this Kali age there are only two Varnas, the Brāhmanas and the Śūdras, the other two having disappeared. The prevalence of Jainism and some of the other religious systems must have contributed to the same result. And the laying down of certain sins liable to lead to excommunication in the Law Books, shows that the practice must have prevailed. A fourth cause also came into operation in the early centuries of the Christian era or even before. It was the formation of Śreṇis or trade guilds. They are mentioned in some of the Law Books and in the Nasik and Kanheri Cave Inscriptions. In these, we have an allusion to a Tailika Śreṇi and a Mālīka Śreṇi, i.e., the guilds of oil-makers and gardeners. These guilds must have had a regular organisation, since charitable persons deposited money with them for the benefit of Buddhist monks, on which they paid interest from generation to generation. And in the course of time the guilds of oil-men and gardeners became the castes of Telis and Malis. Some or good many—not all, as has been supposed by some writers,—of the modern castes have got an organisation

with a headman or president, and this they owe to their having sprung from such guilds or imitated their practice. The followers of each occupation thus formed a caste and the numbers multiplied.

A fifth cause has also been in operation for some centuries. Religious schools or sects have given rise to different castes. The followers of the Mādhyamīna Śākha or recension of the White Yajur Veda form a different caste from that of the followers of the Kāpva recension, and those of Madhva from that of the followers of Śaṅkara, though there is commensality between them except in some cases.

THE PRESENT POSITION

These five causes have been in brisk operation during more than two thousand*years, unchecked by any influence of a unifying nature, and the principle of divisions has become strongly ingrained in Hindu Society, and perhaps in the Hindu blood. During all this period various religious and philosophical sects have been founded. Religion has been developing and not quite on wrong lines, and spreading elevating ideas. But all these sects, including that of the Buddhists, occupied themselves with man's eternal interest, and thought it no concern of theirs to promote his worldly interest. The Buddhists and also some schools of the Vaiṣṇavas considered caste to be of no value. Men from all castes were admitted into the fraternity of Buddhist monks, and the Vaiṣṇavas disregarded caste restrictions in their dealings with each other. But the re-formation of the Hindu Society by relaxing the bondage of castes, was not an object with them.

Thus the result is that Hindu Society is now cut up into more than three thousand castes. Each of them is a community by itself and having no connubium of, or commensality with another, and has developed peculiar manners and tastes which distinguish

it still further from the rest and renders social intercourse impracticable. Thus, the two hundred and forty millions of Hindus living in India, form about three thousand distinct communities, each on an average composed of eighty thousand people i.e., about two-thirds of the population of a single town of ordinary size such as Poona.

SENART'S THEORY OF CASTES

The germs of the Caste System existed among some of the principal races in the West. For a long period there was no *connubium* between the Patricians and the Plebians in Rome, and traces have been discovered, we are told, of the existence of restrictions as to inter-marriage and eating together among the Greeks, Germans and Russians. But those germs were trampled under foot there, while here they have found a congenial soil and grown into a huge banyan tree, throwing its dark shadow on the whole extent of this vast country. And what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, the great French scholar who has recently published an essay on Caste, is represented to say about it.

“M. Senart shows how the growth of strong political and national feeling constantly tended in the West, to weaken and at last succeeded in removing, these (caste) restrictions. He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. It is, indeed, very suggestive for the right understanding of Indian History, that they should, on the contrary, have become so permanent a factor in Indian life.”

M Senart's theory appears to be that the innumerable castes of the present day existed even in very olden times and that the four *Varṇas* or grades belonged to pre-Vedic times, — when the ancestors of the Parsis and Hindus lived together — and were traditionally handed down to the Vedic times; and these

traditional grades were fused together with the numberless castes that really existed so as to form what he calls a 'Hybrid' system. The modern castes have not grown out of the old Varnas or grades. Hence he speaks of the caste restrictions as 'not having been softened away.' But agreeing as I do with Oldenberg, a German scholar who has expressed his dissent from M. Senart, and believing that the view I have put forth above is alone sustained by the evidence available, I should say that "the old slight restrictions have in the course of time become very heavy fetters that render all movement impossible." And this is the result of the entire absence of "Political and National feelings." Pride and other feelings that divide man from man have had full swing in the History of India, and sympathy or fellow feeling has been confined to the narrowest possible sphere

MEAT AND DRINK

Connected with the question of Caste is that of the use of meat and drink. It is generally supposed that abstinence from meat is an essential condition of Brahmanism. But according to all authorities, the Brāhmanas and other twice-born used meat in ancient times. The flesh of five species of five-clawed animals is permitted to be eaten in the Dharma Sūtras; and even beef is allowed by Āpastamba (I 17, 30, 37). Most of the sacrifices of the old Vedic religion were animal sacrifices, and the animals killed by suffocation for the purpose were goats, sheep, cows, or bulls and horses. It is impossible that the idea of offering meat to Gods could have originated unless men themselves liked it and used it. But the influence of Buddhism, and later, of Jainism threw discredit on the practice; and those who re-edited Hindu Law in the fourth century of the Christian era and later i.e., the writers of the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñiyavalkya, lay down the old

permissive precept, but hedge it round with so many restrictions that it amounts almost to prohibition.

But in modern times the Brahmans of Bengal, Mithilā, Kashmir and Sindh do use meat, while in countries which were for a long time under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism, such as Gujarath, even the lower castes abstain from it. But the killing of cows or bulls for any purpose—whether for sacrifice or meat—went out of use early, and was prohibited in the books

Similarly in the Vedic times the popular drinks were Soma, a species of intoxicating liquid, and also Surā or fermented liquor. This last however was soon given up, and we find the use of it enumerated among the seven deadly sins even in such an old work as Yaska's Nirukta

POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

In the list of the old teachers or Ācāryas of the R̥gveda, given in Āśvalāyana's Gṛhyasūtra, occur the names of three women, Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vāḍavā Prātithēyī, and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The works of some of the male teachers mentioned therein have come down to us, and those of a few others are alluded to in other works, wherefore it must be admitted that they were actually living individuals. So these ladies were not imaginary persons but really existed and taught. Gārgī Vācaknavī is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad as having been a member of a large assembly of learned Ṛṣis held at the court of Janaka, king of Videhas, and taking active part in the debate on Brahman or the Universal Essence, that is reported to have taken place

Sulabhā Maitreyī is introduced in the Mahābhārata as discoursing on Brahman with king Janaka. In another part of the same Upaniṣad, Maitreyī, the wife of Yājñiyavalkya is represented to have asked him when he expressed his

intention to retire from family life and divide his property between her and another wife, whether wealth could confer immortality on her. On Yājñyavalkya's denying it, she said she did not care for that which would not make her immortal, and begged of Yājñyavalkya to explain to her what he knew about Brahman. And so Yājñyavalkya discourses on it to her and she interrupts him with intelligent questions. This discourse is famous and often referred to in the Advaita Vedānta taught by Śaṅkarācārya.

Draupadī is represented as carrying on a keen controversy with Yudhiṣṭhira about God's dealings with men. The poet would not have brought forward such a scene, unless in his time there were women able to speak with such intelligence and knowledge as Draupadī shows. Among the Buddhists there was an order of nuns as of monks, and there exist works written by the female religious elders. All this shows that women in those days were not condemned to ignorance but took part in the discussion of religious and philosophic questions, and even appeared in assemblies of men.

THE IDEAL WIFE

A wife and husband became by their marriage *Dāmpatī* or "two masters of the house." The Gods gave her to him (the bridegroom) for house-keeping, their union was as permanent and intimate as that of the Earth and the Heaven, and she became his friend and companion. — This is the substance of the Vedic Mantras repeated by the bridegroom at the marriage. And in keeping with the ideal here shadowed forth, the Vedic ritual makes her a partner in all the religious duties. The husband cannot keep the sacred fire without her, her presence and co-operation are necessary in all the great sacrifices. The fire kindled on the occasion of marriage had

to be kept up, all the domestic ceremonies concerning him, her, and the children were to be performed on it, and when either died, he or she was to be burned by means of that fire. The fire was thus a standing symbol of their union.

This ideal of the relations between the two was in all likelihood observed even in worldly matters in the well conducted families as the following praise contained in the *Mahābhārata* indicates — "She is a wife who is diligent in household duties, she is a wife who has children, she is a wife to whom her husband is the breath of life, she is a wife who is devoted to her husband. A wife is one-half of a man, a wife is the best of friends, a wife is at the root of the accomplishment of the three objects of life (righteousness, worldly prosperity and satisfaction of desire), a wife is at the root when final deliverance is attained. Those who have wives perform their duties, those who have wives become householders, those who have wives enjoy peace, those who have wives are prosperous. In solitude they are friends, whose conversation is sweet, in religious duties they are fathers and in illness they are mothers. To a traveller they are a repose in the wilderness. He who has a wife is trustworthy, therefore wives are our highest resources." (*Mahābhārata* I 74 39 ff.)

When Buddha was going about preaching his gospel, his great supporters were women, who gave him and his numerous disciples many gifts and fed them at their houses. One such female devotee, frequently mentioned in the Pali Buddhist books was a rich lady of the name of Viśākā who resided at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala. She had many healthy sons and grand-sons and was looked upon as an auspicious person. All men invited her to dinner first, whenever there was a sacrifice or any festive ceremonial. This gives an idea of the influence and popular esteem that a woman could attain. Her husband is nowhere mentioned and she is represented as doing things of her own motion, as also those

females, who belonging to respectable families, gave up a worldly life and became nuns. This shows that women enjoyed a good deal of independence. In later times too, a great many benefactors of the fraternity of Buddhistic monks were women, and their names are found inscribed on the monuments of those times.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

The picture has also another side. Though a wife was highly respected, a woman as such was held in little esteem. In the *Taittiriya Samhitā* it is stated that women are unsubstantial, and consequently excluded from inheritance. Yaska gives two views, one agreeing with this, and another to the effect that they can inherit. Those who hold the former, say that daughters on that account are exposed, given or sold but the others retort that sons also are treated in the same way, and give the instance of Śunahśepa who was sold by his father to Rohita, the son of Harīścandra, king of the Solar race, to be sacrificed to Varuṇa in his place. Thus it will be seen that the general opinion of the Āryas was wavering and had not become definitely hostile to females. In the *Ṛgveda*-times, girls were free and could choose their own husbands, and enjoyed a great deal of independence. But a daughter is always a source of anxiety to the father on account on her difficulty of finding a suitable husband. Hence even in such an old work as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, while the wife is called a friend or companion, a daughter is spoken of as (the source of) humiliation.

In the *Mahābhārata*, "women" it is said "while enjoying themselves with men, deceive them, no man who has once got into their hands, can be free. All the wives of Śambara, Namuci, and Kumbhīnasa are to be found in women. They laugh when a man laughs, weep when he weeps; even one they do not like, they subdue by endearing words.

Uśanas or Bṛhaspati does not teach a device that women do not know by their natural wit. What is false they pronounce to be true, what is true they make out to be false, how is it possible for men, O brave one, to watch them? There is nothing more wicked than women, women are burning fire, they are the illusive jugglery of Maya, put the edge of a razor, poison, serpent and fire in one scale, and women in the other" (XIII. 39 and 40)

In actual life the relations between man and woman are so varied that it is quite possible that under certain circumstances a man should speak thus about a woman. But when the legislator Manu is equally hard on women, it must be acknowledged that the estimate of the old Ārya of womanly nature, is not flattering to them generally. They are debarred from reading the Vedas, any religious rite in which they alone are concerned is directed to be performed without Vedic Mantras. Even the Bhagavadgītā gives expression to the general belief that it is only a sinful soul that is born as a woman, Vaiśya or Śūdra.

Thus women began to suffer in the estimation of men about the time of Yāska, and the downward movement which then commenced, resulted in their being subjected to definite disabilities by the fourth century of the Christian era, when the Metrical Smṛti of Manu was written, and the Mahābhārata retouched, and it has continued to this day and rendered their condition still more deplorable.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

(I) OF GIRLS

When the Mantras addressed by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of marriage (the substance of some of which I have given above¹) were composed, there can be no question that the

bride must have been a girl who had arrived at an age of discretion and could understand what marriage meant. In the time of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and others who in their Gṛhya Sūtras give the details of the marriage ceremony and say nothing about the age of the bride, we have to suppose that then too she was a grown-up girl, and this is confirmed by their allowing intercourse on the fourth day after marriage. Hiranyakeśin and Jaimini prescribe in express terms that the bride should be a mature girl who has been chaste, while Gobhila, Gobhilaputra and the Mānava Gṛhya lay down that a girl not having intercourse previously with a man should be married. This also means that the girl should be one who has reached womanhood. "But", they add, "it is best to marry one who has not arrived at womanhood." Manu and other writers of Metrical Smṛtis require that a girl should be married before she has arrived at maturity.

In these various injunctions we observe a regular downward course. Āśvalāyana is silent about the age of the girls; and the reason must be that late marriages—which the Mantras that were repeated, and the rule about the intercourse on the fourth day, presuppose—must have been a matter of course and alone in practice. When, however, Hiranyakeśin expressly enjoins the marriage of mature girls only, the opinion of the Āryas, about the time when he lived, must have begun to become unsettled, and early marriages to be thought of as better. But when Gobhila first of all lays down a precept which in effect is the same as that of Hiranyakeśin, and afterwards recommends an immature bride as the best, the opinion in favour of early marriage must have become more predominant. And it went on acquiring still greater predominance, until when the Metrical Smṛtis were written, or the religious law was revised, it had completely triumphed, and the other was driven out of the field. Manu, however as the earliest of the writers of these

works, has not entirely forgotten late marriages, and allows under certain circumstances a girl to remain unmarried for three years after she has attained womanhood. And since his time, late marriages have become entirely unknown, and in these days girls are sometimes married even when they are a year or two old.

(II) OF BOYS

The old law was that after Upanayana or the ceremony of making a boy over to a Guru or preceptor, he should study the Vedas for twelve, twenty-four, or even forty-eight years, and then relinquish the Brahmacharya or student's vow, or that he should give up the vow after he had completed his studies without reference to the number of years he took to do it. It was then that he was allowed to marry. The Upanayana ceremony was performed in the case of a Brāhmaṇa boy when he was at least eight years old, and in the case of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya boy, when he was eleven or twelve. As the lowest period of twelve years for a student's life must have been fixed, because the studies generally occupied so much time, a young man was free to marry when he was at least twenty years old. But as a rule he entered into that relation at a later age, and Manu lays down thirty or twenty-four years as the proper age.

Now here the law upto the time of Manu was entirely in favour of late marriages in the case of boys. But gradually the duration of student life was curtailed, until now in the Maratha country it lasts for three or four days only, and the relinquishment ceremony (Samāvartana) is performed on the fourth or fifth day. The Upanayana ceremony and the Vedic study have thus for a long time become a solemn farce, and a boy is married when he is about twelve years old. It is considered necessary for the reputation of a family that the boys in it should be married at about that

age, and the delay of marriage till about sixteen is regarded as throwing discredit on it.

BURNING OF WIDOWS

The custom of burying or burning a widow with the dead body of her husband prevailed among a good many ancient Āryan races settled in Europe. It was in practice among the Teutonic tribes and also among the non-Āryan Scythians. But in the whole of the R̥gveda there is no allusion to the practice. Still it must have prevailed among the Indian Āryas before the time when the hymns were composed. For there are two verses, one of which occurs in the Atharva-Veda Samhitā and in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, and the other in the latter and in the R̥gveda Samhitā (Ath -Ve XVIII. 3 1, Taitt Ār pp 651 and 632, Ed. Bibl Ind, R̥gv X 18 8) of which the first is repeated when the wife of an Agnihotrīn is made to lie down by the side of her dead husband on the funeral pile, and the other when she is raised from it by her brother-in-law or her husband's pupil or an old servant (Āśvalāyana Gṛhya, IV 2 18). The sense of the first is, "O mortal, this woman, desirous to go to the world of husbands, lies down by the side of thee who art dead, in accordance with ancient usage (Purāṇa dharma), give her children and wealth", and of the second, "Rise, O woman, for the world of the living, thou art lying by the side of this dead (man). The wifehood of a second husband stares thee in the face".

The whole ceremony is a mimicry of the once practised custom of burning a widow, and the fact of raising the woman from the pile shows that it was afterwards given up. The word *Dīdhiṣu* which occurs in the latter verse is taken in an etymological sense by European scholars and Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the R̥gveda, and made applicable to the dead husband, but in the commentary on the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Sāyaṇa takes it

in the sense of "a second husband", and that is the usual sense of the word and that alone is appropriate here. But I must not go into the reasons in this paper intended for the general reader.

Thus the Vedic Āryas had consciously given up the custom of burning widows, and there is no trace of it in the older books on the religious law. But it must have prevailed among some of the many Āryan tribes that migrated to India, or among the aboriginal Śūdras, and there is an indication of it in the story of Mādri, one of the two wives of Pāṇḍu having burned herself with her dead husband, and in another part of the Mahābhārata, where a female dove is represented to have burned herself with her dead mate. She went like a human widow to the "world of husbands" and becoming re-united with him, lived happily with him.

But when the deterioration of the Āryan moral feeling had established itself, the custom was generally adopted from the tribes among whom it existed, and the precept about the burning of widows was laid down in some of the Metrical Smṛtis, though, however, not without a protest from others. But the later Panditas, in their exposition of the law, denied the authoritativeness of the protesting texts and decided that the burning of widows was lawful. And so it became the general practice, though it was optional, and looked upon by some as an irrational act, as is shown by the beautiful passage against it in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, and was eventually prohibited by the British Government in 1830.

WIDOW MARRIAGE

We have seen that the wife of the dead Agnihotrīn was raised from the funeral pile by a promise of re-marriage. The text which refers to this is one of the indications contained in the Vedas as to the existence of the practice of widow-marriage. There is another in the Atharva Veda in which it is stated that

"when a woman, who has had a husband before, marries another after his death, they are never separated from each other if they perform the rite of Aja Pañcaudana" In the *Antareya Brāhmaṇa* we have a third passage in which it is said that "one man may have many wives, but one woman cannot have many husbands at one and the same time" This last expression implies that she can have many at different times. The re-married woman was called a *Punarbhū*, and the word occurs in the *Atharva Veda* and in the *Metrical Smṛtis*. The marriage of widows however is not allowed by an express precept in the older works on the religious law Of the *Metrical Smṛtis*, two—that of *Parāśara* and *Nārada*—permit it ; but all the rest are opposed

The fact appears to be that in ancient times, the practice of widow re-marriage did exist and it continued to be followed up to the time when the *Metrical Smṛtis* were composed But in the meanwhile it had come to be considered not respectable or had fallen into disrepute Hence a controversy arose between the legislators Some ran it down entirely , but *Manu* argues with those who held it to be legal, and says that the giving of a widow in marriage is not mentioned in the law about marriage, and makes a compromise by allowing the re-marriage of a widowed girl who has not arrived at maturity Others, however, represented by *Parāśara* and *Nārada* stoutly defended the practice and laid down a direct precept to legalise it The writers on the other side admitted the fact of the existence of re-marriages, in so far as they put into the list of sons a *Paunarbhava* or one born of a *Punarbhū* or a re-married woman But they gave him a low rank , and allowed him a right to inheritance on the failure of those above him, or a fourth part of the estate if they existed *Yājñavalkya* even rules that the debts of a man who has deceased should be paid by him who marries his wife Thus there is no question

that the practice did exist at the time when these works were written, that is from about the fourth to about the sixth century of the Christian era. It was not forgotten till the beginning of the eleventh century. For in a Jaina work written in 1014 A D, to discredit Brahmanism and glorify Jainism, a certain legend is narrated in which a man is represented to have been excluded from the table of his fellows because he had become a recluse without going through the previous order of a married house-holder. He was advised to marry, but as no one would give his daughter to such an old man as he was, it was suggested that he should marry a widow, and in support of the suggestion the text from Parāśara legalizing such a marriage was quoted. But though Parāśara legalized the practice, it was not rehabilitated, and continued to be held in disrepute. Hence it gradually fell into disuse and was entirely forgotten in later times.

PRESENT CONDITION OF WOMEN

We have thus seen how the disabilities of women gradually multiplied. But the tale does not end here. In still later times the disregard for the life and happiness of the female creatures grew until it became almost abnormal, and female infants were destroyed in certain provinces and girls to the number of a hundred or two were married to one man in another. The first practice has now been put an end to by the British Government, but the second still flourishes. Again in these days a man marries a girl of twelve or thirteen after he has lost his first wife, she dies after a time, and another is brought into the house, this also meets with the same fate, and a fourth is married when probably the man is past fifty and even verging on sixty, and she is left a widow before she has arrived at womanhood or soon after. Sometimes negotiations for the new connection are entered into, in the burning ground while the dead body of the old wife is being consumed by fire. Now it is a fact that a connection between a girl of thirteen or fourteen years

and a man of thirty-five or above, proves fatal to the life of the girl. A great many instances are now before my mind's eye in which when a man married a second girl-wife, he had soon to marry a third, and a fourth. The husband thus causes the death of the poor girl. And still even highly educated men of the present day do not scruple to resort to the practice. It is in their power to marry a grown-up widow and make an unfortunate female creature happy, and secure for themselves a suitable companion, and to shun the guilt of causing the death of an innocent and helpless creature. But no, they have not the courage to withstand the criticism of the caste-criticism, I say, not persecution, for in reality there is very little of that.

The downward course which began many centuries ago has landed us here. And anxiously thinking about the matter, one asks himself why should this degeneration have gone on continuously for a long time without impediment. The reason seems to be that the tyranny under which the Hindus have lived from times immemorial, have weakened their moral fibre—if not entirely destroyed it. We have been subject to a three-fold tyranny, political tyranny, priestly tyranny, and a social tyranny or tyranny of the caste. Crushed down by this no man has dared to stand and assert himself. Even religious reformers have shunned the legitimate consequences of their doctrines to avoid coming into conflict with the established order of things. The promptings of his better nature or the pangs of conscience, a Hindu has had to suppress for fear of the three agencies, and now the better nature has almost ceased to prompt or the conscience to bite. At present, however, though we live under a foreign Government, we enjoy a freedom of thought and action, such as we never enjoyed before under our own Hindu princes. But have we shown a capacity to shake ourselves free from priestly and social tyranny? I am afraid, not much. But this is certain, that unless we rouse our conscience,

and cultivate the higher feelings of our nature, and, with the strength derived from these, stand erect against priests and caste, there is no hope of our being able to turn back the current of deterioration and degradation, that has been flowing from the very olden times and increasing in force as it advances.

THE INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM

[From the Report of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference, Bombay, 1915, pp 13—24]

In the Volume on "Indian Social Reform" issued by Mr. Chintamani in 1901, there is an article on the "Social History of India"¹ contributed by me. This article contains a short sketch of the development of caste among the Hindus, the substance of which with some variations, I must here reproduce. During the early portion of the period, occupied by the composition of the R̥gveda Samhita, two Varnas — which word afterwards came to signify a caste — are alluded to: (1) The Ārya Varṇa i.e., Ārya colour or group of men; (2) The Dasyu Varṇa i.e., Dasyu colour or group of men. Later on, there appears a mention of Brahma, Kṣatram and Viśas which indicate three occupations, viz., that of priests, rulers and politicians, and the ordinary people. These occupations had not yet become hereditary and anyone could assume them in accordance with his own circumstances. Devāpi, who is represented by Yaska as belonging to the Kuru race, is mentioned in X 98. 5 as having assumed the function of a sacrificial priest, and brought down rain. The person for whom he acted as priest was his brother Śantanu, and since according to Yaska they belonged to the Kuru race, they must both be considered to have followed the occupation of rulers or politicians. This is an instance in which a Kṣatriya may be considered for a time to have become a Brāhmaṇa.

There is a story related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that the old Ṛṣis held a sacrificial session on the banks of the

1 Printed, Ante pp. 448 ff. [N.B.U.]

Sarasvati. There was among the sacrificers a man of the name of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, and being a non-Brāhmaṇa of a disrespectful character, and thus not authorised to be a sacrificer, was driven out to the dry sands that he might not drink the water of the Sarasvati. There he became a seer or a Ṛṣi and composed a hymn in consequence of which the Sarasvati ran up to him and enabled him to quench his thirst. Having thus composed a hymn, he became, non-Brāhmaṇa as he was, a Brāhmaṇa.

And there are stories of Viśvāmitra's having been originally a Kṣatriya, current in the Epic Period. Viśvāmitra and his descendants were the authors of the Third Book of the Rik-Saṃhitā and consequently Brāhmaṇas pre-eminently. There are no plain indications in the Saṃhitā itself of his having been once a Kṣatriya, but according to a very old tradition, current in the time of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Yāska, he was. The latter in explaining the expression कुशिकस्य पुत्रः or the son of Kuśika, occurring in one of Viśvāmitra's hymns, tells us that Kuśika was a king. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śunaḥśepa is represented to have addressed him as Rājaputra or the son of a king, and Bharatarṣabha or the great Bharata. Thus the epic story seems to have been confirmed by a very old tradition, and Viśvāmitra having been born as a Kṣatriya, became a Brāhmaṇa and a Ṛṣi.

Thus originally, there were these three orders, and as anybody was at liberty to take up any of them that suited his circumstances, the orders were in no sense castes. In time, however, they became hereditary, and no one could assume that order into which he was not born. In one of the latest hymns of the Saṃhitā, that known as the Puruṣasūkta, the four castes Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are distinctly mentioned. The first three belong to the Āryan stock and the last is clearly distinguished from it. It has already been mentioned that when the Āryans invaded India, they met with hordes of indigen-

ous tribes to whom they gave the general name of *Dasyus*. In the course of time one or more of these tribes became incorporated with the *Āryan* Society and to them was assigned the function of menial service. Probably one of the main tribes was called by the name of *Śūdra*, and that term acquired a comprehensive sense so as to render it applicable to all non-*Āryan* tribes.

But though these orders had become hereditary and acquired to that extent the nature of castes, still, commensality and connubium between the members of a certain group to the exclusion of persons of another group, which are the essential characteristics of a caste at the present day, did not exist for a long time. The epics are full of instances in which *Brāhmanas* dined with *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*, and in some cases with *Śūdras* also. And the members of a caste were allowed to marry wives from the lower ones in addition to one from their own. Such marriages are called *Anuloma* marriages, i.e., marriages in conformity with the established gradation of castes. Marriages in the reverse order, i.e., of a woman of a superior caste with a man of an inferior one were prohibited by law but still were in practice. The authors of *Dharmasūtras* and the *Metrical Smṛtis* give the names of the mixed castes formed by these two kinds of marriages. Among the names mentioned by them are such ones as *Vaidehika* and *Māgadha* which are clearly names derived from the locality in which the people belonging to the castes originally lived, i.e., these were considered as separate castes only because they lived in the provinces of *Videha* and *Māgadha*, and were thus isolated from the rest, just as the *Vadnagars* and *Visnagars* have become separate castes in consequence of the locality to which they belonged.

Capdālas and *Niśādas* are also mentioned among the mixed castes and were evidently aboriginal tribes. The authors of the *Dharmasūtras* finding a number of castes prevalent

in Hindu Society endeavoured to account for them by the theory of the mixed marriages we have mentioned. Probably a few castes were formed by such marriages; but it has been our mental practice to form a theory based upon the instances falling within our ordinary observation and extending that theory to other instances also, in which the origin is unknown. But the enumeration of these mixed castes shows us this at least — that there were some which owed their origin to mixed marriages, that there were others due to the difference of locality and still others which properly were original races

Difference of race has been a very fruitful cause of the difference of castes. Not only did the aboriginal races form so many independent castes, but there were other races also who made incursions into the country in historic times and swelled the number. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks made their appearance in the country, a few centuries before Christ and were followed later on by Śakas. Though these held large portions of the country, they entered it as conquerors and remained there as rulers. When they lost power they were probably absorbed in the existing castes. I may here mention a colony of Persian priests called Magi who brought the worship of Mihira or the Sun into the country about 200-300 A. D. These are known to Sanskrit literature as Magas and are considered as Brāhmaṇas. The Maga Brāhmaṇas exist as an independent caste in Rajputana and elsewhere in Northern India to this day.

But from about the first century after Christ to about the sixth, large hordes of tribes of the name of Abhiras and Gūrjaras poured into the country and settled in it. The Abhiras occupied the country from the East of the Punjab to about Mathura and southwards to Kathiawad and Konkan. The Gūrjaras followed afterwards. They came by way

of the Punjab, to a province of which, they gave their name now known as Gujarat. Then they entered Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Kanauj which subsisted for a few centuries. Subsequently they turned to the south and established a kingdom in Northern Gujarat at Anahilpatana and gave the name of Gujarat to the old province of Lata which it still holds. The Abhiras and Gurjaras formed separate castes and we have at present Abhira and Gurjara goldsmiths, Abhira and Gurjara carpenters and even Abhira and Gurjara Brahmanas. Later on came also a small horde of Huns called in Sanskrit Hunas. These Hunas seem to have formed a caste and there are some people in the Punjab whose Gotra is known by the name of Huna.

In addition to these three causes there were others also which contributed to the multiplication of castes. We have epigraphic evidence that there were in the early centuries of the Christian era a number of trade-guilds such as Tailakasreni or the guild of oil men, Malikasreni or the guild of gardeners which had their own constitution. This enabled them to receive in permanent deposit, sums of money, the interest of which was to be devoted for the benefit of Buddhist mendicants. Guilds such as these became exclusive castes in the course of time. Then there arose a number of religious sects which too hardened into castes eventually.

But the most fruitful source for the multiplication of castes was the number of persons who were called Vratyas. Those whose Upanayana ceremony was not performed at the time prescribed or not at all, were called Vratyas and all communication with them was prohibited. In general terms it may be stated that those who violated the Brahmanic ordinances were excommunicated and formed separate castes. This principle of excommunication went on, being largely resorted to in later times even when there was a slight departure from the ordinary usages of castes. From the

operation of all these causes the number of castes has now swollen to more than about 3,000, and the Hindu population of India is now divided into so many distinct communities, differing in manners and customs and often hostile to each other.

The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the West. There were no inter-marriages between the Patricians and the Plebians of Ancient Rome for a long time, and there were traces even amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together. But these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India! And what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, a French scholar who has written an essay on "Caste" says on the subject "The growth, of strong political and national feelings constantly tended in the West to weaken, and at last succeeded in removing, these (caste) restrictions." He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away "Softened away" indeed! There is no talk here of caste restrictions softening away, they have instead hardened into a rock, in a manner to challenge the skill and power of the greatest athlete among us to break it.

Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us, but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha, have on the contrary softened away, and now there is no trace of them. But we have received an English education, and European ideas have been grafted on our minds and they are filled with new national aspirations. As a result of the terrible war that is now being

waged in Europe, there is a hope that some of these aspirations will be realized and the aim of the British Government will be, as the Viceroy has recently declared, to make India a friend of the Empire and not a trusted dependent. To become the friend of the Empire, India must be one and one-hearted, and this can only be effected by the obliteration of caste distinctions among the Hindus, and a good understanding between them and the Mahomedans. Our efforts therefore must now be directed towards achieving such a result

But during all this time that I have been speaking of, was there no gifted soul to stem the torrent of this caste formation? There was—and I may say—there were Buddha taught the doctrine that all the four castes were equally pure and denied the claim of the Brāhmanas to a superiority in this respect over the rest. It is stated that while he was staying at Śrāvastī, the Brāhmanas deputed a learned young man of the name of Assalāyana (Āśvalāyana) to discuss the question with him. The questions that were put to him by Buddha were whether there was any difference between the Brāhmanas and the other three castes as to the manner in which persons belonging to them were conceived and developed in their mother's womb and afterwards were born, whether their moral liabilities and the consequences of the violation of what is right and proper, were different, i.e., whether a Śūdra murderer, was more sinful than a Brāhmaṇa murderer, whether heaven was the reward of a virtuous Brāhmaṇa only and not a virtuous Śūdra and so on. Āśvalāyana did not recognize any difference. At last Buddha declared that the superiority claimed by the Brāhmanas was a heresy propounded by some Ṛṣis in consequence of which they lost their spiritual power. And Buddha admitted to his spiritual dispensation members of all castes whatever, even Cāṇḍālas and scavengers. The Brāhmanic dispensation was open to the three higher castes only, though there was a difference even here, and the Śūdras were excluded.

The Śūdras are declared not to be qualified for the study of the Vedānta, to attain Mokṣa or eternal bliss, and the way open to them was to discharge their duty of service to the higher castes faithfully and thus be born in future life as Vaiśya, Kṣatriya or Brāhmaṇa when alone they could study the Vedānta and be emancipated

But Buddha was a religious reformer and not a social or political reformer, and therefore he stopped after admitting all castes to the benefit of his system of redemption, and did not impose upon his followers the duty of neglecting their castes in social relations and thus practically giving it up. Similarly Vaiṣṇavism was a religious reform intended to supersede the old sacrificial religion and even the Aupaniṣada religion of contemplation. But Bhagavad Vāsudeva in the Bhagavadgītā, and all his subsequent followers, confined themselves to admitting all castes to the new dispensation of Bhakti or love and Karma or the performance of right actions, and did not run down castes as such, or preach its abandonment, though the Vaiṣṇavas of later times such as Rāmaṇanda and his followers, Rāe dās the currier, Kabir, the Mahomedan weaver, etc., neglected it very perceptibly in their ordinary relations. Even our Tukārāma declares his readiness to worship a Vaiṣṇava as such to whatever caste he belonged

But all these saints and Śādhus did not look upon caste as a social evil, but disregarded it in their fellowship with each other as earnest devotees of God whom they loved; and I may here remark that all the revolutions we have gone through since the sacrificial religion came into disrepute, have been Religious and Moral revolutions and not Social or Political Revolutions. A revolution is a change that affects and moves masses of men, and religious revolutions in India had this effect, but political revolutions were perhaps more frequent

than religious revolutions, but they were simply contests between rival dynasties, and the masses of the people remained unaffected. They did not care who ruled over them, and if he was found to be despotic and inhuman, their ordinary remedy was to leave his kingdom and dwell in a country governed by another prince. Thus the absence of strong political and national feeling to which M. Senert attributes the non-effacement of the original caste distinctions, is illustrated by this our stolid indifference to political revolutions.

But we can no more continue to be stolidly indifferent as to who governs us and how he governs us. Our English education has evoked in us a sense of nationality, and we have been thinking of the evils from which our nation is suffering, and endeavouring to remove them by the introduction of reforms, political, social, moral and religious. These constitute a national question and the elevation of the nation is what we have been seeking. The education of our women attracted our attention very early, then the abolition of early marriages, and afterwards the marriage of widows.

The evils of caste came, about 1850, to be looked upon as seriously obstructive to the formation of a nation, and about that year, the late Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang impressed on his pupils of the Normal Class that he taught, the necessity of eradicating them and organised a society, known by the name of Paramahansa. The society gradually increased in numbers. When a new member was admitted, he was made to read a prayer and afterwards to eat a piece of bread baked by Indian Christians as an indication that he had given up the caste requisites. Once a year or perhaps oftener, all the members who belonged to different castes dined together. But all this was done with closed doors, and the members were afraid of publicity. The pupils of the Normal Class lived on the second floor of Dumete's Chawl in Phanavadi

while they were in Bombay. A good many of them were afterwards sent to Moffusal towns as vernacular school masters, and there they acted as missionaries of their caste creed.

One of these was located at Ratnagiri where I was a pupil till the end of 1852. He succeeded in making several men Paramahamsas. A class fellow of mine who had come under this influence wanted to convert me to the new creed, and used to take me for long walks in the afternoon when he discussed with me the absurdity of caste distinctions and their destructive effects on national unity. I was of course intellectually convinced of all this but was not admitted as a member of the body till the beginning of 1853 when I went to Bombay for the prosecution of my studies in the Elphinstone College. About that time i.e., when I was in the 16th year of my age, the initiation ceremony was performed in a room in Dumete's Chawl in my case, and I was made to eat a piece of bread, which made my hairs stand on end because of a vague feeling that I had done something awful. The Paramahansa society went on in the manner above described till about the early sixties, when the book in which the names of the members were written down was stolen, and every body was afraid that he would be exposed to caste persecutions, and the society naturally broke up and the caste question was transferred to another sphere.

Some of the members of the Paramahansa society felt that Social Reform could not have a stable and healthy footing unless based on Religious Reform. They, therefore, organised the Theistic body of the Prarthana Samaja on the model of the Brahmo Samaja of Calcutta. The guiding principle of this reform was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. This last implies an obliteration of caste distinctions and much more. It implies also the levelling down of all social distinctions for which, however, many members of religious bodies are not prepared. But the general attitude of these new re-

formers towards castes is more hostile than that of old reformers like Buddha and the Vaisnavas, and it may be said that these new religious bodies have adopted all the programme of the social reformers. One prominent body of these reformers — that of the New Dispensation—has not yet adopted the doctrine of the doing away of the Purdah in the case of women.

But a still more wider sphere, which the caste reform has acquired, is the growing public opinion against it, called into being by considerations of self-interests. If you have to travel by rail you must lay aside some at least of the caste requirements. If you want to better your position in life by getting into the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Medical Service, or by becoming a barrister, or an expert in any art or science, you must go to England and Europe or to America. This involves decided violation of caste rules, since even if you are supposed not to resort to any forbidden food, you have to eat the food cooked by Indian Christians or by Europeans. The caste rules in this respect are set aside without any compunction, and a large number of men secure these practical advantages which result from the violation. Caste is given up by these persons not because they thereby contribute to the consolidation of the nation, but simply because they wish to improve their worldly position.

The natural effect of this, as I have stated on several previous occasions, is that a man, when he starts for Europe or America, leaves his caste at the Apollo or Ballard Pier, and all the while that he remains in those foreign countries, he lives without it and resumes it at those Piers when he returns. That is, these travellers go through a penance when they come back to purify themselves from the sin which they believe not to have committed, or when they do not do so, they live as members of their own previous castes. This at the best may be characterised as unconscious Caste Reform, and is highly pre-

judicial to the healthy growth of Hindu society since it involves hypocrisy. There are, however, a few daring persons who continue the practice of dining at forbidden places, which they had to adopt in foreign countries, even after their return, and there are still others, who, without going to foreign countries, give up the caste-rule of not eating the food cooked by a man belonging to a caste lower than his

In the meanwhile a wave of reaction has been sweeping over us for a good many years. I heard of the formation of a Brahman Club in Bombay about 25 years ago, and since that we have had Clubs and periodical Conferences called *Parīśads* of many castes—the *Sārasvatas*, the *Kāyastha Prabhus*, the *Daivajñās* or goldsmiths, the *Shimpis* or tailors, the *Malis* or gardeners and others. It is often urged in favour of such conferences or *Parīśads*, that they are the means of the introduction of Social Reform in those communities. The object of the *Sārasvata Parīśad* is stated to be the union of all the sub-castes. To that extent the *Parīśad* does good no doubt, but the assertion of the exclusiveness of the community, involved in the holding itself of the *Parīśads* or the running of a Club, serves to harden the caste distinctions instead of softening them. Hence these *Parīśads* and Clubs are retrogressive in my opinion.

Then again we often hear of the bitter relations between the Marathas and the Brahmans in some of the Native States, the Brahmans declining to perform domestic rites by the use of Vedic Mantras in the houses of the Marathas, and the Marathas insisting on their being so performed. The partiality of a man in high position, using his patronage in favour of men of his own caste only, has descended to us from very old times. It was thought that English education would cure a man of this caste partiality, but it is a matter of regret that it has not, and a doubt often creeps into my mind as to whether after all, English education will instil into our minds that resoluteness, sincerity of purpose

and energetic prosecution, that are necessary for bringing about a conscious reform on national grounds in the matter of caste, by obliterating the distinctions that it involves.

But how is a conscious reform to be brought about? We violate caste when it suits us, and resume it when the necessity has ceased. This insincerity must be given up, and we must set ourselves to destroy caste consciously, for the consolidation of our nation by openly dining together. But even this open dining may come to prevail and the caste remain strong. For this purpose it is necessary that there should be inter-marriages between the different castes. Such inter-marriages are allowed by the old Hindu Law, and it is only Pratiloma marriages that are prohibited. But the law of the land at present as shaped by our English courts, is that even Anuloma marriages are illegal. This is an artificial obstruction placed in the ways of those who seek to reform the condition of their country by the Courts of that Government, which by its system of education, has taught us to effect reforms. Therefore we should all join in a protest against this, and seek the re-enactment of the old Hindu Law.

Then again it is stated that marriages between members of different castes will result in the degeneration of the race. But we have seen that mixed marriages were frequent in the olden times, and the progeny resulting from them became incorporated with the other Hindu communities showing no signs of degeneration. The distinction between an Āryan and a Negro is very great, and the offspring of an inter-marriage between them may prove to be inferior. But the distinction is not so great between a Citpāvana, a Karhādā, a Deśastha, a Śeṇavi, a Prabhu, a Daivajña, as to make us fear that the progeny resulting from the inter-marriages between these castes will be degenerate.

There is however one objection to these inter-marriages. Some of the manners and customs, and even the mode of cooking

food, are different in the case of different castes, and an inter-marriage will cause a great deal of inconvenience to the wife and husband. But these will be passing inconveniences, and to ensure our ultimate freedom from them, it is necessary that even before inter-marriages come into vogue, we should organise an intimate intercourse between the respectable families of the different castes so as to bring about a close approximation to each other. But whether we shall have the courage to perform such marriages on any large scale, is doubtful. Still if we place the ideal constantly before our mind and work up to it sincerely, there is nothing to prevent its realization in the course of time. But it may appear impossible to some, and they may propose that the caste should continue to exist especially in matters of inter-marriage, but that our ordinary relations to each other must be based on the supposition that there is no caste distinction between us. In our Meetings and our Conferences and Congresses we should accustom ourselves to be guided only by the feelings of a United Nation. You will have to consider whether this is possible, whether if one of your leaders in such movements attains to real power, he will not be guided by partiality for his own caste in the exercise of that power. Caste feeling is of the same kind as national feeling, but its mischievousness consists in its being confined to a small community following a few occupations only, while the national feeling extends over a vast community, the members of which follow different occupations which are complements of each other and constitute a solid unit. But if this national feeling brings about an estrangement between different bodies of men, notwithstanding great similarities between them in times of peace, and, in much exaggerated form, in times of war, as is the case in Europe at present, how can you expect its bastard kindred—the caste feeling—to bring about a greater harmony between the different castes? The caste feeling dies even harder than the national feeling. It subsists among the Goanese Christians to this day.

Its very narrowness and want of self-sufficiency constitute a danger to the growth of the higher or national feeling.

From the preceding it will be seen that I propose that we should keep the ideal of the obliteration of caste distinctions constantly before our mind's eye. The question now is whether we should similarly aim at the destruction of provincial distinctions whether it is desirable that Gujratis, Marathas, Punjabis, Hindusthanis, Bengalis, the Telagus, the Tamils, the Kanarese, the Malayalams and others should be fused together into one mass of humanity. It may be desirable, but is it possible? Innumerable languages are spoken by these people — their manners, customs, aims, aspirations, literature and art differ considerably. Is it possible to bring about their unification? These people are not only as different as, but more different than the nations of Europe. Nationality and race assert themselves in spite of all endeavours to efface them. What, therefore, we should seek is to bring out Social Reform inclusive of the obliteration of caste in each of the communities or provinces and not to unify them. But the result of having many provincial nationalities must be mutual jealousies, and an uncontrollable desire in those that are enterprising, to subjugate others, and finally a war of annihilation, such as the one now being waged in Europe. Will our provincial nationalities not lead to similar result?

With regard to Europe, sober and thoughtful men have perceived the necessity of placing all the nations therein under one central authority, whose decisions and commands should be obeyed by all. The confederation of European nationalities is the ideal conceived by these thinkers, and if the present War ends in a thorough discomfiture of the most aggressive States, and a general weakening of them all, there will be attempts to realize such a confederation.

Here in India, however, we have already got a Central Authority to which all our provincial nationalities will be subject.

Under the guidance of this Central Authority, and in virtue of the policy hitherto pursued and to be pursued by it in future, our Provincial Nationalities will combine together for the promotion of Indian interests, as opposed to provincial interests; and an Indian Nationality subordinating to itself the provincial nationalities, will grow up. The Indian National Congress and the other National Conferences, as well as the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, have already given birth to a feeling of Indian Nationality. Things are everywhere tending towards provincial autonomies, controlled and regulated by a supreme power, exercising sway over the whole of India.

In social matters also our aim must be the same, and we should seek provincial reform, regulated and controlled by the necessities of a general Indian Social Reform. Confederation here as well as in Politics should be our aim. Lastly, whatever we are able to accomplish in the matter of Social Reform, and even supposing that we do not succeed at all, we should impress upon our minds the idea that we have a duty to perform towards our province and our country, and endeavour to discharge it without regard, in the words of the Bhagavadgītā, to the resulting fruit, i.e., not being depressed by failure, or elated by success into a blind over-confidence and carelessness.¹

1 The foregoing was the Address of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, as President of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference, held at Bombay on Thursday, the 4th of November 1915 and the following days. [N.B.U.]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE NINTH INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN 1895

[From C Y Chintamani's "Indian Social Reform" 1901,
Part Third, pp. 177-190]

Ladies and Gentlemen—I must in accordance with the usual practice begin by thanking you for having elected me your Chairman. On the present occasion, however, this is not a mere matter of routine and formality. Certain circumstances have this year very widely evoked enthusiasm for the cause of Social Reform, and have led to a sort of constitution being given to this conference similar to that which the Political Congress possesses. I have before me to-day a large number of my countrymen, who, I believe, are sincere advocates of social reform, as calculated to improve the fortunes of our country, and to place her in a condition to enable her to maintain her position in the keen competition and rivalry that is now going on between the different countries and races of the world. To be the Chairman of a body of such true lovers of their country is an honour that cannot but be highly appreciated.

About sixty years ago, none among us had any idea of the reform of our society, and a Conference such as this was out of the question. But since that time we have come in closer contact with Western Civilisation, chiefly through the means of English education, and that has led us to take interest in the concerns of Indian Society in general, and consider it good to be our good, and has evoked in us feelings of justice and compassion for the various classes that compose our society. If then you are animated by these sentiments, the task before us to-day will present no difficulties. For the end, aimed at by the propositions that will be laid before you, is justice and fair play to all classes of persons, the alleviation of their sufferings and the

removal of obstacles in the free development of our individual activities.

And first, a good many of the proposals have reference to the condition of the female portion of our society. Gentlemen, one half of the intellectual, moral and spiritual resources of our country is being wasted. If our women were educated as they ought to be, they would be a powerful instrument for advancing the general condition of our country. They will bring up every new generation in a manner to perform its duty efficiently, and will shed the influence of the benign virtues peculiar to them on men and, so to say, humanise them. All the means of educating women, therefore, that have been indicated in the propositions, you will, I feel sure, approve of. You will see that the opening of High Schools is one of them. That necessarily implies that the study of English language and literature is considered to be beneficial to our women. Though there has been some difference of opinion as regards this point, still I believe the necessity of such education has been recognised by the majority. But I think it still remains an open question whether our ideal for the education of women ought to be the same as that for the education of men,—whether after they finish their High School education, they ought to be made to go through the whole University Course upto the M.A. Degree. If bitter complaints have recently been urged as to the great pressure which our University Education imposes upon our men, much stronger grounds there are for fear as regards women, whose constitution is more delicate and certain incidents in whose life and whose domestic duties tax them so heavily. Perhaps after finishing a High School education, if further progress is desired, there should be a selection of such subjects as are more calculated to develop the peculiar aptitudes of womanly nature.

The other points concerning our daughters and our

sisters have reference to the unjust and cruel sufferings to which our present social usages subject them, and which no man—in whom the sentiments of justice and compassion are developed—can find it in his heart to tolerate even for a moment. The misery of our widows has been the subject of frequent remarks, I will therefore not detain you long by a full exposition of it. I will only make a general observation that that society which allows men to marry any number of times even upto the age of sixty, while it strongly forbids even girls of seven or eight to have another husband after one is dead,—which gives liberty to a man of 50 or 60 to marry a girl of eleven or twelve, which has no word of condemnation for the man who marries another wife within fifteen days after the death of the first, is a society which sets very little value upon the life of a female human being, and places women on the same level with cattle and is thus in an unsound condition, disqualifying it for a successful competition with societies with a more healthy constitution.

Often times the marriage of a girl under certain circumstances proves her death warrant. This matter has within the last few years forced itself powerfully upon my observation. A young man of thirty or thirty-five loses his first wife, straightway he proceeds to marry another, who is a girl of ten or twelve. That girl dies by the time she reaches the age of twenty, another takes her place, immediately after, she too dies similarly, then comes a third who meets with the same fate, and a fourth is married by the persevering man and is eventually left a widow before she is out of her teens. A great many such cases have occurred within the last few years and amongst our educated men. The medical men, whom I have consulted, say that the results are due to the marriages being ill-assorted, i.e., to the great inequality between the age of the girl and of the strong and vigorous man. I do not know

how else to characterise these cases except as cases of human sacrifice. Surely, if the men who have married girls successively in this manner are educated men, their refined sentiments and feelings ought to make them spare poor innocent girls and marry grown up women,—widows, if unmarried ones are not to be had. Gentlemen, this case of ill-assorted marriages deserves greater condemnation at our hands than the other, which is the only one that seems to be contemplated in one of the resolutions to be brought forward and in which an old man of even fifty or sixty marries a girl of ten or twelve.

I will next call your attention to those points in the resolutions which concern the institution of castes. And first of all, allow me to observe that a very great revolution has been effected in this matter by the mere fact that we are governed by a people, amongst whom the sense of equal justice for all classes of people, has received a high development. A Śūdra at the present day is not more heavily punished than a Brāhmaṇa for the same crimes. Manu, Yājñavalkya and others have been set aside in this respect, and the privileges which in the eye of the criminal law, men of the highest caste enjoyed, have been taken away from them. I remember about 45 years ago when a Brahman was hanged for committing a murder at Ratnagiri, it created a stir among the people, since such a punishment for a Brahman was opposed to all past traditions of the country. But of course the change did not provoke active hostility and has been acquiesced in on all sides. Similarly a Śūdra's tongue is not now out off for repeating the letters of the Vedas. On the contrary if a teacher in a Government school refuses to teach the sacred Mantras to a Śūdra, he is apt to be dismissed from service. In our schools and colleges we have to teach Sanskrit literature including the Vedas to all castes and classes. But it is very much to be

regretted that the treasures of knowledge which has thus been thrown open to all, is not availed of by the lower castes to the extent to which they should. This is to be accounted for in a great measure by the fact of the old traditional feeling not having gone out—education is not what the Śūdras think of first, nor are endeavours made by others to induce him to educate himself and smoothen his path, to a University Degree. Similarly the railways have been effecting a silent revolution. A holy Brahman does not scruple to sit in a third class carriage by the side of a Mahar, whose very shadow is an abomination on ordinary occasions.

The Mahars and Mangs on this side of the country and the Pariahs on the other, who form the lowest classes, have been entirely neglected. They are the outcasts of Hindu Society, and have been from the remotest times in a very degraded condition. The reference made to this fact by a Mahar Haridāsa in his prefatory remarks, while performing a Kīrtana at my house a few years ago, was very touching. He said, 'The Vedas and Śāstras have cast us aside, but the Santos or saints of the middle ages have had compassion on us' And be it said to the credit of the Santos of Mahārāṣṭra headed by the Brahman Ekanātha, and to the Santos of other provinces, that they had compassion for the outcasts of Hindu Society, and admitted their claims to religious instruction and a better treatment. If then in those olden days, these pious men, with their hearts elevated by faith and devotion, admitted the lowest Śūdra to religious communion and instruction, shall we, upon whom a greater variety of influences have been operating, refuse to exert ourselves for bringing enlightenment in the dense darkness in which his mind is shrouded? And I believe from the opportunities I have had of observation, that the despised Mahar possesses a good deal of natural intelligence and is capable of being highly educated. So that to continue to

keep him in ignorance, is to deprive the country of an appreciable amount of intellectual resources.

And generally allow me to observe that the rigid system of castes, which prevails among us, will ever act as a heavy drag on our race towards a brighter future. To tie men down to certain occupations, even when they have no aptitude for them, renders those men less useful to the country. When all men belonging to a certain caste must follow a certain occupation only, the field is overstocked and poverty is the result. You can get a Brahman school master for five or six rupees a month, but a good carpenter or stone-mason cannot be had unless you pay from twenty to twenty-five rupees per mensem. And unless perfect freedom is allowed to men in this respect, and each allowed to make the best possible use of his own powers, the country cannot economically advance. Special privileges enjoyed by certain castes must keep the members of others in a disadvantageous position in the rivalry and competition of life. In order that a nation as a whole must put forth all its power, it is necessary that there should be no special privileges and special restrictions.

Again the principle of caste has throughout our history operated in such a way that each caste has now come to form a separate community with distinct usages, even as to the kind of food that is eaten and the manner in which it is cooked. And there is no social inter-communication between them of a nature to bind them together into one whole. Hence, instead of there being a feeling of sympathy between different castes, there is often a feeling of antipathy. As long as this state of things lasts, I shall feel greatly obliged to any one who will explain to me how it is possible to form a united Hindu nation. If therefore we feel at all concerned as regards the future of our country in the great struggle that is going on in the world, something must be immediately done to induce a

feeling of unity among these distinct communities, and to convert active antipathy into active sympathy.

And I will here make bold to assert that the chronic poverty of the agricultural classes and the depredation of the proverbial Savakar or money-lender constitute a great social evil. The Government has been endeavouring to do a good deal by means of mere special legislation, but that does not seem to have remedied the evil, and the money-lender continues to charge interest from 18 to 25 per cent on loans raised on the security of lands, and two or four pice per rupee per month, i.e., $37\frac{1}{2}$ or 75 per cent on smaller sums lent for shorter periods, and there are also enhancements of interest when the money is not paid at the stipulated time. In this manner, the poor peasant is everywhere a prey to the rapacity of the money-lender and is never allowed to raise his head. This is a political as well as a social question. The Government has been on several occasions urged to establish Agricultural Banks, but it has not yet seen the wisdom of doing so, and we too, whose countrymen the agriculturists are, have not shown particular solicitude to remedy the evil by establishing banks of our own. I do not think any special banking institution with elaborate machinery, such as has been recently proposed, is wanted. An ordinary bank with agencies at the District towns, and sub-agencies for circles with a radius of about at 10 miles, will, I think, fully answer the purpose. Money should be lent on the security of land at an interest from 9 to 12 per cent, payable about the same time as the land revenue. Sympathetic, though firm, treatment should be accorded to the peasants, and the agents employed should not be unscrupulous men exacting perquisites for themselves. But I will not trespass on the province of the man of business, and whatever be the scheme that may be considered suitable and whatever its details, this I feel certain about—that shrewed men ought not to be allowed to

prey upon the ignorance and entire helplessness of the agricultural classes, and perpetuate their wretched condition.

Then there are other points in the resolutions, the aim of which is to remove positive obstacles of our healthy development. The early marriage of boys and girls is of this nature, since its effect is to undermine the strength of both, and bring forth a progeny of weak children. The growth of the parents themselves, intellectual as well as physical, is stunted, and in the course of evolution our race must become incapable of that energy and stillness of application, which are so necessary, under the conditions brought into existence by the rivalry and competition of races. The prohibition of travel in foreign countries I would put under the same head, since the same acts as an obstacle to the free expansion of our energies and capacities.

These are the principal points aimed at by the Social Reformer. You will see that what is necessary in order that these reforms may come into practice, is that there should spring up in our hearts a sense of justice, a keen sympathy for the sufferings of others, and a love for one's own country and race, and an anxiety for their future well-being. If the feelings have been awakened in us with any degree of intensity, they cannot fail to realise themselves in some sort of action, and I believe that the contrary holds true that when no action follows, the feelings are either not awakened at all, or if really awakened, are very weak. It is this fact and also the general conservatism of our nature as well as the fear of excommunication, that hold us back, and we devise a number of excuses for our inaction.

Sometimes we are disposed to leave the whole matter to the action of time, thinking that all that we desire will come into practice just as the rigidity of caste rules is being gradually lessened by railway travelling and

such other circumstances. But time is not a force—it is simply a conception of the mind to connect events together—and cannot work any changes. If therefore any changes have come on in the course of time, they must be brought about by the force in the human heart that leads to action. As a matter of fact, such changes are often very extensive and important. For instance, the practice of early marriage of girls, and of female infanticide and Kulinism have come into existence in comparatively recent times. But if you examine their origin, you will find that the first owes its introduction probably to the circumstance that when the girls grew up, they went wrong in some cases. In order to prevent such a result, they were tied down to a husband before they were of an age to go wrong. To avoid sin was of course a laudable object, but the desire was not under the guidance of reason. Consequently the many evil effects of early marriages were overlooked, and the attainment of that one object was exclusively attended to. If, however, the desire to prevent the evil had been under the guidance of reason, other modes would have been devised for avoiding it than the one actually chosen.

Similarly the practice of female infanticide and of Kulinism must in the beginning have arisen from family pride. One's daughter should not be married into a family possessing no importance or distinction. To marry her into a high family requires a heavy expenditure of money, which the father cannot afford, and in the case of Kulinism, such a family is not available. Hence rather than suffer the disgrace of allying himself with a low family, he allowed his daughter to be destroyed, and in the other case to be married to one who had innumerable wives already. Here again you will see that the motive of action was not under the guidance of the higher feelings of love and tenderness for a human being, and especially for one's own child.

Thus then what time brings about is very often not under the guidance of reason or the higher feelings of our nature, and consequently, very often, degradation is the result and not elevation. It will, therefore, not do to leave reform to time or the slow or unconscious operation of causes. It must be effected from a conscious intention, and the motive force should be, as above remarked, a sense of justice, a keen sympathy and an anxiety for the future of one's own country. Unable to appreciate the feelings of the true reformer, we often accuse him of being hasty in desiring to do everything at once, —we sometimes say that if he had adopted a particular way, the reform he desires would have long come into practice. Comments such as these I always suspect, especially when they come from a man who has done little or nothing practical. I am, however, not an advocate of headlong action. The motive forces of reform should be powerful in our hearts, but they must be tempered in a manner not to lead us to cut ourselves from a vital connection with the past. We should not adopt the procedure of the French Revolution, but imitate the mode of action of the English people, whose pupils we are. They have realised as great changes as the French Revolution sought to effect, but in a manner which connects them with the past history of the country. It will not be impossible to devise such a mode of action. One who has returned from foreign travels should live like an ordinary Hindu. A remarried widow should conduct herself just like an ordinary Hindu lady. And even as regards caste, we should behave towards each other in ordinary matters as if no such distinction existed between us, while as to eating together and inter-marriage, they must come in by and by, especially when the sharp distinctions as to usages and customs between the several castes are obliterated by a closer intercommunication than that which exists at the present day.

But the great danger of delayed reform is that in a short time the feeling which dictated it becomes cool, and the necessity for it is entirely forgotten. To prevent this result it is essential that the motive springs of reform should always be kept alive in our hearts. We should make an earnest effort never to lose sight of the goal we have to reach. But the modest proposal that will be laid before you as regards these two matters, viz., inter-communication as regards eating, and marriage-alliance between members of the sub-divisions of the same castes, involves no violent change whatever, consequently, there is, I believe, no excuse for delaying its realisation.

Generally it may be observed that what we have to avoid is the formation of a separate caste out off from all social intercourse with any of the existing Hindu castes,—that is to say, we should avoid such complete isolation, as for instance, conversion to Christianity leads to. And most of the reforms we advocate involve no break of continuity. Some of them will be welcomed by the orthodox people themselves, and as regards a great many others, what we propose is merely to go back to the more healthy condition in which our society once existed. In ancient times girls were married after they had attained maturity, now they must be married before, widow marriage was in practice, now it has entirely gone out, women were often highly educated and taught even music and dancing, now they are condemned to ignorance and denied any accomplishments. The castes were only four in number, now they are innumerable. Inter-dining among those castes was not prohibited, now the numberless castes that prevail cannot have inter-communication of that nature. Consistently with the maintenance of continuity in this manner, there ought to be, I think, as much action as possible. A strong public opinion must be created among the whole body of educated natives condemning any departure from the programme of reform,

while no mercy should be shown to one who does what even the orthodox disapprove, and at sixty, marries a girl of ten or twelve, or another wife immediately after the death of the first. The exhibition of any caste partiality must also be severely condemned, as no religious rules require it. Unless we act in this manner, all our advocacy of reform will sink into the merest sentimentality more demoralising in its effects than sturdy orthodoxy.

But even sentimental advocacy is an homage done to a right cause, and consequently is better than stolid indifference or active hostility. This, however, is unfortunately the mental attitude of a great many educated natives in all parts of the country. In Bengal, as was pointed out by our friend the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade the other day, social reform is now confined to Brahmos. The great body of educated Bengalees, who are not Brahmos, are indifferent or hostile. The late Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagara, who inaugurated the reform about widow-marriage, and first ransacked our Smṛti literature to be able to make out that it was sanctioned by the Śāstras, and worked for a life-time to make it popular, was in his later days filled with despondency, and expressed his conviction to visitors from this side of the country that Hindus as Hindus would never accept Social Reform. It is certainly a matter of the deepest regret that it should be confined to a religious body. We on this side have not come to this pass yet, though we have our full share of indifference and hostility. The aim of the reformers here has always been to reform our society—our nation. I am happy to find that our Madras friends agree with us in this respect. Reform through the agency of caste, which is attempted in some parts of the country, is very unsatisfactory. Very little can be effected in this way. The reduction of marriage expenses and measures of this nature only can be carried out by its means, and the great danger of

this method is, that caste which has corroded the vitals of this country, will be strengthened by it.

Thus then we should nurture in our hearts the great forces which bring about the reform of society, viz., truth, justice and sympathy. Two of the greatest historians of England have told us that the Moral Law governs the affairs of the world, its observance alone ensures national prosperity. One of these I have quoted elsewhere, and will now ask your attention to the observations of the other. The strongest of the forces, which are steadily bearing nations onward to improvement or decay are, according to Lecky, the moral ones. 'Their permanent political well-being,' he says, 'is essentially the outcome of their moral state.' The Moral Law seeks to purify private life and to effect social justice, and through these alone is the political well-being of a nation possible.

And Evolutionary Science is beginning to teach us the same lesson. Competition and rivalry are the necessary conditions of progress towards a higher condition among men as well as among the lower creatures. This competition and this rivalry tend to establish the supremacy of the stronger individual over the weaker, his race propagates itself and that of the other disappears. It is this law that is leading or has led to the extinction of the aboriginal races in the presence of the stronger European races in America, Australia, New Zealand and other islands. This competition and rivalry need not assume the form of an actual war of extermination. It has been clearly ascertained that even in the midst of profound peace, the primitive races show a tendency to disappear. If this law was in operation in our country, our future must be very gloomy. But our climate will, I think, come to our rescue, as it has been ascertained that the stronger races of Western Europe cannot, if settled here, exhibit the same energy and perseverance that they do in temperate regions. Colonisation of India by the European races

is, therefore, an impracticability, but does not deliver us from the dangers of competition and rivalry with them. And again that law must be in operation among us to ensure our own progress. But to estimate its full effects we must understand the conditions under which it acts in the case of man.

Man is a social animal, and the competition that comes into operation in his case is a competition between societies. The ancient history of the human race consists of wars between such societies and the triumph of one and subjugation of another. This competition and rivalry between different societies is going on still, and in order that a society may carry on the contest to a successful issue, it is necessary that it should be so organised, that the individuals composing it, should not be borne down by artificial restrictions, but be able to put forth their best powers and capacities.

The history of England, for example, shows a gradual emancipation of the classes that were once in a condition of little better than slavery, and a renunciation of their privileges by the dominant classes. The effect of this has been to place the individual in a more advantageous position to conduct the battle of life, and thus to render the society, of which he is a member, fitter for competition and rivalry with other societies. But it is the development of sympathetic or altruistic feelings only amongst the privileged classes and the society generally, that can lead to the removal of the disabilities of others and the redress of their grievances. Without such feelings, internal dissensions and eventual degradation must be the rules. And these feelings are now leading the English people to devise means for relieving the chronic poverty of the lower classes, to readjust the relations between labour and capital, and undertake a variety of schemes to relieve distress and misery. It is a patent

fact acknowledged by all disinterested persons that, the English people have developed the altruistic feelings in a higher degree than any other European nation, and by the way, this constitutes the basis of our hopes in a future for our country. Just as England has been endeavouring to remove the disabilities and sufferings, of the lower classes of her population, so shall efforts not be wanting on her part to remove our disabilities and sufferings, but the law of social evolution cannot cease to operate, and in order that our society may be able to hold its own in the competition and rivalry with other societies, which is inevitable, we must abide by the conditions of that law. That law is thus stated by the latest writer on the subject, whose book has created a great stir. "That the moral law is the unchanging law of progress in human society is the lesson which appears to be written over all things. No school of Theology has ever sought to enforce this teaching with the directness and emphasis, with which it appears that evolutionary science will in the future be justified in doing. In the silent and strenuous rivalry, in which every section of the race is of necessity continually engaged, permanent success appears to be invariably associated with certain ethical and moral conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high standard of social efficiency, and with those conditions only."

If then social efficiency and consequent success are what we desire in our contest with other races, we must, because the law is immutable, endeavour to realise those ethical and moral conditions. We must cultivate a sense of justice and a love and sympathy for others, relieve the poor widow of her sufferings, remove the disabilities of woman-kind and of the lower classes, and allow free play to the energies and capacities of all. And the necessity for our doing so becomes the more imperative from our political condition. If we ask England to remove our disabilities, we must as a necessary preliminary,

show that we are worthy of the favour by removing the disabilities of the oppressed classes of our society. Thus and thus alone will our country prosper. Every scheme for bettering our condition is destined to fail, if it does not make provision for the growth of these sympathetic virtues, and through them, for the realisation of Social Reform.

Let us then invigorate and elevate our souls by ever placing before our mind's eye the precept of the Great Indian Reformer of the sixth century before Christ, the lion of the Śākya race, Gautama, the enlightened, "Cultivate a mind boundless (as sympathy) for all beings as is that of the mother who protects her only son by sacrificing her own life", and with him proclaim from the Social Conference Hall, "May all living beings, feeble or strong, long, great, middle-sized or short, small or large, seen or unseen, living far or near, born or to be born, be happy".

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE PROGRAMME OF THE MADRAS HINDU SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

[From "The Indian Social Reform", Edited By C. Y. Chintamani, 1901 ; Part Fourth, pp. 218-229]

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar delivered the following Address as President of the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, held on the 27th of December 1894 —

I have been all my life a schoolmaster and as such it has been my duty to castigate boys and young men. In the observations I am going to make, therefore, you may find a good deal not flattering to you nor to your taste, but I assure you it will be said with a pure and unmixed desire to promote the real good of my country. The Hindu Social Reform Association has done me very great honour by inviting me to preside at its annual meeting. But great as the honour is, it had not a sufficiently attractive power to drag me about seven hundred miles away from my closet in Poona. What I come for, is to encourage the Members of the Association, and congratulate them on having begun real practical work in matters of social reform by taking pledges, and on their determination to withstand all the inconveniences or persecution that may result therefrom, for the sake of truth and their country's good. They have thus shown rare moral courage, and given evidence of the possession of what I call moral force. By moral force I mean in the present case strong indignation against the evils, injustice, and even the cruelties that at present disgrace our society, and an earnest desire to eradicate them. Moral forces of this sort our race has not

shown within the last twenty centuries, and we have allowed ourselves, without any thought and feeling, to be drifted into our present deplorable condition

The Social Ideal was much higher and more rational in ancient times than it is now. I will, therefore, go into the history of the several institutions and practices which your pledges refer to. For this purpose, I propose to glance at what might be called the several layers of Sanskrit literature. The oldest layer is that of the Mantras of the Vedas. Next in antiquity come the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas or forest-chapters including the Upaniṣads. Then we have the so-called Sūtras which deal with sacrificial matters and the religious concerns of daily life of the first three castes. Next we have the epic poems, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and last of all, the Mētrical Smṛtis or law-books and the Purāṇas. The point of view from which I shall consider this extent of literature is that of the critical scholar, whose object is to trace out history, and not of the Pandit, according to whom sequence of time either does not exist or is unimportant

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Now with reference to the first point—about the education of women—there is no question that in the very olden times, they were not debarred from the highest education. In the list of teachers which a R̥gvedi Brahman has to repeat in connection with a daily ceremony called the Brahma Yajña, there are the names of three women — Gārgī Vācāṇeyī, Sulabhā Maitreyī, and Vāṇavā Prāthītheyī. The works of some of the male teachers therein named have come down to us, wherefore, they were historical persons. Hence the three women, mentioned along with them, were also historical persons, and were teachers though there are now no works which go by their names. The first of these is also mentioned

in an Upaniṣad, as forming a member of an assemblage of learned Rṣis in which the highest problems about the world and the supreme and individual soul were discussed, and as taking part in the debate. In the epic poems girls are represented as going through a regular course of education of which dancing, drawing and music formed parts; they are represented as mixing freely with men and taking part in conversation on the highest subjects. Buddhist literature also represents women as actively assisting the reform which Buddha had inaugurated, and as discussing with him points about virtue, duty and absolution. Gradually, however, their importance lessened and about the time when the dramatic literature arose, we find that as a class they were not taught Sanskrit, though they could read and write in the popular languages and even compose poetry in them. Even so late as the eleventh century, women were not condemned to exclusion, and were taught scientific music, as follows from a copper-plate Inscription (recently edited and translated by me¹) in which a queen, one of the wives of a king of the Deccan, is represented to have sung a beautiful song in an assembly composed of the highest officers of that and the surrounding kingdoms, and to have obtained as a reward the consent of her husband to give land in charity to Brahmans. The seclusion of women and their ignorance is, therefore, a custom that was introduced in later times, and the Mussalman domination contributed to render it very rigid.

AGE OF MARRIAGE

Now as to early marriages, it admits of no question whatever that girls were married after they came of age. The religious formulas that are repeated on the occasion of marriage ceremonies even at the present day can be understood only by

1 Published in Volume III of this Edition, pp 240 ff [N. B. U.]

mature girls. The bridegroom has to say to his bride that she has become his friend and companion and that together they would bring up a family. It is impossible that a girl below the age of twelve can understand such expressions addressed to her. When the formulas were composed, therefore, girls had already arrived at maturity. Then again, in some of the Sūtras, the bride and the bridegroom are directed to live apart from each other for a certain number of days, and in some cases for a year. It is not possible that such a direction should be given, if the girl was of an age when she could not cohabit with her husband. In some of the Sūtras there is an actual direction for their being brought together on the fourth day after the marriage ceremony. All this necessarily implies that the girl had arrived at maturity before the marriage ceremony was performed.

In profane literature also, we have the clearest indications that girls were married after they attained maturity. But early marriages began soon to come into practice. Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and others say nothing specific about the age of the girl at the time of marriage, leaving it to be understood from the nature of the ceremonies, that they were to be of a mature age. Hiraṇyakeśin and Jaimini expressly prohibit a man's marrying a girl before she has arrived at puberty. After the completion of his study, the student, they direct, shall marry a girl who is Anagnikā, i.e., not immature. Evidently when these Ṛṣis wrote, the practice of early marriages was coming in, but they set their face against it as irrational. The authors of later Sūtras, such as Gobhila, and Manu, after giving general directions as regards marriage, lay down that it is best to marry a girl who is Nagnikā, i.e., one who has not arrived at puberty. They only thus recommend early marriages. This shows that when they lived and wrote, the feeling against late marriages had grown strong. Of the writers

of 'Metrical Smṛtis, Manu is not quite decidedly opposed to late marriages, but other writers prescribe early marriages only, under religious penalties.

In this manner late marriages gradually went out of use and early marriages became general. When the custom of such marriages became established, the evils arising from them were not perceived by anybody, and gradually in this part of the country in particular, the age at which boys and girls were married became lower and lower, until now a female infant nine months old is tied in holy wedlock to a male infant about a year old. Here there is an instance of the fact that our people through the influence of custom lost all sense of the utter absurdity of the practice.

RE-MARRIAGE OF WOMEN

The practice of re-marriage of women also prevailed in the olden times. The *Antereya Brāhmaṇa* contains a statement which may be thus translated: 'Therefore one man may have several wives, but one woman cannot have several husbands simultaneously.' This shows that polygamy was in practice, but not polyandry. And to exclude that only—and not a woman's having several husbands at different times—the writer uses the word 'simultaneously'. Thus a woman can have several husbands at different times.

In the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the keeper of the sacred fire, the practice prevailed of making his wife lie down with his dead body, but before setting fire to the latter, the wife was made to rise and a verse was repeated the sense of which is 'Rise Up, O woman, to join the world of the living. Thou liest down with this man who is dead, come away, and mayest thou become the wife of this second husband, who is to take hold of thy hand'. This verse occurs in the *R̥gveda Samhita* and in the *Taittirīya*

Āraṇyaka. In the latter it is explained by Śāyana in accordance with my translation, but in the former he explains the word *Didhiṣu*, which occurs in it, not as a second husband as he does here, but 'as one who impregnates,' and makes it applicable to the first husband. European scholars of what might be called the 'Etymological school' also explain the word in the latter sense, but the word *Didhiṣu* acquired by usage the sense of a 'second husband,' and it is not proper to set aside that sense and explain it etymologically as 'one who impregnates' And another School of Vedic scholars, who attend more to usage, is growing up in Germany, and I feel confident that they would explain the word and verse in the manner in which Śāyana explains it in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. This verse is in the *Atharva Veda* preceded by another, the sense of which is 'this woman wishing to be in the same world with her husband lies down by thy side, O mortal who art dead, following the ancient practice, grant her in this world children as well as wealth.' If he is asked to give her children after his death, they must be children from another husband. In another place in the *Atharva Veda*, it is stated that 'she, who after having had one husband before, gets another afterwards, will not be separated from him if she and he perform the rite called *Aja-Pāṇīcaudana*.' Here you have a clear statement about the re-marriage of a widow

In later times the practice began to get out of use, and in the time of Mann it was restricted to a child-widow. But the condition of remarried women was considered lower than that of the wife of a first husband. Still, however, in two other *Metrical Smṛtis* occurs a text, in which women under certain circumstances are allowed to marry a second husband, and the death of the first husband is one of these circumstances. This shows that even in later times, the practice of widow marriages prevailed in some parts of the country, while the

existence of texts prohibitory of it in the Purāṇas and some Smṛtis, shows that it had gone out of use in others.

Widow-marriage was a thing by no means unknown even at such a late period as the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian Era, for, in a work written by a Jain in 1170 of the Vikrama Era, corresponding to 1114 of the Christian era, a story is told of a certain ascetic sitting down to dinner along with other ascetics. The other ascetics rose up when he sat down and left their seats. He asked them why they had done so, upon which they told him that he had committed an irreligious deed in having taken the vow of an ascetic, before going through the previous condition of a married life. They then directed him to go away and marry a wife. He went away and demanded the daughters of men belonging to his caste in marriage. But as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him, whereupon he went back to the ascetics and told them of what had occurred. Then they advised him to marry a widow, and he went away and did accordingly. In connection with this, the same text about the re-marriage of women, which I have quoted above, is given as occurring in their Śāstras. But in still later times the practice became entirely obsolete.

THE PRACTICE OF SATI

There prevailed among us, you know, the practice of burning widows on the funeral piles of their dead husbands, till it was put a stop to in 1830 by the British Government. Now in the R̥gveda Samhitā there is no trace whatever of the existence of this practice, and it is supposed by a German scholar that it was adopted by Indian Āryas from another Āryan race, with which they afterwards came in contact, for it did generally prevail amongst some of the cognate European race such as the Thracians. But the Vedic Āryas had given it up, and that it

once prevailed amongst them and was afterwards given up is indicated by the second of the two texts which I have quoted from the Atharva Veda in which it is said ; "This woman following the ancient custom lies down by thee, O mortal ". Thus you will see that the custom, which had gone out of use amongst the Vedic Āryas was revived later on about the time, when the Metrical Smṛtis were written, through the influence of the practice of other races.

CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

The corruptions which the more rational practices of olden times underwent must have been due to such foreign influence and also to other causes. A few centuries before the Christian Era and a few after it, India was exposed to the inroads of foreign races from the West some of which afterwards settled in the country. The lowering of the status of women generally must have been due to the influence of these new settlers. But other causes also may have been in operation, for instance, the fact that when girls remain unmarried for several years after puberty, a few some times went wrong, must have contributed a good deal to the introduction of the practice of early marriages. But the great point to be noticed is that the excesses, to which even a good motive led, did not strike our people. Thus the later practices of female infanticide and Kulin marriages in Bengal must have been due to the feeling natural in parents to marry their daughters into a respectable family. But it is not everybody that can get a husband for his daughter in a rich or respectable family, and to marry her to a man in a lower condition of life, or belonging to a low family was considered disgraceful, and rather than suffer such a disgrace, the Rajputs destroyed their female infants, and the Bengali Brahmans gave their daughters to a man even though he had wives already ; and he came to have a number of them, often so many as 125.

Here you will find the inability of our people to perceive the cruelty or the absurdity of a practice, when they are under the influence of an idea, sanctioned by custom, than which nothing is more sacred

THE CASTE SYSTEM

One social institution, and that perhaps, the most important, remains to be noticed. In the very early times the system of castes did not prevail, and it seems to have developed about the end of the Vedic period. It arose from a difference of avocations or professions. The feeling of a father that a son should follow his trade or calling is natural, and it is this which in the beginning, at least when unchecked by other influences, gives rise to separate castes. The word Brahman signifies in the older portion of the Veda a hymn composed in praise of a deity. There were some men, who were skilled in the composition of such songs. In return for these songs the Gods, to whom they were addressed, were believed to confer favours on the singers, and on those kings and princes for whose sake they were composed. Singers such as these were therefore always in requisition, whenever a God had to be propitiated, and it became a lucrative trade. And fathers bringing up their sons in that trade, — there came to be in course of time a certain number of families devoted to the avocation of composing these songs and singing them in the worship of Gods. The members of these families became 'Brahmanas', and thus they came to be recognised as a separate caste.

Similarly the descendants of princes, chiefs and soldiers followed the avocations of their ancestors, and came to form a caste of warriors. The cultivators of soil constituted the Vaiśya caste. When the Āryan race left the Punjab and spread over Northern India some of the aboriginal races were incorporated with their society, and formed the caste of Śūdras. Thus there

four castes, but the rules about these were by no means so rigid as they afterwards became. Even in the time of the Epics the Brāhmaṇas dined with the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, as we see from the Brahmanic sage — Durvāsa, having shared the hospitality of Draupadī, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. A member of higher caste could marry a woman belonging to any of the lower castes, there were also many instances in which a man belonging to a lower caste married a woman from the higher castes. Amongst the composers of the Vedic hymns there were some such as Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who did not belong to the Brahman caste, but was still admitted into it on account of the faculty they possessed.

What caste has become in the course of time you need not be told. The smallest difference as regards locality, trade, or profession and practice, was enough to constitute a separate caste, and thus the four original castes have grown to four thousand, and there are no inter-marriages or inter-dining between any two of these. These four thousand castes form so many different communities and the phrase 'Hindu community' is but a geographical expression. The evil results of such a system on the social, religious and political condition of a country cannot be overstated.

THE TYRANNY OF CUSTOM

Thus then you will see that our social institutions and practices were healthy and rational in the olden times, and they have latterly become corrupt and irrational though some cause or other. But the most wonderful thing about the matter is that the excess which in the downward course our race was led to, did not attract attention and rouse the moral sentiments or excite moral indignation, and women were committed to the flames, crying child-widows were forcibly disfigured and condemned to a solitary and unhappy life, little girls were sacrificed at the hymenal altar in numbers, female infants were

were murdered—and there was no body to protest against these cruelties as Hiranyakesin and Jaimini once did against early marriages. On the other hand, these later practices acquired the force of custom. Custom is a god whom our race devoutly worships, and religious sanction was accorded to these practices by the insertion of texts in the later books. The moral sentiments were not strong enough to burst through the thick veil of custom, and assert the claim of truth, justice and humanity.

The question now is, whether with our minds liberalised by English Education and contact with European Civilisation, we shall still continue to worship custom and be its slaves, and allow our moral sentiments to remain dead and unjust, and cruel social practices to flourish. If our education does not lead us to protest against them, that education must be considered to be merely superficial. Gentlemen, we have in the course of our history not emancipated ourselves from the tyranny of our political potentates and from the tyranny of custom, our social potentate. Fortunately, now, the British Government has freed us from the former, and granted us rights and allowed us a large measure of freedom, but not satisfied with that we are seeking for greater freedom. Shall we then with the spirit of freedom thus awakened stoop slavishly to the tyrant custom, and bear all the cruelty that it inflicts upon us? If we do, the spirit of freedom that we think is awakened in us, is illusive and delusive. No! if we have to march on along with the progressive races of the West, with whom we are now indissolubly united, our social institutions must improve and become moral, rational, and just. There can be no advancement politically, I firmly assert, without social and moral advancement. And by seeking the several reforms that we have in view, we certainly shall not be taking a leap in the dark, for the condition of our society once was what we are now endeavouring to make

it. This is the spirit in which we should approach the question of sweeping away from our institutions the corruptions of later ages.

It has often been suggested that on the strength of the texts in the old books, we should convince the orthodox leaders of our society of the reforms we seek being sanctioned by the Śāstras, and endeavour to introduce them with their aid and consent. But such a thing to my mind is an impossibility. Our old books do not constitute the real authority in religious matters that we obey. Custom has been and is our authority,—custom is our religion. Texts creep into our religious books, as I have already observed, sanctioning current customs and even when they do not do so, our Pandits, who in later days have developed a great deal of logical acumen, prove, by means of their subtle arguments, customary practice to be the only one sanctioned by our religious books. The later development of the Hindu religious law has proceeded just on these lines. We must therefore begin the work of reform in spite of the orthodox leaders, trusting simply to our awakened moral consciousness, and to the fact that it is not an entirely new thing that we are going to introduce.

EXHORTATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

• I am therefore glad that you have begun the work in earnest and taken certain pledges. These pledges are good as a first instalment, though that about caste does not signify much in accordance with the standard prevailing in my part of the country. No one can excommunicate us in Western India for eating food prepared by Brahmans in the presence of members of most of the lower castes. I do not wish you, however, to obliterate all distinctions at once. Caste has become so inveterate in Hindu Society that the endeavour to do so, will

only result in the formation of new castes. But the end must steadily be kept in view. We must remember that caste is the greatest monster we have to kill. Even education and intercourse as regards food does not destroy it. The feeling that we belong to a certain caste, and are different from those constituting another caste, returns again and again in a variety of shapes, even when we have broken through the restraints imposed by caste as regards eating and drinking, and if not studiously driven away, will ever keep us apart from each other, and prevent the formation of a homogeneous nationality. I will ask you to consider whether a pledge not to be guided by caste considerations in the disposal of your patronage, if you happen to be placed in a position of influence, and in the whole of your ordinary practical life, and to act in all matters except inter-marriage and inter-dining as if you belonged to one community, will not be a more effective pledge. You might also gradually pledge yourself to dine with members of sub-castes.

Your pledges about concubines and nautch-women are also highly commendable in my eyes. They show a correct appreciation of one of the problems before us. One who takes liberties in these matters, cannot claim that he has respect for his wife's personality or for womankind generally. Our aims about the elevation of woman and the assignment to her of her proper position in society, from which she may exercise a humanising influence over us all, cannot be realised, unless respect for her becomes a part of our nature. Again, looseness in these matters deteriorates the character of a man and this deterioration must produce evil effects in other respects also. Your determined attitude in this matter, therefore, and the earnest efforts you have been making during the last two years, to propagate your views, have been to me the source of the deepest gratification, and deserve all the

commendation that is possible for me to bestow. Moral rectitude here as elsewhere is the essential condition of progress all along the line.

As to your pledge to bring about widow-marrriages and to admit the re-married widow and her husband to your table—that indeed is a bold step that you have taken. You will for a time be subjected to persecution, but I hope you have prepared yourself for it, and if your educated country-men who have not had the courage to join you, will but sympathise with you and not aid the orthodox, I have little doubt that this reform itself will gradually become a custom, and cease to be looked down upon. The great thing we have to remember is that we should go on practising what we consider to be good, without making much ado about it. It will then come into general practice, and growing into a custom, will become sanctified. For our previous history has, I again affirm, shown to my mind that custom is the spiritual potentate that sanctifies—and sanctifies even horrid deeds.

The association you have started renders me hopeful. There is nothing like it on our side, and everywhere among educated natives, there is lukewarmness about social reform. The minds of some are not liberalised at all, others think that the reforms we have in view are good, but flatly refuse to do anything to aid them, while there are a great many who are supremely indifferent. I agree with my friend the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade in thinking that there has been an awakening. But he has allowed us the option of being satisfied with it. I exercise the option and declare that I am dissatisfied. The lamp has been lighted; but the light is flickering, and in view of the attitude of even of our educated brethren, it is just as likely to my mind that it will be blown out as that it will blaze. In these circumstances, the endeavours that you are making are a

great source of comfort and encouragement, and I earnestly hope you will continue your work as boldly as you have begun it, and that you will find imitators both in your Presidency and in other parts of India, and our country's cause will make a real advance.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE BOMBAY
PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE
HELD IN 1902**

[From the " Dnyan Prakash " of Poona, Dated Thursday, 20th
October 1902.]

The Provincial Social Conference was held at Sholapur on the 26th and 27th of October 1902 Dr. Bhandarkar was in the chair. The following is his speech —

Hitherto India has lived an individual life and not a corporate or national life. The advancement of the individual was the object of thought and endeavour with the Hindus; and as spiritual good is superior to temporal, attention was especially devoted to the former. Profound religious conceptions were developed in the minds of the gifted ones of the race, and the Summum Bonum was found in union with God, and a condition of perfect purity and holiness which did not admit of the ordinary distinctions between right and wrong which presupposed an imperfect moral condition. But these gifted Hindus had in all likelihood, no conception of a national existence, and therefore did not concern themselves with questions about the national weal. We have an extensive religious, poetical, and legendary literature, but no work on politics or History. Whatever happened in the political world, the people generally followed the even course of their occupation undisturbed by it. The great grammarian Patañjali and his pupils quietly pursued the studies of grammar while a town, very near the place where they lived, was besieged by a Yavana (who was probably Meneandar, a prince belonging to the Greeco-Bactrian dynasty) as if they were totally unconcerned with it. Similarly in later times other Princes of that dynasty and foreign tribes of the

names of Śakas, Kuṣanas, Abhiras and Gūrjaras, established themselves in the country. But the Indian population at large does not seem to have ever troubled itself with the matter, and took no part in the political revolutions. This portion of our History we have entirely forgotten, because the foreign races that settled in the country became in course of time Hindus, and were relegated to the Kṣatriya or Śūdra caste. The various tribes in Central Asia, that poured into the country had no specific religion of their own, and became worshippers of Śiva or Viṣṇu when they came here. In later times Mahomed gave them a religion, and since that period, invaders of India formed a distinct community when they settled in the country. The incursions of the Mahomedans were not a new event in the History of India. They were a continuation of those of similar races of the pre-Mahomedan period. The people at large did not care who governed them, and all that the conqueror had to do, was to subjugate the military classes, and this disregard for corporate interest shows itself in trifling matters also. Most of our towns in the Maratha and Gujarathi country, had, and even have, their water closets with their hinder parts turned towards the streets. They kept the interior of their houses clean, and considered the street as the proper repository for all sorts of filth, and it was nobody's interest to see whether the streets were kept clean.

The effect of this indifference to corporate or national interests was that, from time to time, the country was governed by foreigners. In social matters, some of our good customs—such as marriage of girls at a mature age and the practice of widow-marriage—became obsolete. The burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands which had been discontinued in Vedic times was renewed, infanticide and the marriage of a great many girls with one man, came into use, and these evils did not attract the attention of any body

and were allowed to go. The number of castes increased a thousand-fold. The germs of the caste-system existed among the European Āryas also. The Patricians in Rome formed at first a separate caste having no connubium with the Plebians, but the Romans and modern races were actuated by intense national spirit and hence the distinction had to give way. Ignorance and poverty gradually increased in our country, and it was reduced to an abject condition.

But now with our minds enlightened by our contact with the Western nations, we cannot afford to be indifferent to our national and corporate interests. We are on all sides pushed by foreign nations seeking to profit themselves at the expense of our country, and in the keen competition which has already set in, we must suffer and be reduced to a miserable condition. It is, therefore, high time to set our houses in order, so that the energies of our people may have full scope, and all obstacles towards development in all departments may be removed, and this is the object of the social reform. The political agitation that has been going on for so many years, has for its object the redress of certain grievances and the acquisition of new political powers. But the object of social reform—with which I would associate moral reform—is to render us fit for the exercise of these powers. The social reform movement therefore is of greater importance than the other in so far as it seeks to render the nation vigorous and free from social obstructions and restrictions. Those of us that have seen its importance, have been endeavouring for more than 60 years to introduce certain reforms into our society. And I will devote a short time to the consideration of the history of social reform, in order that the experience of these years may serve us as guide in our future endeavours.

Female education began to be practically undertaken about the year 1848, and schools for teaching girls established in

the principal towns. At first it was in the hands of private individuals only, and latterly the Government has taken it up. But after all the result is very imperceptible. The custom of early marriages necessitates the premature removal of girls from schools, and thus the education that is given is of a very elementary character. As regards early marriage there has been a perceptible improvement in the case of boys, who, in rare cases, are at present married before the age of eighteen, at least in those classes that have come under the influence of new ideas. But the improvement in the case of the girls is very little. In some cases, they are kept unmarried till twelve, but even that I consider to be a very early age. As regards widow-marriage the first on this side was solemnised in the year 1869. And there have been a good many more since then. But the number is far from satisfactory, and this reform, I may without contradiction say, has not penetrated very widely into our society. Even highly educated natives, without the slightest compulsion, when they become widowers, even when they are themselves forty-five or more, marry a girl of ten or twelve instead of a grown up widow. A good many are afraid openly to enter into social relations with a re-married widow and her husband. In connection with this I may say that the heartless custom of sacrificing little girls by being mated with old men between fifty and sixty years of age, still continues to flourish, and it grieves my heart to say, even among educated men—alumni of the Deccan and the Elphinstone Colleges. The plague which has been committing dire ravages in our country, has thrown many a female child into the condition of widowhood, but there has been no educated man during these five years to rescue any one these helpless creatures, from her pitiable state. So that, widow-marriage, upon the whole, seems to have made very little progress.

But in another respect we are distinctly going backward

since we began to speak about reform. About 1850, a secret society called Paramahansa Mandal was formed in Bombay for abolition of caste. Since it was composed of men who had not the courage to face opposition, the society became defunct when the doings of the members began to be talked about out-side. In my early days I remember, whenever there was any public movement, all classes, Hindus, Parsis and Mahomedans joined in it, and a feeling of brother-hood existed among them. But in these days we find these classes conducting such public movements independently of each other, and even the separate castes of Hindus following suit. There is as great or even greater estrangement between these large classes and Hindu castes than there existed before Social Reform was thought of. There are separate clubs of Brahmans, Śārasvatas or Śeṇvis, Cāndraseniya Kāyasthas and Daivajñas. What can be more discouraging to the heart of a sincere reformer than this condition of things? Not only has no progress been made towards the union of these classes and castes, but the differences between them have become accentuated. "Where are we going?" is the question that constantly troubles my heart.

I may here make a passing allusion to the rather bitter disputes between the Marathas and the Brahmans going on at Kolhapur and Baroda, which sets this back-sliding of ours in a lurid light. I have already referred to the fact that during the Pre-Mahomedan Period, the foreigners who settled in the country became Hindus. The dynasty that ruled over Kanouj in the 8th and 9th centuries belonged originally, as has recently been proved to a foreign race—that of the Gurjara, and Mahendrapāla, one of the princes of that dynasty, is spoken of by the celebrated poet Rājasekhara, who was his Guru and calls himself Mahā-rāṣṭriya in one place, as having sprung from the solar race. Similarly, we have reason to believe that the Chahuwans, Parmars and Solankis belonged to the same race. But they

have in the course of time become Rajputs. If foreigners could become Kṣatriyas in this way, there is no reason why Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins of this presidency should not similarly declare the Rajas of Kolhapur and Baroda to be Kṣatriyas, even supposing that they have not descended from a Paurāṇic line, when a Maratha Brahmin of great learning, Gāgabhāṭṭa, decided that the founder of the Maratha empire was a Kṣatriya, and on the other hand one is at a loss to see why such an importance should be attached to the performance of domestic ceremonies according to the Vedic ritual. But certainly it is devoutly to be wished that in one way or the other this unseemly quarrel should come to an end.

One of the social reforms advocated by us viz., travelling to foreign countries, has been progressing recently at a rapid rate. It appears to me that every one who has come more or less under the influence of the new ideas, is ready to go to England, Japan or other countries, and the only obstacle in the way is the want of sufficient funds. What the advocates of this reform look to, is that the men who travel to foreign countries should on their return be received back into their castes. This is good as a temporary measure, but if truth must be followed, it will not do to ignore the fact that most of those who go to England and other countries are not able to adhere to the rules of castes while in these countries. The caste is thus, in almost all cases, practically given up. And to assume it again on coming back to this country is in my eyes going backwards, and points to the inveterate nature of the institution, by means of which, though really giving up caste, we ostensibly or outwardly stick to it.

From all I have said, and a good deal more that falls under our observation, it appears as if the germs of castes formed an essential ingredient of our blood. To eradicate them is perhaps as hopeless as drying up the Indian Ocean. The races of

Europe destroyed those germs in their infancy by using the antidote of the spirit of nationality. In the absence of that antidote, the germs of the disease have had an extensive development and have become extremely strong in India, and rendered the formation of an Indian nationality an impossibility. If, however, you think we can form a nation with caste, let us try. But at least, caste jealousies must be forgotten in practical matters, not opposed to caste rules, and we should act towards each other as if no caste differences existed between us. But we should also endeavour to bring about a fusion of sub-castes, and this is what one of the propositions before us contemplates. This appears to me to be a promising matter but even here it will not do to be too optimistic

I have thus briefly gone over the principal planks in the platform of the social reformer. In what I have observed, there is a good deal to discourage an earnest reformer who heartily wishes that his country should progress, and one feels inclined to think with the late Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara that the Hindus would never adopt social reform. But there is no cause for despair. Sir Auckland Colvin describes, I believe, our position correctly in his article on India in the new Volumes of the Encyclopedia Britannica, where he says 'Torpor is shaken off and a nervous activity takes the place of silence and inaction. The Princess has arisen and moves forward, though with dazzled eyes and uncertain steps, encumbered by the folds of her old world garments' Having slept so long, our eyes are dazzled by the new light we see, we do not see our way clearly before us, our steps are uncertain and we are encumbered by the folds of our former garments. But our steps should certainly become more certain and endeavours must be made to cast off the encumbering folds. For this reason, it appears to me that the proposal you have made for establishing a Central Reform Association at Bombay and branch associations in the districts, is very good

We must, by means of lectures, pamphlets and leaflets, educate the public opinion of our people and bring them to perceive the justice and reasonableness of the reforms we advocate and the dangers ahead which will overtake us if we reject them. At the same time we must form a strong body of reformed public opinion amongst ourselves, which men of sixty, marrying a girl of twelve, or fathers marrying their boys and girls when they are little children, will be afraid of. At the same time those who are conducting this agitation for social reform, should themselves be persons who have shown their sincerity by introducing one or other of these reforms in their family. The method often spoken of—of winning over the spiritual heads of the different communities and introducing reforms with their help—is, I am afraid, not destined to be successful. At the same time to interpret or rather to mis-interpret the Śāstras so as to make them agree with our views, is a method which also is extremely unpromising. My view of our people is that the great Śāstra or spiritual adviser whom they obey is custom, and if the Gura or Śāstra goes against this, they will be disobeyed and set aside. The feasible plan, therefore, appears to me to silently but sincerely introduce the reforms we advocate, so that in the course of time, they may themselves become the prevailing customs.

But the great question is whether our conscience has been sufficiently aroused to enable us to withstand whatever opposition or persecution we may meet with in our course. If it is not, it must be, if we are to progress and not sink lower and lower until we are wiped off the face of the earth. And there is another question, will the ideal of social reform in itself inspire us with the necessary enthusiasm? In Bengal social reform is almost given up by persons who are not members of the Brahmo Samaj. And it is the latter institution that advocates both religious and social reform. Things have not come to this pass here as the present conference shows. But

the very slow progress we have made, and the steps backward that we take, as well as the fact that a social reformer, more or less by his own acts, sets aside the Hindu religion as it is, make one think that the only efficient way is to devise a radical course of reform based upon the reform of Hindu Religion. Religious belief is calculated to invigorate the conscience, and social reform will then become an imperative duty. But for obvious reasons, I must not go into the question further, and leave you to decide the whole matter for yourselves.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL
SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT
AHMADABAD IN 1902**

[From the "Dnyan Prakash", of Poona, dated 1st January 1903]

The Session of the National Social Conference was held in the last week of December 1902, and Mr Lalshankar Umiyashankar and the Hon'ble Justice Mr N G Chandawarkar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the General Secretary of Conference, respectively, had delivered their addresses on the day previous to Sir R. G Bhandarkar's Presidential Address, given below. [N.B U]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

Yesterday you had a glowing and attractive picture placed before you To-day it is our business to see whether the canvas on which the picture is to be painted is torn and tattered and cannot hold it, or of a weak texture and cannot retain it for long If it be of either nature we have to see how it can be repaired and strengthened so that it may answer our purpose. Dropping all metaphor, I may say that the object of Social Reform is to eradicate such evil customs as have undermined the energies of the Indian people and prevent the free expansion of their powers and capacities The three hundred millions of the population of India are divided into about 5000 different communities which are called castes and between which there is no intimate social intercourse The spirit of caste pride has come into free play, and jealousies and discussions are the result No sincere co-operation can be expected under the circumstances Some of the communities are so small that it is difficult to secure husbands for women and wives for men. And often unsuitable matches have to be

formed. And this is, in too many instances, the case in the province of Gujarat where stories of girls of inferior castes being brought from Kathiawad and palmed off on intending bridegrooms as belonging to their caste are not uncommon.

The lower castes are in a very depressed condition; no education is available to them. Even their touch is considered abomination and to improve their social condition they often change their religion and become Christians. The women of the country are, as a rule, not educated, thus leading to, what may be called, a waste of half the moral and intellectual resources of the country, a waste for which there can be no compensation anywhere. Boys and girls, especially the latter, are married at a very early age, and this must necessarily lead to the degeneration of the race, and the education of girl stops when they arrive at about the age of twelve. Girl-widows are condemned to a life of misery and often immorality, and a society that connives at this condition of things must become demoralised to a certain extent. Travelling to foreign countries is prohibited, and thus there is no scope for the development of the enterprising spirit of the people. If, therefore, in the present keen competition between the nations, our people are to have a fresh start, a strong fight will have to be made against these and such other customs.

SOCIAL REFORM, A NATIONAL MOVEMENT

This has been my creed since the year 1853, I gave expression to it at Sholapur by laying stress on the national significance of social reform, and I thought it was the creed of all social reformers. I was not aware that I was uttering anything new and was surprised to find that I was so regarded in some quarters. I can have nothing to say to those who expressed an approval, but there were some people, I am told, who regarded widow-marriage, for instance, as called for only

for the removal of the misery of the widow girls and had no connection whatever with national interests. According to these men the removal of misery of certain creatures is the object of social reform. The acquisition of social facilities for foreign travel is sought for by the social reformer, but the removal of existing misery cannot be its object. So also in a very large number of cases, caste distinctions do not create misery, yet the social reformer seeks to obliterate them. The old Buddhists, especially of Northern India, constituted benevolence as one of the cardinal principles of their conduct. They even sacrificed their lives to promote the good of others; but they did not seek systematically to abolish caste, though amongst themselves the Buddhist monks paid no heed whatever to it. I, however, do not mean to say that sympathy for the sufferings of others is not a motive in itself. In fact, it is the highest motive, and the world has now begun to move towards its realisation, though, I am afraid, there is more talk about it than actual work, as is shown by the manner in which President Roosevelt's attempts to be just and impartial to the Negroes in the United States have been received. But if mere sympathy for the sufferings of others is the object of social reform, why should we confine our efforts to the Indians and why not extend them to the Chinese or Europeans? Practically, therefore we have to restrict the operations of this high motive to the people of India, so that, from this point of view even social reform becomes a national movement.

TIME IS NO FORCE

Now, some people there are who believe in the natural operation of the causes which have come into existence and declare deliberate social reform not only unnecessary but harmful, and agitation such as is conducted by this Conference and Social Reform Associations to be mischievous. The causes

that have come into operation are our contact with Western nations, the English education we receive at Schools and Colleges, English law and policy which make no distinction between a Brahman and Śūdra, railways which compel a holy Brahman to sit side by side with a low caste man in a third class compartment, the increase of population consequent on Pax Britannica which is driving even Brahmans to resort to the profession of stone-masons, tailors, weavers and so forth. These have no doubt been changing our manners, but their operation must cease with the satisfaction of the immediate need, and it cannot give us systematic reform. Besides, if social reform were left to the natural operation of these causes, you cannot trust to the process always yielding rational results. The changes that our present circumstances are calculated to produce may be good or may be bad. The expression that is often used in connection with this view is that time will work out the necessary changes. But time is no force, it is simply a category of the understanding to distinguish one event from another. The real force comes from human motives which are invoked by the circumstances in which men find themselves. If, therefore, time works out changes, it must be by the force of human motives. And as the lower motives are always more powerful than the higher ones though these are nobler in their nature, when you leave things to take their own course, the changes that will be effected will be such as the lower motives of man bring about, that is to say, the changes will not always be good or rational. In order, therefore, that the changes which our present circumstances or the causes indicated above are likely to produce, may be good or rational it is necessary to discuss and decide which [we] will have and which not. In other words, social changes must not be left to work themselves out, but should always be under the guidance of our reason and moral sense.

WITHOUT THE CONTROL OF REASON

Our previous history is full of examples in which, when things were left to themselves the changes that were effected were irrational and immoral. Some of you know that the authors of our *Smritis* or law books enumerate twelve kinds of sons who succeed their father. One of these is *Kāma* or the son of a virgin that was begotten before a girl was married and who in some cases was regarded as the son of her father and by some as the son of the husband whom she subsequently married. This shows that when the practice of marrying girls at a mature age prevailed some of them went wrong. And in all likelihood it was to serve this evil that the practice of marrying girls at an early age came into existence. Some of the old *Rsis* lay down the ritual of marriage on the supposition that the bride was a grown-up girl, others after laying down the general rule add "it would be better to marry a girl before maturity." There are still others who did not approve of this new practice that was coming in, and laid down in express terms that only a mature girl should be married. So far the new change was not beyond the control of reason. But that control was soon lost, and it went on spreading over a wider area. The possibility of a girl going wrong before maturity was alone looked to and gradually early marriage became a stereotyped custom without reference to the reason that ushered it in, and the limit of age became lower and lower until now a child even a few months old is sometimes married. Thus, then, this change was not under the guidance and control of reason and was left to work itself out. The manifest evils of early marriage were entirely lost sight of, and early marriage came to be firmly rooted.

Similarly the original motive that eventually led to female infanticide and the marriage of about a hundred girls or more to one man was not bad. That motive was the anxiety of

parents to marry their girls into respectable families. But this was not under the guidance of reason, and parents killed their daughters to avoid the disgrace of marrying them into low families or wedded them to husbands that saw them only once in their life. Similarly a too nice regard for female chastity not of the moral but physical kind, led to the proscription of widow-marriage, and no regard whatever was paid to the evil consequences which have come so glaringly under our observation. And the innumerable castes that we find at present owe their existence to the feeling of exclusiveness working itself out unchecked by national considerations. This is the result, then, when we allow certain influences to work themselves out and do not subject them to criticism at each step, and arrest their operation when it oversteps the bounds of reason. It will, therefore, not do to trust to the new circumstances in which we find ourselves now, to eradicate the prevailing evil customs. There must be discussion and decision and deliberate plans for the introduction of such changes only as are good and rational.

TWO-FOLD OBJECT OF SOCIAL REFORM

The reform movements that are going on have a two-fold object, viz., deliberate eradication of the prevailing evils and the prevention of others that the new causes which have come into operation may bring about if left to work silently. For the present the first object is more important, but, as I stated at Sholapur, we have not been able to do very much towards its accomplishment. A European friend recently wrote to me that from all he had observed, it appeared to him that there was no strong force at the back of the Reform Movement, and we must acknowledge that this is true, looking to the persevering and energetic efforts and exertions made by Europeans whenever they have to introduce a reform. Most of us have read Morley's Life of Cobden. Can we say that our exertions

can at all be compared with those which that great man and his co-adjutor Mr. Bright, went through, to convince people of the injustice of the Corn Laws. And the number of our people is so large and they are so impervious to ordinary influence, and the social practices we have to eradicate are so many, that more persistent efforts than those of Cobden and Bright must be made by resolute men in all parts of the country to bring even a small minority of the people to the conviction that these practices are baneful. Since like the Corn Laws our agitation is not to culminate in legislation that will compel action, we must begin by introducing our doctrines into practice ourselves

Oftentimes the reproach has been cast at the Social Conference that there is any amount of talking there but very little action, and a danger which is likely to arise from inaction is that it will become a simple matter of routine with us to speak of matters of Social Reform, and for others to hear us, and becoming callous, we shall cease to be really enthusiastic about it ourselves. All this you will, I hope, bear seriously in mind. As I stated at Sholapur, we should form associations wherever we can; there should be lectures, discussions, pamphlets and leaflets, and we should have a public opinion amongst ourselves which will prevent back-sliding. A large amount of money will also be wanted. But the question is "Are there such resolute men amongst us who will work in the manner in which Cobden and Bright worked to bring about a reform in the Corn Laws?" If we have, or if we shall have, if not now, then only, in my opinion, the future interests of our country are safe, and if no such men arise our future must indeed be gloomy.

As to the second object of Social Reform movement viz., keeping the influences now at work under the guidance and control of reason, a spirit of fair criticism prompted solely by the love of our country must be developed by us. Whenever

any evil principle finds introduction into society or a good principle is carried to excess, criticism ought to be brought to bear on it. For instance, it cannot be denied that the spread of the vice of drunkenness amongst the higher castes is due, to the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The Social Conference and social reformers generally ought to condemn the practice in no measured terms. Again, there are persons amongst us who secretly violate the rules of castes as regards eating and drinking but outwardly pose as orthodox persons. If the number of such men goes on increasing, demoralisation of Indian society must inevitably be the result. This also must be fearlessly criticised, if we have any regard for our future good. In this manner, as we go on, other evils hitherto unheard of may come into existence, and the only remedy I can think of is that a regard for national interest must grow up amongst us and we should endeavour to do all that is possible to prevent the growth of any evil arising from these circumstances.

IS THIS PESSIMISM ?

I am afraid in consequence of the remarks I have now made some of you will again call me a pessimist or at least say that a pessimistic tone pervades my observations. I am myself unable to see the justification of this title or of this view. I have never said that there is nothing good in us Hindus, or that we are not capable of rising, nor have I said that we have done nothing in matters of reform. Though at Sholapur I stated that in our history we Hindus as a whole have shown no concern for national or corporate interests, or were not actuated by the national spirit or sentiment, and consequently allowed ourselves to be conquered by foreigners, still I did not say that the spirit of our military classes was ever permanently crushed, or that the learned, priestly, mercantile and other classes lost their peculiar excellences. After

the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kushans had governed a large portion of the country for three or four centuries, a Hindu dynasty of Guptas rose to power and established itself over the whole of Northern India. The foreigners were driven out by Candragupta otherwise called Vikramāditya, the most famous prince of the dynasty. The occasion was seized by the Brahmans to regain the power over the people which they had lost through the influence of early Buddhism, and according to their lights, put the social system in order by remodelling their laws and institutions. The Hūnas or Huns who held power for some time in the country were put down by a prince of the name Yaśodharman who ruled over North-Western Malwa and Rajputana. In modern times, Hindu domination was restored by the Sikhs in the North, and the Marathas in the South. In very early times, when the Āryans spread over the different parts of Northern India they appear to have had an aristocratic form of Government in some instances at least. In the time of Buddha, while Magadha was governed by a prince and was an absolute monarchy, the Vajjis or Vṛjīs, Kṣatriya inhabitants of a neighbouring province formed a Republic. Such other republics are also spoken of. And the system of giving to the provinces in which certain Kṣatriya tribes had settled, the name of the tribe itself must have originated from the fact of their being joint owners of the provinces, i. e., having a Republican form of government. Thus the country in which Pāṇḍalas lived was called Pāṇḍala, and that in which Kuravas lived Kurava. In Western countries these aristocratic republics became democracies and existed as such for a long time and political ideas and institutions were highly developed. In India they soon became absolute monarchies and ever remained as such and the political growth of the country was arrested. To this result ecclesiastical absolutism that was

established at the same time also contributed since it checked freedom of thought and action.

You will thus see that I do not and cannot deny us the capacity for assimilating the national sentiment and working for the promotion of national interests. But the progress we have made during the last sixty years since we became subject to the new influences, and in Bengal during the last 150 years, has not been considerable, as I have shown in the Sholapur address. One cannot help coming to this conclusion when one carefully observes what is going on about one. If for declaring this openly, one is to be called a pessimist, verily truth itself is pessimistic and I believe it will do us good if rough pessimistic truth were dinned into one's ears instead of smooth optimistic falsehood. The former will rouse us to action, the latter will send us to sleep again, though there is no question the new causes that come into operation have awakened us. Consider for a moment how the Japanese have completely transformed themselves within the short space of 35 years. A Japanese scholar whom I met in Poona a few days ago told me that before the transformation took place, i.e., 35 years ago, there was no connubium or inter-marriages between the military and mercantile classes but now this distinction has been obliterated. The Japanese are a unique people, and I do not think it is possible for us to make progress at their rate, but still during the twice and five times as many years that we have been under the same influences as they—not the same I should say, but under far stronger and better influences, since we have been positively receiving education at the hands of a European nation, we might be expected to drop the connubial distinction between at least the minor sub-divisions of the same caste. But we have not done it. Now, gentlemen, believe me when I say that I do not feel offended in the least when a pessimistic tone is discovered

in my remarks, but what I want to drive out by referring to this matter is that our people have somehow become fond of praise. They even allow themselves to be misled by certain foreigners who indulge them lavishly with it. For progress what is wanted is discontent with the present condition—and praise bestowed upon us and believed in by us is calculated to make us self-satisfied and unwilling to make an effort to rise. It is to warn my hearers of this weakness that I have alluded to the matter.

In conclusion, allow me to remind you that the great discovery of the nineteenth-century—the law of evolution—is receiving confirmation from every side. The law implies that there has been throughout the universe a progress in the material as well as the spiritual world from the simple to the complex, from the dead to the living, from good to better, from the irrational to the rational. This is the law of God, and if instead of obstinately changing to what is bad and irrational, we move forwards to what is good and rational, we shall be obeying the law of the Universe and co-operating with God. If, however, we continue to go down from what is bad to what is worse, from good to bad and from the rational to irrational, as we have been doing for so many centuries, we shall have to seek another universe to live in.

A NOTE ON THE AGE OF MARRIAGE AND ITS CONSUMMATION ACCORDING TO HINDU RELIGIOUS LAW

This essay with its Appendices was originally published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar himself in a pamphlet form in the year 1891, in connection with the controversy on the Age of Consent Bill, then before the Indian Legislative Council. [N. B. U.]

I

• The question is whether intercourse immediately after maturity¹ is necessary according to the Hindu religious law.

(i) Manu says —

काममामरणातिष्ठेद् गृहे कन्यर्तुमस्यपि ।
न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥

Chap IX Verse 89.

“The maiden may even remain till death in the [father's] house after maturity, but he should never give her to one who has no merits.”

On this the oldest commentator Medhātithi observes “A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty, and she is not to be given even after puberty, as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had”, प्रायृतोः कन्याया न दानम् । क्रतु-दर्शनेपि न दद्याच्चावद् गुणवान्वरो न प्राप्तः ।

(ii) Again —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विन्देत सदृशं पतिम् ॥

Manu IX 90.

1 The expressions maturity, puberty, and grown up are in this note used to denote that stage in the growth of a girl in which a certain physical phenomenon has begun to appear.

" After maturity she should wait for three years ; and after that marry a suitable husband herself."

(iii) Baudhāyana also says the same thing —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युत्तमती कार्ष्णेत पितृशासनम् ।
ततश्चतुर्थे वर्षे तु विन्देत सदृशं पतिम् ॥

IV. 1. 14.

" For three years after puberty she should wait for her father's order , and then in the fourth year marry a suitable husband herself "

(iv) Vasiṣṭha's Sūtras, XVII. 67 and 68 are to the same effect.

(v) Gobhila-putra in the Gṛhyasamgraha says —

नग्निकां तु वदेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ।
ऋतुमती त्वनग्निका तां प्रयच्छे¹ त्वनग्निकाम् ॥

Gobhiliya Gr Sa , Ed Bibl Indica, p. 839

" A girl is called Nagnikā (naked) as long as she has not arrived at maturity After maturity she is Anagnikā (not naked). He should give that Anagnikā girl " [in marriage].

(vi) Hiranyakesin lays down in his Gṛhya Sūtra that a young man should, after finishing his education, marry, with the consent of his parents, an Anagnikā or grown up girl who is chaste and of the same caste with him , (समावृत्त आचार्य-कुलान्मातापितरौ विभृत्यास्ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छे² त्सजाता-नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् ।).

1 नग्निकाम् (another reading)

2 सजातानग्निकाम् is the reading of my Manuscript, of another, dated 1706 Śaka, found by me in the City of Poona, and of the Poona Hiranyakesin Brahmins generally It is also the reading of three of Dr Kirtse's six Manuscripts. The compound cannot be dissolved into सजाता and नग्निका (सजाता चासौ नग्निका च) as in that case it would be सजातानग्निका by Pāṇini VI 3. 84. Besides if नग्निका were the correct reading, the following adjective ब्रह्मचारिणी

These texts show that the principal Hindu legislators allow of a girl remaining unmarried till after she has arrived at a certain stage of growth, and three of them limit the period for which she may so remain to three years. She may thus have no connection with a man for three years after puberty.

(vii) And Manu specifically allows a girl to remain unmarried till the age of twelve. For, says he

त्रिंशद्वर्षो वदेत्कन्यां दृष्ट्वां द्वादशवार्षिकीम् ।

IX 94.

"A man thirty years old should marry a girl pleasing to him, of the age of twelve years."

Taken in connection with the texts already quoted, this means that he should marry her even if she has already become mature, i. e., she can remain without connection till the age of twelve

II

But these texts do not show that the legislators allow of a grown up girl remaining without connection with a man *after marriage*. The following bear on that point

(1) अक्षारालवणाशिनौ ब्रह्मचारिणावलङ्कुर्वाणावध- शायिनौ
स्यातां त्रिरासं द्वादशरासं संवत्सरं वैकङ्कषिर्जायत इति ।

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I 8 10—11

'chaste' 'who has had no intercourse' 'would be useless, for a नमिका or one who has not arrived at the particular physical stage is necessarily chaste. The commentator Mātrdatta, in Dr. Kirta's Edition at least, takes सजाता नमिका as the reading, which is also the reading of three of Dr. Kirta's Manuscripts; but curiously enough he explains the word as आसन्नार्तवा "who is about to arrive at the physical stage," and वसविशेषणार्हा "who is fit to be denuded," and मैत्रुणार्हा "fit to have intercourse." Evidently he had a conception of the sense that the context requires, but had a bad reading before him. There can be no reasonable doubt that सजाता नमिका is the correct reading

[After the bride has been taken to the house of the bridegroom], the two should not eat corn of certain species, nor taste salt, should be chaste, i. e., have no intercourse, adorn themselves and sleep on the floor for three nights, or twelve nights, or for a year, since thus the wife comes to have the Gotra of her husband (leaving that of her father).

(11) संवत्सरं न मियुनमुपेयातां द्वादशरात्रं वज्रात् तिरासमन्ततः ।

Paraskara, Gṛhya Sūtra I. 8. 1.

"For one year [after the day of marriage] they should not have conjugal intercourse, or for twelve nights, or six, or at least three.

(111) Śāṅkhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Khādira, and Gobhila impose Brahmacharya or abstinence only for three nights, after the day of marriage in some cases or after the bride is taken home in others.

Now the very fact of the imposition of abstinence from intercourse by all these authors of Gṛhyasūtras, shows the existence of a possibility of the intercourse. And since it cannot be contended that there is such a possibility when the married girl is in a condition in which the physical occurrence has not yet taken place, it must be concluded that the marriage ritual prescribed by these authors presupposes the girl to be in a condition of puberty. And the rule expressly laid down by Gobhilaputra and Hiraṇyakeśin, and the observation of Medhātithi quoted above confirm this view. And even a living Bengal Pandit, Candrakānta Tarkalambkāra, in his comment on the passage in Gobhila which imposes abstinence observes —

त्रिंशद्वर्षो वहेत्कन्यां द्वात्रिंशद्दशवार्षिकीम् । इत्येवमादिके करणे
व्यवायस्य नासंभवं ।

Ed. in Bibl. Ind. p. 327.

1. e., "Under a system implied by such texts as 'A man thirty

years old should marry a girl twelve years old that is pleasing to him,' intercourse is not impossible."

The authors of the Sūtras proceed next to prescribe intercourse after the completion of the period of abstinence together, with the ritual to be observed at the time. Āpastamba (III 8. 10) rules that it should take place in the latter part of the fourth night, and prescribes the repetition of certain other Mantras (III 8 10) on the occasion of another intercourse immediately after a monthly course,¹ which portion of the ceremony corresponds to the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony of the present day. Hiranyakeśin's directions are precisely the same. Śaṅkhāyana (I. 19 1) allows of it immediately after a monthly course only (अनुवेष्टव्यम्) with the Garbhādhāna ceremonies, and Khādīra (p. 385, S B. E., Vol. XXIX, p 385, अनुकाळे), and Pāraskara (I 11 7 अक्षतुर्मवेष्टनम्) do the same. Gobhila notices the first rule which we find in Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin by saying "according to some there should be intercourse after the first three nights" (अथैव त्रिरात्रात्संभव इत्येके); and then lays down his own rule that "the time for intercourse is immediately after a monthly course" (अक्षतुर्मती मक्षतुपरतकोविता तदा संभवकाः। p 346, Ed. Bibl. Ind)

It will thus be seen that the authors of the Grhyasūtras, whose rules presuppose marriage after puberty, prescribe abstinence for the first three nights after marriage or after the bride is taken away to the bridegroom's house, some provide for intercourse on the fourth night, but the majority on the occasion of a monthly course. Whether the monthly course meant is the one immediately after marriage is doubtful, but there is a

¹ The time meant when intercourse is prescribed by the use of the expression अक्षतु or अनुकाळे which I have translated by "on the occasion of or immediately after a monthly course" is from the fourth, or according to some, the fifth night after the beginning of the monthly course to the sixteenth inclusive.

strong reason, as will be shown hereafter, to believe that they meant any monthly course generally, even long after marriage. In any case, there is no ground for saying that they prescribe intercourse at the first monthly course after marriage. But Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara extend the period of abstinence expressly to one year as the most righteous course, wherefore it follows that the postponement of the consummation of a marriage that has already taken place, for one year at least after puberty is not opposed to the Hindu religious law.

III

But marriages after puberty have now become unknown among the higher castes, and are considered to be opposed to the Dharmaśāstra. A girl is married before she has grown up, and it is contended that the religious books render it obligatory to consummate the marriage immediately after puberty or the first monthly course, though in practice it is not done in many cases in various parts of the country. It is therefore necessary to examine the texts relied upon. They are of this nature.—

प्रयच्छेन्नपिकां कन्यामृतुकालमयात्पिता ।

ऋतुमत्यां हि तिष्ठन्त्यां दोषः पितरमृच्छति ॥

Vasiṣṭha.

“A father should give his girl in marriage while in the immature condition, being afraid of her attaining puberty; for if she remains with him in a condition of puberty, the father incurs sin.”

But this is felt to be too tame. Hence another text is quoted from Yama by recent writers on the domestic ceremonies, which is as follows —

कन्या द्वादश वर्षाणि याप्रदत्ता वसेद् गृहे ।

ब्रह्महत्या पितुस्तस्याः सा कन्या वरयेत्स्वयम् ।

तस्मादुद्वाहयेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ॥

"The father of the girl who remains in the house unmarried incurs the sin of murdering a Brahman. The girl should choose for herself. Therefore he should get his girl married before she arrives at maturity."

But this must have been regarded as extravagant even by those who believe in infant marriages only as legal, for they prescribe no heavier penance for the offending father than feeding a few Brahmans, and giving them presents, or simply giving one cow. If the father is rich, however, he has to give away as many cows as the courses passed by the girl without marriage—See *Saṃskāra-kāustubha* on the marriage ceremony—

But the peculiarity of our religious law is that a text is always found to justify any new custom that obtains currency, and often times it happens that the texts quoted by the writers of Digests are not found in the extant copies of the works from which they profess to quote them. In those cases where a text is not available, our theologians twist the senses of those which exist in a manner to serve the purpose. But of course this argument cannot be used at present. Still in the face of the texts quoted by me from Manu, Gobhila-putra, Hiraṇyakeśin, Yaśṣṭha and Baudhāyana, the texts declaratory of the obligatory nature of infant marriages, cannot, even according to the orthodox rules of interpretation, be allowed full swing. The author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* attempts a reconciliation, and says that marriage after the age of ten is prohibited, but in consideration of the texts of Manu, Baudhāyana, and others, marriages at twelve and sixteen, even if the attainment of maturity becomes known, are allowable in those cases in which the legal giver of the girl does not exist. (दशवर्षादूर्ध्वं विवाहो निषिद्धः । तथापि दातुमश्वे द्वादशषोडशाद्वे हेये रजोभाव इवम्). But there is no reason whatsoever why the late marriages should be restricted to those cases. Manu and others do not, in prescribing them, speak of the non-existence of the father

or other givers. The only fair way is to regard both as equally legal, according to the well known orthodox rule, that when contradictory precepts such as that "he should offer oblations after sunrise" and "he should offer oblations before sunrise" exist, one is at liberty to follow whichever he chooses. Thus then marriages after puberty are allowable and not opposed to the Hindu religious law.

IV

The texts as regards the other point are of this nature —

गर्भाधानमृदौ कुर्यात् । (Bṛhaspati quoted by Nanda Paṇḍita in the Samskāranirṇaya).

"He should perform the conception ceremony immediately after a monthly course"

क्रताबुपेयात्सर्वत्र वा प्रतिषिद्धिर्जम् । (Gautama as quoted by Candracūda and Kamalākara).

"He should have intercourse immediately after a monthly course, or on any day except those which are prohibited."

Texts such as these provide only for the ceremony being performed and intercourse being had immediately after a course; but do not require that the thing should take place after the first course. And no text has been brought forward by the authors of the seven or eight Nibandhas or Digests I have consulted, which expressly enjoins the conception ceremony or intercourse on the occasion of the first course.

But there are others of the nature of the following —

क्रतुस्मातां तु यो भार्यं संनिधौ नोपगच्छति ।

द्वोरायां ब्रूणहत्यायां पच्यते' नात्र संशयः ॥

Parāśara.

1 कुर्यात् (another reading).

"He who, though living in the same place with his wife, does not cohabit with her on the occasion of a monthly course incurs the deadly sin of killing an embryo, there is no doubt about this."

This text is quoted as from Parāśara by Nanda Paṇḍita, Kamalākara, Anantadeva, and Candracūḍa. Nanda Paṇḍita observes—with reference to a text of Manu (III 45) which inculcates that "a man shall always cohabit with his wife on the occasion of her courses, being devoted to her, and go to her with the vow of generating a son, except on certain holy days,"—that this precept is mandatory and he must go, for it is laid down that he commits a sin if he does not; and in proof of this he quotes the above text from Parāśara. The obligation to have intercourse on the occasion of courses rests upon precepts like this which threaten a man with sinfulness, and since the statement is general, it admits apparently of being made applicable to all courses, even the first, and the view that the consummation of marriage must be effected at the first course, can, if at all, be based only on these precepts. At any rate no other text bearing on the point has been brought forward by the authors I have consulted, and it is not likely that the Bengal author, Raghunandana, whose *Samskāratattva* is not available here, should have said anything different from what Nanda Paṇḍita and the rest have said.

Now though this precept of Parāśara and others like it render intercourse compulsory on the occasion of monthly courses, still it can come into operation only when the door is opened for it, and that door can be opened only by the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony, which is indispensable. For a text, quoted from a Smṛti attributed to Āśvalāyana by Nanda Paṇḍita and Kamalākara, says —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणास्तस्यां जातस्तु दुष्पति ।

“ If the Garbhādhāna ceremony is not done, he (a son) who is born of her becomes unclean or sinful.”

But we are not told by the authors of the Digests that it should be performed on the occasion of the first course, as the texts adduced only require its being performed immediately after a course. And we have seen that the authors of the Gṛhyasūtras, Śaṅkhāyana, Khādīra, Pāraskara, and Gobhila leave the matter equally indefinite. The Parīśiṣṭa or appendix of Āśvalāyana Gṛhya, which takes up points omitted in the Sūtra itself and is manifestly later than the latter, gives however a more definite indication of what is meant. The Garbhādhāna ceremony according to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of a ritual for the R̥gvedins, consists of two parts, (1) the kindling and consecration of the fire and throwing oblations into it of cooked rice and ghee in honour of certain deities; and (2) the rites preparatory to the actual intercourse, which are directed to be performed at night, when both the husband and wife well dressed have seated themselves on a bedstead. These, however, since priests are wanted to repeat the sacred formulas, are gone through, as a matter of fact, during day time along with the first part of the ceremony, the physical portion intended to be consecrated by those rites, being made to stand over till the night. Now with reference to the time, when these two parts, which in the Parīśiṣṭa are mentioned one after the other, and called Prājāpatya and Garbhalābhana respectively, should be performed, the author of the work lays down the following rules —

a अथर्तुमत्याः प्राजापत्यम् । ऋतौ प्रथमेऽनुकूलेऽहनि &c.

“ Now for the Prājāpatya ceremony of a woman after a course. On the occasion of the first course, on an auspicious day he should &c.”

b अथ गर्भलभनम् । ऋतावनुकूलायां निशि &c.

"Now for the Garbhalabhana. On the occasion of a course, on an auspicious night" &c. &c.

Here, evidently, the author of the Parīśiṣṭa looks upon these ceremonies as distinct from each other, and directs that the first, consisting of the consecration of the fire and the oblations, should be performed on the occasion of the first course, but the second, which must be followed by intercourse, on the occasion of a course. The omission here of the word प्रथम or "first" is evidently intentional, and shows that the ceremony introductory to intercourse need not be performed on the occasion of the first course, but may be delayed to any subsequent¹ one. The general statements of the authors of the Sūtras and the indefinite texts quoted above should, in the light of this, be understood to mean the same thing.

Now, if the ceremony introductory to intercourse and intended to consecrate it may thus be delayed, surely the operation of Parāśara's command to cohabit with one's wife on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo, must be delayed also, and the text cannot be considered as over-riding the Sūtras or Parīśiṣṭas and rendering the liberty allowed by these entirely nugatory. But supposing it is rendered nugatory and the rule of Parāśara is in undisputed possession of the field, its province must be determined, according to the usual orthodox principle, as what remains after assigning to whatever exceptions it may have, their own proper place. And the rule has many exceptions.

(1) One of them is contained in the text itself. According to Nanda Paṇḍita, because the word संनिवी 1. e., "living in the

1 The omission of the word प्रथम in the case of गर्भलभन leaving कर्तौ only, is construed by some as signifying that the ceremony should be repeated on the occasion of each course. But in such a case we should expect कर्तावृत्तौ, as we have कर्तव्यः (p. 301, Ed. Bibl. Ind.), मासि मासि p. 306 &c.

same place" is used, a husband does not render himself sinful, if he does not have intercourse in consequence of his being at a distance from her (संगिधिग्रहणादसंगिधौ न दोषः ।) .

Again Vyāsa says —

- (2) व्याधितो बन्धनस्थो वा प्रवासेष्वथ पर्वसु ।
जलुफाले तु नारीणां ब्रूणहत्या प्रमुच्यते ॥

"If a man is suffering from a disease, or is imprisoned, or away in a foreign country, he is free from the sin of killing an embryo, [if he has no intercourse] on the occasion of a course of women, and also when he abstains on certain junctures."

(3) The following verse from Vyāsa is quoted by Kamalākara, Anantadeva, and Candracūda.

वृद्धां बन्ध्यामसद्वृत्तां मृतापत्यामपुष्पिणीम् ।
कन्यासू बहुपुत्रां च वर्जयेन्मुच्यते मयात् ।

"He should avoid intercourse with his wife when she is old, barren, or ill-behaved, or when her children die, or when she has not yet arrived at the peculiar stage of life, or when she gives birth to daughters only or has many sons "

(4) According to Anantadeva and also Nanda Paṇḍita, the Vedic basis of Parāśara's precept is the statement that a man is born with three sorts of liabilities. He owes to the gods a sacrifice, to the manes, offspring, and to the Rsis, the chaste life of a student. His liability to the manes he discharges when he begets a son, so that Parāśara's precept is binding on him only till the birth of his eldest son. His other sons are the results of his own appetencies, and there is no religious obligation as to their being begotten. Nanda Paṇḍita quotes Manu IX. 106,7 in support of this.

The province of the rule is thus limited in these various respects according to the writers of the Digests I have consulted.

But the following also must be regarded as other exceptions :—

(5) The precept of Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara in their Gr̥hya Sūtras that the married couple should observe abstinence for one year as explained above. This, however, is given by Vijnāneśvara in the Mitākṣarā under I. 81, as a reason for interpreting the texts enjoining intercourse as permissive; (see below)

(6) The following text from Baudhāyana

त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमतीं यो भार्या नाभिगच्छति ।
स तुल्यं भुजहत्यायै दोषमुच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥

“ He who does not cohabit with his wife for three years after she attains puberty incurs sin equal to that of the killing of an embryo. There is no doubt about this.”

Parāśara denounces one who does not resort to his wife after she attains puberty generally, Baudhāyana denounces one who does not do so for three years, i. e., according to him, he who observes abstinence for less than three years incurs no sin. If Parāśara's rule is allowed full scope, Baudhāyana's will have to be set aside, while if the latter is followed, the former is not set aside but obtains the scope left uncovered by the latter. In this way of construing them both are allowed scope, and this is the usual way of settling such points in the Hindu Śāstras.

Thus the Hindu religious law allows the consummation of marriage being deferred for three years after a girl attains puberty.

This is the conclusion one can fairly come to, in my opinion, taking the precepts of Br̥haspati, Gautama, Manu, and Parāśara quoted or translated at the beginning of this section, as mandatory or binding. But this nature is denied to them by Śrīdhara, the commentator on the Bhāgavata. In his comment on XI. 5. 11, he says in substance that there can be no

command in a sacred book about a thing which one does from his own natural desire. It would be absurd to think that a sacred precept was wanted to tell a man to drink water when he was thirsty. When, therefore, notwithstanding this, there are precepts such as that "a man should eat the flesh of five species of five-clawed animals" (पञ्च पञ्चजन्ता भक्ष्याः), what is meant is that the flesh of no other species of five-clawed animals is to be eaten but of these five. And even then the eating of the flesh of the five is not enjoined as necessary, for it depends upon one's own desire. So the sense of the precept is "If one wishes to eat the flesh of five-clawed animals at all, he should eat that of these five and not of others, i. e., a man is allowed to eat the flesh of the five but not compelled." Precisely similar is the case with the precept "one should have intercourse with his wife on the occasion of a monthly course." This is a thing which no sacred books are wanted to direct a man to do; for his passions lead him to it. What is meant then by the precept is that one should not satisfy his passion at any other time or elsewhere but on that occasion and with his wife only. The act is not enjoined as necessary, but only the occasion and the subject are defined, for the act depends upon the desire. So then the precept comes to this that if one desires to have intercourse, he should have it with his wife only and on a particular occasion only, but he is not compelled to have it on that occasion. The precept therefore is simply permissive. If it is permissive and a man may have intercourse or not as he likes, why is it that Parāśara accuses one, who abstains, of the "deadly sin of killing an embryo?" What Parāśara means is that that man only is guilty of sin who desiring to have intercourse abstains from it, simply because he does not like his wife or hates her.¹

१ मनु क्रतानुपेयादित्यादिना विधिर्वर्णितः । सत्यम् । नत्वयम-
पूर्वविधिः । रागतः प्राप्तत्वात् । किं तु नियमविधिरूपेण रागेणामन्यनु-

This is Śrīdhara's view, and Kāśmītha Upādhyāya, the author of the *Dharmasindhu*, agrees with it. Viṇṇaśvara in the *Mitākṣarā* gives the same under I. 81, but remarks that "Bhārua, Viśvarūpa and others do not approve of it" and proceeds to give their reasons. He does not say decidedly what his own opinion is, which shows at any rate that he sees the force of the view which makes the precept permissive only. He must therefore be considered as allowing his followers to choose either of the two views.

Thus the points I have endeavoured to make out in this Section are these —

1. That the texts prescribing the Garbhādhāna ceremony and intercourse do not provide that they should come off on the occasion of the first monthly course, but leave the matter indefinite.

2. That if those indefinite texts are understood in connection with the statement in the Āśvalāyana *Gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa*, they must be regarded as leaving it to the option of the person concerned when to perform the ceremony.

3. That since Parāśara's text and others of that nature cannot override the *Parīśiṣṭa*, they must be regarded as coming into force after the Garbhādhāna ceremony whenever it may be performed.

4. That there are many exceptions to Parāśara's precept, one of these being that contained in a text of Baudhāyana, in virtue of which a man may abstain from intercourse for less than three years.

ज्ञानमार्गं क्रियते । ननु यद्यन्यनुज्ञामात्रमेतद् भवेत्तर्हि ऋतु-
स्नातां तु यो भार्यी संनिधौ नोपगच्छति । श्रोत्रायां मूत्रहत्यायां पच्यते
नात्र संशयः ॥ इत्यादि दोषभक्षणं न स्यात् । नैव दोषः । मनसि कामे
सत्यपि तस्यामकृष्या द्वेषादिना वा तामनुपगच्छतो दोषभक्षणोपपत्ते-
रिति सर्वमनवयम् ॥

5. That the authors of some of the Gṛhyasūtras enjoin abstinence for one year after puberty.

6. That the precepts enjoining intercourse are permissive only according to the views of authors of great repute.

V

It will be seen that Mahu in his text III. 45 as interpreted by Nanda Paṇḍita, and in IX 106-7, as also Yājñavalkya in I. 80, mean to enjoin on a man the duty of begetting a son. Nanda Paṇḍita and Anantadeva taking their stand on a Vedic text interpret the precept of Parāśara as having force only until a man has got a son. Other texts inculcate abstinence when the wife has become old or has not arrived at the peculiar stage of growth. From all this and much more that one may find in the religious books, it is evident that in prescribing intercourse, the law-givers have no other object in view than to provide for the birth of a son. And even the junctures at which one should have intercourse in order that a good son may be born are carefully mentioned. The son plays an important part in the religious and domestic life of a Hindu. The law-givers must, therefore, be supposed to have harmonized their precepts with the teachings of the great Hindu medical authorities. Sūśruta tells us that a man reaches the full development of his physical capacities at the age of twenty-five, and a woman at the age of sixteen,¹ though the courses of the latter begin according to him at twelve²

1 पञ्चविंशे ततो वर्षे पुमाञ्जरी तु षोडशे ।

समत्वागतवीर्यौ तौ ज्ञानीयात्कुशलो मिषक् ॥ 35. 8.

समत्वागतवीर्याविति समत्वं परिपूर्णत्वमागतं वीर्यं ययोस्त्वौ
समत्वागतवीर्यौ ।

2 रसादेव स्त्रिया रक्तं रजःसंज्ञं प्रवर्तते ।

तद्वर्षाद्वादशावूर्ध्वं याति पञ्चशतः क्षयम् ॥ 14. 2.

And later on in describing the treatment necessary, if a girl suffers from a peculiar disease previous to the establishment of intercourse, he uses the word तद्वर्णी which the commentator Dalvaṇa interprets as a girl who has reached the age of sixteen¹ Similarly Vāgbhaṭa says in the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha*, that "a man twenty-five years old should act with the view of begetting a son when she [his wife] is sixteen years old For it is then, that being themselves vigorous, they generate a vigorous child, while a foetus placed by one who is less than twenty-five years old in a girl who is less than sixteen, either dies in the womb or becomes a short-lived, weak, unhealthy, insignificant child, or a deformed child."² According to Vāgbhaṭa also, the peculiar physical condition is reached at twelve Hence Manu enjoins marriage at twelve i e., about the time of or immediately after puberty, and he and others allow of a girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty, i e., till she arrives at the 'age of sixteen. In a text quoted from the *Mahābhārata* in the *Nirṇayasindhu* "a man thirty years old is directed to marry a girl sixteen years old"³ And hence also does Baudhāyana allow abstinence from intercourse with a wife for three years after maturity i e., till 'becoming sixteen years old, when she is able to bear a healthy and strong child These are indications that the sacred writers

1 तद्वर्ण्याः षोडशवर्षप्राप्तायाः ।

2 तस्यां षोडशवर्षायां पञ्चविंशतिवर्षः पुरुषः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतेत । तदाहि तौ प्राप्तवीर्यौ वीर्यान्वितमपत्यं जनयतः । ऊनपञ्चविंशतिवर्षेणो-
नषोडशवर्षायामाहितो गर्भः कुक्षिस्थ एव विनाशमाप्नुयादल्पायुर्वला-
रोम्यविमवो वा स्याद्विकलेन्द्रियो वा ।

3 त्रिंशद्वर्षः षोडशाब्दां भार्या विन्देदनमिकाम् ।

विन्देत् नमिकाम् is the reading in the two copies of the *Nirṇayasindhu* that I have consulted. But a woman sixteen years old cannot be a *Nagnikā* according to the ordinary state of things; wherefore विन्देदनमिका(म्) must be the correct reading

had their eye on the teachings of Hindu medical science. If so, all the other indefinite texts must be interpreted so as to harmonize with these teachings.

The following passage in Suśruta has the same sense as that quoted from Vāgbhaṭa —

ऊनवोडशवर्षायामप्रातः पञ्चविंशतिम् ।
यदाघटे पुमान्गर्भं कुक्षिस्थः स विपद्यते ॥
जातो वा न चिरं जीवेज्जीवेद्वा दुर्बलेन्द्रियः ।
तस्मादत्यन्तबालायां गर्भाधानं न कारयेत् ॥

X 13

“When a man before he has reached the age of twenty-five, places an embryo in a girl less than sixteen years old, it dies while in the womb Or if a child is born at all, it will not live long, and if it lives, it will be weak Therefore one should not cause a man to place an embryo in an undeveloped girl ”

When a writer such as Suśruta who is considered inspired, says this so distinctly, it is treating the Ṛṣis most irreverently to assert that they command “the placing of an embryo” in a girl eleven or twelve years old It will be tantamount to accusing them of ignorance

But apart from this consideration, if the sole object of the legislators is to provide for the birth of a son possessed of capacity, in order to carry out their instructions in the spirit in which they are conveyed, we must see at what age a girl is able to bear a healthy child And the old Hindu medical authors tell us that it is sixteen. Modern science also teaches that if a girl is violated before she reaches full development, she often becomes incapable of bearing a child, and when she does give birth to one, it is weak and unhealthy This full development is not reached before the age of twenty But it

It is certain that before the age of fourteen a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child. These are not matters of speculation but of practical experience. By performing the Garbhādhāna ceremony, therefore, when a girl is ten, eleven, or thirteen years of age, the Hindus most irreverently defeat the object of the Ṛsis under the pretence of following their commands. The endeavour, therefore, to compel them to keep a girl untouched before the age of twelve should be welcomed by them as being conceived quite in the spirit of the old Ṛsis. If it succeeds, it will make them more faithful followers of those sages, and more essentially religious Hindus, than in these corrupt times they are.

Thus the general results we arrive at as regards consummation of marriage are these —

1. That no text has been brought forward by Viṣṇaśvara, Kamalākara, Nanda Paṇḍita, Anantadeva, Mahēśabhaṭṭa, Candracūḍa, and Kāśinātha Upādhyāya enjoining the Garbhādhāna or consummation ceremony on the occasion of the first or any specific course, and that the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa allows the liberty of performing it at any time.

2. That the texts which by some are construed as containing mandatory precepts as to intercourse on the occasion of a course have been interpreted by others as involving permissive precepts only.

3. That even if the precepts are regarded as mandatory, their operation must be delayed for one year after puberty in accordance with some Gṛhyasūtras, and for three years in accordance with a text of Baudhāyana.

4. That this delay is quite what one might expect in view of the facts that marriage can according to the Dharmasāstra be deferred for three years after puberty, and that the rituals con-

tained in the Grhyasūtras, especially that of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin presuppose a girl's having arrived at maturity.

5. That this conclusion as regards delay in the consummation of marriage is confirmed by the circumstance that the sacred writers seem to have their eye on the doctrine of Hindu medical science that a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child before the age of sixteen

6. That the consummation of marriage only when the girl has fully developed is quite in keeping with the spirit of the R̥ṣi legislators, as the begetting of a son able to do credit to the father is their sole object, and its early consummation is entirely opposed to their spirit as the result of it is barrenness or weak and sickly children.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

I have also found in Sir Rājā Rādhākāntadeva's Śabda-kalpādruma an extract from Raghunandana's Samskārtattva on the Garbhādhāna ceremony. Raghunandana quotes Gobhila's Sūtra given by me above at p 542 (यदा ऋतुमती &c) and observes —

ऋतुः प्रजाजननयोग्यः कालः । तस्मिन्मिसेन नैमित्तिकं गमनं कार्यम् ।
अकुर्वतः प्रत्यवायास्त्रियमः । यदुक्तं स्मृतौ ।

ऋतुमतीं तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपसर्पति ।

अवाप्नोति स मन्दात्मा ब्रूणहत्यामृतावृत्तौ ॥

“ Rtu is the time fitted for generating offspring. That is the condition, and he should go [to his wife] when that condition exists. If he does not, he incurs sin, therefore this is a mandatory precept. For it is said in a Smṛti ‘That dull fellow who does not go to his wife on the occasion of a monthly course, though she is at hand, incurs [the sin of] killing an embryo at each monthly course’ ”

It will be seen that he does not tell us in express terms to

perform the ceremony on the first occasion, but says the same thing as Nanda Paṇḍita and the rest , so that I need not repeat in detail what I have said in connection with that point. If it is a mandatory precept, its operation must be delayed for the three years allowed by Baudhāyana, or the one year allowed by some of the authors of the Gṛhyasūtras. But it is not mandatory but permissive according to other authors.

In this extract, Raghunandana refutes the view of Bhavadabhaṭṭa on a certain point , while Raghunandana's view on that point is again refuted by Candrakānta Tarkālakāra (see p. 541), the editor of the Gobhilasūtra (p 347). Thus, as already pointed out by Mr Justice Telang, Raghunandana is not regarded as infallible in Bengal, nor, it may be added, any other author of a Digest.

APPENDIX A

(ON MR. TARKAÇŪDĀMAṆI'S PAMPHLET)

My attention has been called to a pamphlet published by Mr Śaśādhara Tarkaçūḍāmaṇi, a Bengali gentleman, on the rites of Garbhādhāna. Mr Tarkaçūḍāmaṇi devotes a large portion of it to the explanation of the ceremony with which I am not concerned

Though I have on the strength of the little penance prescribed for the omission of the Garbhādhāna considered the ceremony as necessary, still Mr Tarkaçūḍāmaṇi makes such an awful thing of it, that it is desirable to go into the matter further. "In all religious books" says he, "whether they be Vedas, Smṛtis, Purāṇas, rituals or commentaries, this ceremony has been emphatically insisted on We may therefore safely conclude that Garbhādhāna has ever been an essential part of our religion," pp 11, 12

But Āśvalāyana does not prescribe it in his Gr̥hyasūtra which is intended for the followers of the R̥gveda, and therefore Nārāyaṇa the author of the commentary says —

गर्भाधानमाचार्येणानुक्रममिति कृत्वा न कार्यमित्येके । अन्ये पुनः
शौनकाद्युक्तमार्गेण कार्यमित्याहुः ।

"Some are of opinion that Garbhādhāna should not be performed, since it is not prescribed by the Ācārya (teacher). Others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka."

Thus then not only is it not "emphatically insisted on" but not even prescribed, and this "essential part of our religion" may not be performed at all.

Again, he says, " Nay, there are so many observances to be gone through that they would take up the whole day and a few hours of the night in the bargain. Garbhādhāna is thus not an ordinary or common ceremony," p. 14.

No, the ceremony does not take more than about two, sometimes three hours, while at night, it is all an affair of women and religious formalities are not gone through. Garbhādhāna is a most ordinary ceremony, at least in this part of the country. A good many orthodox people even do not perform it, and I learn it is not gone through in Gujarat.

But Mr. Tarkatūḍāmapī reaches the climax in the following.—" The harms arising from the sins and crimes, such as child-murder, in the opinion of the Hindus are less serious than those of not performing Garbhādhāna at the proper time," p. 21.

I must protest against this wholesale vilification of the Hindu race. At any rate whatever it may be in Bengal, the Hindus on this side of the country do not consider the harm arising from crimes such as child-murder to be less serious than that arising from the omission of Garbhādhāna. Neither is the reason given by Mr. Tarkatūḍāmapī at all true. He says " sins and crimes like child-murder can be atoned by penances, but to neglect performing a Samskāra makes our life unholy for both this life and the next and no penances can save us." But a penance, ridiculously light, *can* save us. For the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणात्तस्यां जातस्तु दुष्यति ।

अकृत्वा गां द्विजे दत्त्वा कुर्यात्पुंसवनं पतिः ॥

" If the Garbhādhāna ceremony is not performed, he who is born [of the woman] is polluted; the husband should, if he has not done it, give a cow to a Brahman and perform Pūṁsavana (the next sacrament)".

This is a text quoted as from Āśvalāyana by Nanda Paṇḍita and Kamalakara, and we see from it that the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is the giving to a Brahman of one cow the price of which is about a Rupee and a half, while the penance for child-murder is a life of the most abject and humiliating self-mortification for twelve years (see Yājñyavalkya, III. 251). And still this Hindu gentleman does not scruple to say that his countrymen consider the harms arising from child-murder to be less serious than those arising from the omission of Garbhādhāna !

Passing over other such things that I find in the pamphlet, I will notice the texts that Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi brings forward to show that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first course and cannot be delayed. He quotes what he calls Mantras in connection with this ceremony, one of which only I will give here

स्वर्गदीप नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते विम्बतापन ।
नवपुष्पोत्सवे चार्च्यं गृहाण त्वं दिवाकर ॥

" O lamp of the heavens, a bow to thee, O thou, who givest warmth to the Universe, a bow to thee, do accept, O sun, this offering (of water, flowers &c ,) on the occasion of the feast in celebration of the new *event* or flowers. "

There are three more verses just of this stamp, and these are quoted from Bhavadeva a writer on the domestic ceremonies of the Sāmavedins of Bengal. Now in the first place, Mr. Cūḍāmaṇi tells us (p. 5) that " *all* the Mantras in this connection are taken from R̥gveda. " Are these five verses taken from the R̥gveda ? Do they occur there ? They certainly do not in the R̥gveda known to the world. Does not their language show that they belong quite to a profane age ? At the most you may call them Paurāṇika Mantras or Mantras taken from the Purāṇas. And they are not used in connection with

the Garbhādhāna ceremony on this side of the country, and are not given by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Anantadeva, Mahesābhaṭṭa, or Candracūḍa. And such a thing must be expected with reference to the so called Paurāṇika Mantras, for any one can compose them and put them in. They do not occur even in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, containing, as it does, all the Mantras used by the Sāmavedins. For these reasons though they are given by Bhavadeva, they possess no authoritative-ness whatever.

Again from the sense, it appears that the verses refer to a feast to celebrate new Puṣpa. Now it is quite possible that the new blossom of trees in spring is meant to be alluded to, for there is nothing in the verses which necessitates our understanding them as containing an allusion to the celebration of the particular physical event. And even if they are so understood, they have nothing to do with the Garbhādhāna ceremony which is not a ceremony for celebrating the new physical event, but a ceremony which consists in the "placing of an embryo in a girl" in the language of the medical writers.

The next text adduced by Mr Tarkaṇḍamaṇi is that quoted by me from Gobhila.¹ In this there is no word which means "first". The author of the pamphlet acknowledges that, but contends that the sense he wants is to be inferred from the expression the event "after marriage". But there is nothing in the original which has the sense of that expression. The mere fact that the rules about Garbhādhāna on the occasion of a course follow those about marriage, cannot necessitate the course meant being taken as the first course. For Pāraskara speaks of the Garbhādhāna similarly, but at the same time enjoins abstinence for one year. Here evidently the performance of the Garbhādhāna cannot be understood as being enjoined by

¹ See above p. 542. [N. B. U.]

Paraskara on the occasion of the first course. And Gobhila, like other authors of Gṛhyasūtras, supposes a girl to have arrived at maturity before marriage, as he imposes abstinence for three days after marriage. And this is admitted even by the recent Bengali commentator on Gobhila. So that, even if the text is understood as having reference to the first course after marriage, it cannot mean the very first course. It is, therefore, not applicable to the first course after an early marriage, (see Section II of the present Note).

The third text brought forward by the author is that quoted by me at p. 547 of my Note. Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi misunderstands the whole matter here. What is here enjoined on the occasion of the first course is not Garbhādhāna or Garbhālbhāna as it is called, but Prājāpatya which I have explained above, p. 548. On the contrary the absence of the word प्रथम or "first" when the Garbhādhāna is described, is to be construed, as I have done, into a permission to perform it when one chooses. This text, therefore, is entirely opposed to Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi's view.

Mr. B. G. Tilak of Poona has pronounced my way of understanding this passage to be wrong. But his only reason is based on his not knowing that the practice of performing the second ceremony without the first is enjoined by the highest authorities. By taking the two as inseparable parts of each other, he sets aside grammar and propriety, for he thus makes the words कर्त्तुं "a course," and अनुकूलवाच् "auspicious" occurring at the beginning of the second passage entirely useless and unmeaning, and supplies the demonstrative before कर्त्तुं against all rules of syntax. The whole style and manner of the passages require the two to be understood as separate ceremonies, though they are sometimes performed together.

In the next three quotations the author himself acknowledges that the word "first" does not occur, but he thinks, it is

implied, because the "event" mentioned is "the event after marriage." But there is nothing whatever about marriage here, and it is a mere gratuitous assumption of the writer.

Now our author proceeds to quote from digests. Vacaspati does not say that the Garbhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course, as Mr. Tarkacūḍāmapī thinks; but only that that time is better or more prosperous than any other (तत्रापि पूर्वः श्रेयान्वया गर्भाधाने प्रथमस्तुः ।). He does not pronounce any sentence upon one who does not perform it on that occasion, but recommends it, and must evidently be supposed to allow of the ceremony being delayed.

The next passage is the one I have quoted above from Raghunandana¹. There is nothing in it which can bear the interpretation "at the time of the first . . . Garbhādhāna is indispensably necessary," as one will see from the translation I have given above. There is nothing corresponding to the word "first."

Thus not a single one of the texts adduced by Mr. Cūḍāmapī contains an indication that the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course, but on the other hand, that from Āśvalāyana Parāśara points quite in the opposite way

And no other text has been brought forward by any body except the one from the spurious Āśvalāyana Smṛti. Vijñāneśvara, Mādhava, Madanapāla, Kamalakara, Reṇukācārya, Raghunandana, Nanda Paṇḍita, Nīlakaṇṭha Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and Candradīpa have not adduced any such text, nor have I seen it in any Smṛti. And those authors of Nibandhas do not even on their own responsibility lay down in specific terms that the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course, though what they state might be held to imply

¹ Ante, p. 557. [N. B. U.]

that. But this implied sense I have already dealt with in the Note. Only one author, so far as I have seen, of a manual of rituals intended for the Mādhyamdinās says that in specific terms, but he gives no authority. And even if such authoritative texts from the Smṛtis were brought forward, without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion, they would not be binding, but would have to be construed as permissive only. For the authors of the Nibandhas attribute an obligatory nature to the precepts as to intercourse after courses, only in consequence of other precepts which attach a penalty to abstinence. The same principle would have to be applied in the case of the supposed texts. And again Baudhāyana's text allowing the consummation to be delayed for less than three years would have to be set against them all.

The author notices the text of Parāśara and another of the same sense, which I have quoted above from Rāghunandana. These it will be remembered enjoin intercourse on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo. He also speaks about the mandatory nature of the precepts about intercourse. I have discussed these points fully in the Note, and there is nothing new brought forward by Mr Tarkacūḍāmanī which requires attention. I will therefore not repeat what I have said already.

APPENDIX B

(ON THE ARGUMENTS OF MR. B. G. TILAK AND
ANOTHER WRITER IN THE *MARATHA*)

Mr. B G Tilak and a writer in the *Maratha* claim to have "destroyed the fabric" raised by me. But he or they have evidently not taken the trouble of understanding my argument, and excuse themselves a detailed examination of it by saying that "the very foundation of my theory being destroyed, it is needless to examine my other statements,"—an excellent plea, indeed, for a man who wishes to destroy an opponent, but cannot do so. If Mr. Tilak or the writer in the *Maratha* will carefully read Section IV of my Note, a copy of which he will get for the mere asking at Mr Shuralkar's shop in Poona City, he will see that what I say in that section is briefly this —

(1) Texts directly enjoining intercourse or the performance of the Garbhādhāna ceremony on the occasion of the first course have not been produced by the authors of the Nibandhas or Digests but they rely on others which denounce one who has no intercourse on the occasion of courses generally, from which the inference is legitimate that the first course also must be availed of. But these texts can come into operation only after the Garbhādhāna ceremony.

(2) We find an indication in the Āśvalāyana Grhyaparīśiṣṭa that the Garbhādhāna may be performed on the occasion of *any* course. The operation of the obligatory precepts, therefore, must be delayed till that time

(3) It must be delayed also for three years in virtue of a precept of Baudhāyana, who attaches the same penalty that those precepts attach to abstinence generally, to only continuous abstinence for three years.

and (4) It must be delayed for one year in consequence of a provision in the Gr̥hyasūtras of Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara and even Baudhāyana.

Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha* attacks the first two positions only, and has got nothing to say against the last two, and still he says he has destroyed my fabric. This can deceive only one who wishes to be deceived.

As to the fifth position, viz., that the precepts are permissive, Mr. Tilak disposes of it in a most general way, and evidently does not seem to know anything about the matter, as I shall show hereafter.

Now as to Mr. Tilak's or the *Maratha's* arguments. He brings forward a text quoted as from the Āśvalāyana Smṛti by Anantadeva, in which is enjoined the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course. I possess a copy of a Smṛti attributed to Āśvalāyana, in which I had found this text, but I rejected it on these grounds—Nanda Paṇḍita Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and Kamalākara quote a verse¹ from Āśvalāyana Smṛti, and another² is cited by Kamalākara and Candracūḍa. Again, the first of these and six more describing the actual Garbhādhāna are quoted from the Smṛti by the commentator on Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyakārikās³. None of these eight occurs in my Manuscript. And the verse enjoining the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course which occurs in

1 गर्भाधानस्याकरणात् &c as quoted before.

2 प्राग्गजोदर्शनात्पत्नीं नेयाद्भूत्वा पतस्यचः ।

व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयात् ॥

3 आश्विन्यारोपयित्वा तां पत्नीं सम्यगलंकृताम् &c. ॥ १ ॥ आनयित्वाभ्यगन्धाया मूढम् &c. ॥ २ ॥ कपिलाप्यसा मिश्रम् &c. ॥ ३ ॥ समन्वकमुदीर्ष्वेति &c. ॥ ४ ॥ एवं कृत्वा सकृद्भर्ता ॥ ५ ॥ पत्नीमनुमर्ती स्निग्धाम् &c. ॥ ६ ॥

the Manuscript, does not occur in any of the many Nibandhas examined by me, except in the *Saṃskarakauṣṭubha*; nor does it occur in those examined by Mr. Tarkacūḍāmapī and Mr. Tilak with that exception. For if it had occurred, they would of course have stated the fact. The *Smṛti*, therefore, in which it occurs was unknown to all except Anantaḍeva, who is but a recent author. It must, therefore, be condemned as spurious, and so too consequently the text cited by Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha*. And this is the only explicit *Smṛti* text occurring in the whole range of the literature examined by Tarkacūḍāmapī, Tilak, Telang, and myself, which enjoins Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course.

Next as to the *Parīśiṣṭa*. Mr. Tilak wonders how it has "escaped my critical eye that *Prājāpatya* is only one part of the Garbhādhāna ceremony, and as one part cannot be performed on one day and the other on another, the whole passage must be interpreted to mean that the Garbhādhāna ceremony must be performed on the first occurrence of the physical condition." Well, I am compelled to say it has escaped my eye, because it is a "critical eye." Mr. Tilak thinks that our present practice prevails in all parts of the country, and has descended to us from very olden times, that there are or have been no variations, that that alone is what the *Śāstras* sanction, and he twists a passage in an old work so as to harmonise it with that practice, in spite of grammar and propriety. He thus belongs to the school of those who find the steam engine and the electric telegraph in the *Vedas*. The *Maratha* has no doubt whatever that "my first mistake is to suppose that the passage in the *Parīśiṣṭa* describes two different ceremonies—*Prājāpatya* and Garbhādhāna." I do not suppose that at all. I come to it from grammar, propriety, and old usage as reported by several authors, as well as the practice sanctioned by the *Śāstras* according even to recent writers. That our present practice has not escaped me, Mr. Tilak would have seen if he

had more carefully read my Note, wherein I state that the Garbhādhāna ceremony consists of two parts, (1) the kindling etc., and (2) the rites preparatory etc. And supposing they are parts of the same ceremony, is it necessary that they should be performed on the same day? Is the whole marriage ceremony performed in a single day? Is not the last part of it to be performed if Āśvalāyana's rule about abstinence¹ for one year¹ is followed, a year after the initial rites?

Now my translation of the passage¹ we are concerned with is—(a) (First Ceremony) "Now for the Prājāpatya ceremony of a woman after a course On the occasion of the first course, on an auspicious day, he should, etc. (b) (Second Ceremony). "Now for the Garbhalambhana On the occasion of a course, on an auspicious night," etc. etc Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* translates (a) almost as I do, only using the word "favourable" instead of "auspicious," but in (b) he puts in *the* for my *a*, and says that the second ceremony is to be performed on the night of the day on which the first is performed But the word *Ṛtu* or course is used without any qualifying expression, and Mr Tilak is not justified in inserting *the* simply because our present practice is to perform the two ceremonies on the same day And if practice is his only guide, he ought to go a little further and make the word *Nīśi*, which means "night" to mean "day", for really that ceremony also, except the physical portion, is, as I have said in my Note, performed during the day along with the other And even Anantadeva, whom Mr Tilak quotes, says that *Ṛtu* here means *Ṛtusāmānya*, i.e., "a course generally" and not a specific course, showing that the force of grammar prevails over him Again, if the author of the *Parīṣṭa* had meant that the two rites should be performed on the same day, he would not have used the word

¹ See p 547 f. of the Note. गर्भकम्बनम् is printed in accordance with the Ed. in Bibl Ind., but perhaps it ought to be गर्भकम्बनम्.

R̥tu in speaking of the second ceremony, since it had already been used in the case of the first To take the illustration given by Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* himself, we say "A train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning, reaches Bombay in the evening," and we do not generally say "a train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning and reaches Bombay on Wednesday evening," if the day we mean is the same And yet what we ordinary people in ordinary conversation do not say, Mr. Tilak makes the author of the *Parīṣiṣṭa* to say, though Hindu writers of his school are universally known not to use a superfluous word Again, he would not have used the word "favourable" or "auspicious" in speaking of the night If the night meant is the night of that particular day on which the first ceremony is performed, we have no choice, but must take that night whether favourable or unfavourable And if the night of the day that is favourable is to be considered favourable as a matter of course, the use of that word in the case of the night is superfluous, as the author has already used it in speaking of the day Thus Mr. Tilak has made the author to use two superfluous words, and has brought in the definite article 'the' notwithstanding that no grammatical rule nor propriety will have it I thought all this was perfectly plain, and had no idea that a man like Mr. Tilak would set aside grammar and propriety in order to support his pet theory that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first course

Now as to the practice that has made Mr Tilak sacrifice grammar and propriety In the first place I will say that, according to the *Parīṣiṣṭa* these are two ceremonies, since the author gives two separate names to them, says that the first has to do with "a woman who has a course" (ऋतुमत्ताः), that is to say, looking to the word "first" that is used, to a woman who has begun to have courses, and calls the second only Garbhalambhana, which Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa takes as equivalent to

Garbhādhāna. And grammar and propriety require that we should understand them as two as I have already shown. Mr Tilak knows only one kind of practice. But several are reported and allowed in the commentaries and Nibandhas. Siddhāntin, as quoted by Anantadeva, says that the "Homa generally, or the kindling of the fire and offering of oblations, should be done according to some, but, according to others, he should pour the juice of a certain plant into his wife's right nostril, and this they call Garbhalambhana." Anantadeva proceeds to say that Jayanta has adopted the view that Garbhalambhana as prescribed in the Sūtra is simply the pouring of the juice into the nostril without the Homa. He quotes other authorities also, and lays down the doctrine, to be followed even at the present day in spite of Mr Tilak, that Homa is optional.¹ The author of the Kārikās also gives only the ceremony prescribed by Jayanta as Garbhādhāna without the Homa. So, then, the Garbhādhāna is only that which corresponds to the second ceremony mentioned in the Pāṇinīya, and the Prājāpatya fire-oblations are another which is sometimes tacked on to it. But it is by no means an essential part of the Garbhādhāna as Mr. Tilak thinks. Some people may do the two together, while others may neglect the first. Hence they are separately mentioned in the Pāṇinīya. If they had been given as constituting one whole, it would not have been possible to dispense with the first. Thus the only ground for Mr Tilak's sacrifice of grammar and propriety is removed. And the portion of my "fabric" against which he or

1 सर्वथैव होमासंभवेऽध्वगन्धामूलं पेषयित्वादीर्घातः पतिवतीत्ये-
कैव ऋचा दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायां निषिष्योपगमनं कार्यम् । यथोक्तं
सिद्धान्त(न्ति)भाष्ये । तत्रैक ऋतुकालेऽनादेशहोममिच्छन्ति । अपरे
तूदीर्घैर्त्यनया दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायां नस्तः करोतीत्येतद्गमलम्भनमिति ।
अनुसृतं च होमरहितस्यैक्यर्चा नस्तः करणमात्रस्य सौत्रगर्मलम्भन-
पदार्थत्वं ज्ञेयम् ।

the *Maratha* directed his attack is safe and sound, and there are no "express texts of *Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa* and *Smṛtis*" (mark, the one spurious *Smṛti* has become *Smṛtis* here) so far as so many of us have examined them, which warrant the Hindu divines or any body else to conclude that the *Garbhādhāna* must be performed after the first course, though this may be deduced as an inference

There is another glaring instance of the manner in which Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha* sacrifices context, propriety, and all rules of scholarship, in order to make a text mean what he wishes it to mean. Thus the *Maratha* says that a "host of well-known authorities begin the description of the *Garbhādhāna* ceremony" by some such remark as that which he quotes from the *Madanapārijāta*, and translates, "We first describe the time of the first course as it is needed for the *Garbhādhāna*" Now, if the writer had just read the next line he would have seen that what *Madanapāla* describes in this section is the nights after a course that are eligible and ineligible, and the first text quoted is the well-known verse of *Yājñiyavalkya* about the sixteen nights, &c. Therefore, what is described is not the "time of the first course," but the eligible and ineligible nights of all courses. There is nothing about the first course in what follows. The thing is, the *Maratha* has tacked the word *Prathama* which occurs in the passage to *Ṛtukāla* and made the whole a compound, and translated it as "the first course." But he ought to have seen that the context of what follows will not and cannot agree with this. Therefore, even if he had the word in his Manuscript just as he has printed it, he ought to have suspected the reading and compared that Manuscript with another. But that will not suit the purpose; and, therefore, he set the context at defiance. In my Manuscript the word *Prathama* is not compounded with *Ṛtukāla*, but has the form of *Prathamam*, i. e., it is an adverb, so that the translation is, "we describe first the *Ṛtukāla* or nights after a

course, because that is of use for the Garbhādhāna ceremony" —wherefore first is not an adjective of "course." The *Maratha* has got the word "first" twice, while his own as well as my reading has it once only. Instead of Upayukta, I have 'Upayuktatvena.'¹ If, then, this is the way in which "the host of well-known authorities" begin their description, it is all right, though, however, a good many begin by describing the good and evil conjunctions on the occasion of the first course and the pacificatory ceremonies without alluding to the Garbhādhāna. But if Mr. Tilak means that any one of them begins by saying that they will describe the time of the first course because it is needed for Garbhādhāna, it is absolutely incorrect and misleading.

Mr. Tilak is perfectly at sea as regards what Mr. Telang calls obligatory and recommendatory precepts, and what I call mandatory and permissive precepts. He thinks that they are the translations of the words Nitya and Kāmya, and appears never to have heard of Vidhi, Niyama and Parisaṅkhyā. He explains Kāmya as a certain act which "has not purely spiritual benefit in view, but serves the purpose of regulating the relation between man and man." Where did Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha* get this definition? If he had read an ordinary Sanskrit treatise on philosophy or religious law, he would have seen that Kāmya rites are those that enable a man to obtain heaven and such other desired objects, such as Jyotiṣṭoma and others. Now does Jyotiṣṭoma or a Soma sacrifice regulate the relations between man and man? But apart from this, let us see if the permissive precepts have a bearing on the present question. If it is made out that the Hindu Śāstra only permits a man, if he wishes, to have intercourse, and does not command, the legislator can prevent him

1 तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथमं कृतुकाद्यो निरूप्यते ।

from having that intercourse and in doing so does not set himself in opposition against the Hindu Śāstra; while if the Śāstra commands, he does assume that attitude. The illustrations given by Mr. Tilak are not at all applicable in the present case. For though idolatry is optional and not necessary, the legislator ought not to prevent it, because it is not a crime. But the violation of a girl before 12 in a manner sometimes to injure her health permanently, or even to cause her death, is a crime, and the legislator must prevent it. If it were such a heavy crime as Suttee, it would be his duty to prevent it at once whether the Hindu Śāstra commands it or not. This is not so heavy, nor does the violation produce bad results in all cases; and, therefore, he may desist, if by preventing he goes against the Hindu religion. But if we can show that he does not, and the Hindu religion does not command the violation of a girl, there is no reason whatever why he should desist.

Again, the *Maratha* concludes by saying that "the reformers have been ill-advised to take their stand on these strained interpretations of Sanskrit texts." Whom he means by "reformers" I do not know, but I may reply by saying that the reformers have been obliged to publish to the world, what the true Hindu Śāstra is on the point, by men like Sir Romesh, Mr. Tarkacūdāmaṇi, Mr. Tilak, and others, some of whom have been setting grammar, context, propriety, and all rules of scholarship aside, in order to make out that the Hindu Śāstras do command the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course, and to frighten Government. Tarkacūdāmaṇi actually goes the length of saying that "the harms arising from sins and crimes, such as child-murder, in the opinion of the Hindus, are less serious than those of not performing Garbhādhāna at the proper time," and that "sins and crimes like child-murder can be atoned by penances," but, "no penance can save us," if we neglect to perform a

Saṁskāra. While the fact is that the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is giving one cow to a Brahman, i e., about a Rupee and a half, while that for child-murder is an abject and humiliating self-mortification for twelve years. And according to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator on the Gṛhyasūtra of Āśvalāyana, the ceremony may safely be omitted without even being obliged to give a cow to a Brahman. For, says he, "some are of opinion that Garbhādhāna should not be performed since Āśvalāyana has not prescribed it, while others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka." (Ed., Bibl. Ind., p. 59.)

APPENDIX C

(ON MR. TILAK'S REPLY)

As Mr Tilak's reply to my challenge has not appeared in the *Times of India*, I did not intend to say anything with regard to it. But the Manager of the "Native Opinion" had been good enough to send me a copy of the issue of that paper containing Mr. Tilak's reply and it will hardly be courteous to him and to Mr. Tilak himself not to notice it. I will, however, be as brief as possible, as it was brevity that I wanted when I gave the challenge.

The first text from Smṛtis is that from the Āśvalāyana Smṛti, which is unknown to the authors of the many Nibandhas I have seen, except Anantadeva, and which is not the same as the Āśvalāyana Smṛti known to them. To say that the one is Laghu and the other Bṛhat does not mend matters; for the Āśvalāyana Smṛti known to the authors of Nibandhas is not called Bṛhat by them, nor is the spurious Āśvalāyana Smṛti called Laghu at all in the two Manuscripts of it that I possess, and even by Anantadeva who quotes it. Whenever there are two Smṛtis ascribed to the same author and distinguished from each other by the words Bṛhat or Vṛddha and Laghu, the authors of the Nibandhas use those epithets in referring to them. Sometimes the second is omitted, but not the first. Again that which is called Bṛhat or Vṛddha is a larger work than that which is called Laghu, but in the present case both are of about the same size. Besides one of the two Manuscripts of Anantadeva's work existing in the Deccan College Collection does not contain the quotation from Āśvalāyana at all, so that until several Manuscripts of the Samskāra-kāustubha are procured and compared, it must remain doubtful whether Anantadeva himself quotes the spurious Smṛti.

The second text adduced by Mr. Tilak is that from the true

Āśvalāyana Smṛti. But any reader who knows Sanskrit will see that all that the author says is that one should perform the Garbhādhāna when his wife has a course. There is not the word *first*, and still Mr. Tilak calls it an express text. Then he has recourse to an inference which I wanted him to avoid. But one will see that the inference too is utterly unfounded. For he thinks, when the author of the Smṛti prescribes the performance of Abhyudaya or Nandīśāddha and Puṇyāhavācana during the day, that it is the Prājāpatya that he prescribes. But Prājāpatya is not here prescribed, but only such ceremonies as one has to go through when an auspicious rite such as even the dedication of a public work for public use is to be performed. And the Garbhādhāna ceremony prescribed by the author is the same as that laid down by Śaunaka, i e., without the Prājāpatya Homa. Hence all Mr. Tilak's inference, based as it is on this mistake, is groundless.

The third text is an express text. But I must here quote what I have stated in an article published in the Subodhapatrikā of the 8th instant —“ And even if such authoritative texts from the Smṛtis were brought forward, without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion, they would not be binding, but would have to be construed as permissive only ” This therefore is not a text which enjoins, but one which permits (As to this see, below, the observation on Gopinātha). If Parāśara's text is to be considered as the penal text valid in this case, its exceptions and the case in which alone it holds according to Śrīdhara, have been given in the Note. Again this text is from a compilation of the views of twenty-four Ṛṣis and not from an actual Smṛti. It has, therefore, the value of a statement occurring in a Nibandha, and not the value of a Smṛti. And as to Nibandhas, I asked for express statements from the writings of ten authors who might be considered as laying down the law for all India. I myself in my article published in the Subodhapatrikā stated that one

Prayoga did contain an express statement, but no authority is given for it.

Thus then my challenge in this part has not been met. For I asked for texts from Smṛtis other than the Āśvalāyana Smṛti which is unknown to the authors of the Nibandhas, and is different from that known to them, and no such text has been brought forward. Now as to Nibandhas —

Prayogapārijāta is not included in my challenge. But even here there is no express statement but an inference based on the eternal Prājāpatya, which Mr. Tilak still persists in considering an essential part of the Garbhādhāna in spite of Śaunaka, Jayanta, the author of the Kārikas, Anantadeva and others. This inference too is groundless. For the Prājāpatya is a ceremony consequent on the attainment of puberty and not a part of Garbhādhāna, and consequently though the fit occasion is the first course, still like the Śānti or pacificatory ceremonies consequent on the first occurrence of the physical event at an inauspicious juncture, it is performed at the same time with the Garbhādhāna. Again, it ought not to be supposed simply from the fact that a certain time is prescribed in the Sūtras or Parīśiṣṭas that that same time must be meant by the authors of the Prayogas when they give the details of the ceremonies. Āśvalāyana's Gr̥hyasūtra, for instance, prescribes the third month of pregnancy for the Pūṃsavana ceremony, but Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gives other times also.

The next statement is from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Mr. Tilak, in the first quotation, connects अथमरजोदर्शने with गर्भाधानस्य (see extract in the *Kesari* of 17th February), simply because he wants to do so in order to make this out as a statement in his favour. But it is utterly ungrammatical to skip over the intermediate words मासादौ दुष्टे सति. The connection is अथमरजोदर्शने मासादौ दुष्टे सति ! i. e., if the month and the others are inauspicious on the occasion of the first course. As to Garbhādhāna, when Nārāya-

pabhaṭṭa speaks of it, he uses the words रजोदसंनार only, not भयमरजोदसंनार, showing that according to him also it may be performed on the occasion of any course.

As to the other quotation, Mr. Tilak entirely misses the point I have been insisting on from the beginning. All I have been contending for is that the Śāstra does not declare that Garbhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course, it may be performed on the first or any occasion. The quotation prohibits intercourse on the occasion of the first course if the days and the stars are unfavourable, but it does not command it if they are favourable. And as to this very quotation Gopinātha says that what is implied in it is a simple permission, (see below). It will thus be seen that no "statement declaring in express terms that the Garbhādhāna should be necessarily performed on the first occasion" has been adduced from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

In connection with Maheśabhaṭṭa, Mr. Tilak places before us an excellent specimen of logic. Because Maheśabhaṭṭa says that in the morning Puṇyāhavācana &c, should be performed and in the evening the Garbhādhāna, therefore it follows that he says they should be performed on the occasion of the first course! Similar logic we have in connection with Gopināthabhaṭṭa, Nanda Paṇḍita, Kamalākara, and others.

Now as to Gopināthabhaṭṭa. His name was not included by me in the challenge. Still I am glad Mr. Tilak has brought him forward. Ho, at least, I hope, will teach Mr. Tilak to direct his attention to a broad distinction to which I have, in spite of all my efforts, failed to direct it. Gopinātha says the performance of the Garbhādhāna during that course is permitted (अन्यत्रुद्धार).—Permitted *Sir*, not *enjoined*.

Thus, Mr. Tilak has not brought forward a single statement from any Nibandha or Prayoga with the exception of the

Caturvimsatimata. Even if the rank of a Smṛti be assigned to this last, the text cannot be mandatory. If he had looked into my Article in the Subhodayapatrikā, he would have found one Prayoga at least in his favour. But no such writer of a ritual, who makes a statement without authority, can come up to the rank of Viṣṇaśvara, Madanapāla, Mādhava, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Kamalakara, Raghunandana and others who were included in my challenge. And from these Mr. Tilak has not produced a single statement. He has only taken advantage of my challenge to prepare a long article, the effect of which unfortunately must be to delude the ignorant

One point more and I have done. I have been carrying on literary controversies since 1864, but never did I hitherto meet with an opponent who treated me with such studied discourtesy as Mr Tilak has been doing. My task has become disagreeable and even painful, and I should have much preferred to remain silent now, were it not for the fact that the silence was likely to be misconstrued

APPENDIX D

[ON VIJÑĀNEŚVARA'S VIEW]

I have stated in the Note that Vijñāneśvara does not say decidedly what his own opinion is as regards the mandatory or permissive nature of the precept about intercourse on the occasion of a course. This has been denied by some of my critics. For they say Vijñāneśvara begins his comments on I. 81 with the remark, "having laid down a Niyama as regards intercourse on the eligible nights after a course, he now gives a Niyama in regard to the others." This is with reference to the verse 81 itself. After the commentary on it is finished, Vijñāneśvara turns back to I. 79, and discusses, independently of I. 81, the question as to whether the precept about intercourse therein contained is a Vidhi, Niyama or Parisamkhyā. He says that learned exegetists have regarded it as a Niyama. Now, if that were his own decided opinion, he certainly would not speak of learned exegetists generally here as holding that view, according to the usual style of Sanskrit writers. Then again, he explains the nature of these three kinds of precepts, and gives at length the reasons why it should be considered a Parisamkhyā ending with the expression तस्मादतावेव गच्छेन्नान्येति परिसंख्यैव युक्ता । "Therefore it is proper that this should be regarded as Parisamkhyā to the effect that he should resort to her (if at all) on the occasion of courses alone and not at other times."

Then he proceeds to say that Bhāruci, Viśvarūpa and others do not approve of this view, and goes on giving their arguments and decisions up to the end of the section, or the beginning of the commentary on the next verse, I. 82. There is nothing of his own in all this. My Poona opponent considers Vijñāneśvara's own observation to begin with तस्मात्स्वार्थहनि-

परार्थकस्या...परिसंख्या न युक्ता । " Therefore *Parismkhyā* which involves three faults is not proper "

If this is *Vijñāneśvara's* observation, why is the one quoted above not his ? Both are worded in the same way. He must therefore be considered as advocating *Parismkhyā* also But this will not do Propriety requires that both should be regarded as conclusions deduced from the respective arguments by the advocates of the two views. Again, if *Vijñāneśvara* is to be regarded as having decidedly accepted the view of *Bhāru* and others, he would have used at the close of their arguments some such expression as " this alone is proper " (इदमेव युक्तम्), " this alone is good " (एतदेव सम्यक्) &c But there is nothing of the sort in the course of the whole discussion

If then the author does not state his own view decidedly here, what is to be understood by the word *Niyama* occurring in the introduction to the comments on I 81 ? It must be understood in the most general sense of the word as involving कृतावेव गच्छेद्, "he should go on the occasion of a course only" i e., a *Parismkhyā*, and कर्तौ गच्छेदेव " he should necessarily go on the occasion of a course" i e., a *Niyama*. And these two that it involves, are evolved in the subsequent discussion, when the author gives the technical definitions And that, *Niyama* generally means both, is plain to every one who has some knowledge of the Śāstras ; and Śrīdharaśvāmīn's beautiful commentary on *Bhāgavata* XI. 5. 11 will make it plain to any body. *Mādhava* too speaks of the two as *Niyamas*, (कर्तौ गच्छेदेव न तु वर्जयेदित्येको नियमः । कृतावेव गच्छेन्नानृताचित्परः ॥).

I will notice one other point only My Poona opponent quotes the following verse which occurs in *Baudhāyana* immediately after that in which abstinence for three years only is declared as religiously penal :—

क्रतुस्नातां तु यो भार्या संनिधौ नोपगच्छति ।

पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन्नजसि क्षेरते ॥

“ The ancestors of him who does not resort to his wife who has bathed after a course and who is at hand wallow in the particular fluid for that month. ”

Here, he argues, is a penalty laid down for him who abstains generally, i. e., even for one month after puberty, while the above verse prescribes a higher penalty for a continuous abstinence for three years. But is any penalty at all laid down in this verse for the man who abstains? The penalty at the end of the third year, the sin of fœticide, is certainly prescribed for him in the above verse. He incurs this sin then, but he incurs no sin of any sort nor does he himself wallow in the fluid according to this verse. What then is the bearing of the verse? It is simply this—Nanda Pandita, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Mādhava, and others account for the penalty of the sin of fœticide prescribed by the authors of the Smṛtis by the circumstance that a man owes a liability to the manes or ancestors, and when he does not resort to his wife for begetting a son, he sets at naught this liability. Baudhāyana prescribes punishment in the first verse, and in the second he explains the same basis of the punishment in the form of a certain bad condition in which the manes are, and the duty he owes to them to deliver them from that condition. But as the punishment accrues only at the end of the third year, the bad condition of the ancestors which brings this punishment on him must be understood as coming into existence likewise at the end of the third year. To make the two verses harmonize with each other, the general statement contained in the second must be considered as true for all time after the end of the third year, and not as having any reference to the previous time during which no punishment is incurred

HISTORY OF CHILD MARRIAGE

[FROM THE "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN
GESELLSCHAFT, VOL XLVII, 1893, PP. 148-156.]

In his article on the History of Child Marriage, published in Vol. XLVI of this Journal (pp. 413-426), Prof. Jolly discusses from the historical standpoint the question which agitated Hindu society in the beginning of 1891, and was discussed by us in India from the legal point of view. In the course of his treatment of the subject he expresses his disagreement with my views on some of the points sought to be made out by me in my "Note on the Age of Marriage"¹ I deem it necessary in the interests of the history of the institution to notice his remarks on those points. I have read and understood Prof Jolly's article, but as I have had no practice whatever in speaking and writing German, I beg the permission of the Editor of this Journal to write my reply in English.

As to the Smṛti texts adduced by Prof. Jolly, which prescribe marriage before puberty and lay down the limits of the age of the girl, between which the ceremony should be solemnized, I have nothing to say. But he takes the text from Manu IX. 89, to be intended simply for emphasizing the choice of a good bridegroom. If it were so and the text had no significance whatever as to the law and usage on the point, and it was considered a sin at the time when the text was written to delay marriage till after puberty, Manu's language would certainly not be so strong as it is — "Better that she should remain unmarried in a state of puberty till her death than that she should be wedded to an unworthy husband." Again the force of Api in the preceding verse (IX. 88) should not be lost sight of.

1 Printed in this Volume immediately before this article. [N.B.U.]

"When a good husband is to be had one should give away the girl even (Api) if she has not arrived Aprāptā [at the condition.]. This shows that usually a girl should not be given away unless she has arrived [at the condition], but this rule may be broken when a good bridegroom is available. The word Aprāptā is vague and variously interpreted, but if it is vague, it must be so for the reason that the implied accusative pointed to an event ordinarily well known. There is therefore no objection in taking the implied condition to be that of maturity, so that the sense will be that the rule, that a girl should be married after she becomes mature, may be violated if a good husband is to be had. Again verse IX 90, allows of the girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty. From all this, one would not, I think, be far wrong in inferring that at the time when the Manu-Samhitā was written, delaying marriage till after puberty was not considered such a sin as it was afterwards. The direction to wait for three years occurs in Vasistha and Baudhāyana also.

In giving the views of the commentators, Prof Jolly assures us as regards Mandlik's edition and the Manuscripts of Medhatithi's Manubhāṣya, that they are highly untrustworthy, and that कन्याया न दानम् in the sentence from Medhatithi quoted by me (प्रागृतोः कन्याया न दानम्) must be a mistake for some such expression as कन्यायाः प्रदानम्. Why it should be considered a mistake, I fail to see. कन्यायाः प्रदानम् makes no sense whatever here. Medhatithi is here commenting on verse IX 89 which I have translated above. His interpretation of कृतुमप्यपि तिष्ठेत् is कृतुदर्शनेऽपि न दद्याद् बाधद् गुणवान्बरो न प्राप्तः। "She should not be given away, even when she is in a condition of puberty as long as a good husband has not become available." Now this expression "even when" (Skr Api) presupposes another condition in which she is certainly not to be given away, and that is the condition before puberty. Hence प्रागृतोः कन्याया न दानम् is appropriate; for the sense is, "as long as a worthy bridegroom is not avail-

able she should of course be not given away before puberty, but she should not be given away even after puberty." Here "she should be given before puberty as long as a worthy bridegroom is not available" which is the translation of Prof Jolly's proposed reading will certainly not do. In the translation of the passage given by me in my Note¹ which is "A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty, and she is not to be given even after puberty, as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had," the semi-colon after "puberty," which was put in before mature consideration, is misleading. I have therefore corrected it (in the "Additions and Corrections" given in the original Note) to a comma and added a comma after the 'puberty' in the next line, in order to connect "as long as a meritorious etc.," with both the clauses. There is therefore no mistake whatever here, the sentence is appropriate and Prof Jolly's emendation spoils the sense entirely.¹

It will be seen from this that Medhātithi interprets Manu IX. 89 not as simply emphasizing the choice of a good husband—which is the sense put on it by Rāghavānanda and accepted by Prof. Jolly,—but as positively enjoining that a girl should not be married before puberty so long as a good husband is not to be had. Medhātithi therefore is not such an enemy of late marriages as Prof Jolly supposes. In his comment on IX. 93, he only follows Manu, and the case they speak of is different from that mentioned in IX. 89. As to the comment on IX. 88, I will not discuss it on account of the hopelessly corrupt reading, though I think Medhātithi there also takes Aprāptā in the sense of one who has not arrived at maturity.

The next point I am concerned with is the time of the Garbhādhāna ceremony. That it should be performed on the occasion of the first course is laid down in a Smṛti attributed to

1 "On the Age of Marriage." [N.B.U.]

Āśvalāyana, which however is not the Smṛti that is quoted by the authors of the Nibandhas under that name. In the last the text does not occur and is quoted by none but Anantadeva. In one Manuscript of Anantadeva's work, however it does not occur. Still Prof Jolly thinks the injunction contained in it is confirmed by Śankha's precept गर्भस्य स्पष्टाज्ञाने निषेकः परिकीर्तितः । and Viṣṇu's गर्भस्य स्पष्टाज्ञाने निषेककर्म. Now even taking Garbha in the sense of Rtu, the meaning is "after the clear observation of Rtu the Garbhādhāna should be performed " This prescribes that the ceremony should be performed on the occasion of a course from the fifth to the sixteenth night after the occurrence. We have got nothing corresponding to the word "first " here. Nandapaṇḍita quotes in his comment on the latter passage, as the Professor observes, the passage from Āśvalāyana Gṛhyaparīśiṣṭa, अथर्तुमत्याः प्रजापत्यं कर्तुं प्रथमे । But this Rtau prathame or "on the occasion of the first course " refers only to the Prājāpatya ceremony which is intended, as remarked by Nandapaṇḍita also, for the consecration of the woman. The Garbhādhāna ceremony is mentioned further on in the Parīśiṣṭa in the words अथ गर्भकर्मनम् । कृतावनुष्ठानां निषि etc , where the word Prathame does not occur and we have कर्तुं generally. So that we have no authority here for the necessary performance of the ceremony on the first occasion.

Prof. Jolly admits that in other Smṛtis we have the word Rtau generally. But he says that the texts in which it occurs may refer to the repetition of the ceremony every month. They may, and they may also simply show that the ceremony should be performed during the Rtukāla (5th—16th nights) and not on a later day, and consequently they involve no implication as to its being gone through necessarily on the occasion of the first course. Again some later writers reject the doctrine of the repetition of Garbhādhāna, and according to these, Prof. Jolly thinks, the time for its performance is the first course, and even according to the others, the first of the repeated

ceremonies must take place during the first Rtu. The reason given by Prof. Jolly for the first statement is the observation of Nandapaṇḍita quoted above. But I have shown that what the Parīśiṣṭa directs to be done at the first Rtu is the Prājapatya and not Garbhādhāna. Again, in this matter what one scholar says ought not to be considered as the view of all. In support of the second statement Prof. Jolly refers to the doctrine of the sin incurred at each Rtu of the daughter when her marriage is delayed. But this sin is incurred by the father according to the text, and once he gives his daughter in marriage the provision ceases to be operative on him, and cannot operate on any other. Its only object is to compel the father to marry before puberty, and evidently not to compel the husband to begin intercourse on the first occasion, and it is just on this account that the text is nowhere quoted in support of Garbhādhāna at the first Rtu. If in the Smṛtis we have got the word Rtau generally, we ought to understand Rtu generally i.e., any Rtu and not Rtu specifically, i.e., the first.

If, however, we discuss the point from the legal and scholastic and not scholarly point of view, we have to go through all that I have stated in my Note. And of the fourteen or fifteen Nibandhas and Prayogas that I consulted on the occasion of the controversy, a great many, following the Smṛtis prescribe Rtu generally for the Garbhādhāna ceremony, one states that the first Rtu is better than any other, one, that it is allowable to perform it at the first Rtu and one or two only that it should be performed on the first occasion¹. Nandapaṇḍita in his work on the Samskāras does not prescribe the first Rtu only as the proper time, and it is doubtful whether he does so in the passage referred to by Prof. Jolly. He quotes the Parīśiṣṭa, only to show that the Garbhādhāna is intended to consecrate the woman. And supposing even that he does so, still

1. See the preceding article. [NBU]

to draw a general conclusion from what one or two say is not warrantable. So that the first Rtu is not and cannot be compulsory.

Prof Jolly brings in here an argument used by one of my opponents. The opponent quoting from Madanapāla, तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथमर्तुकालो निरूप्यते । and translating it as "we now explain the time of the first Rtu as it is of use for the Garbhādhāna" sought to make out that Madanapāla lays down the first Rtu as the time of the Garbhādhāna, and stated generally that "a host of well known authorities begin the description of the Garbhādhāna ceremony" in that way. I pointed out that the reading प्रथमर्तुकाल was absolutely wrong, because it did not occur in the Manuscripts I consulted, and the context was entirely opposed to it. What Madanapāla gives in the section so introduced is the Rtukāla generally, i e., the sixteen nights, and nothing special with reference to the first Rtu. So that what according to him is of use for the Garbhādhāna is the Rtukāla and not the first Rtu. The true reading is प्रथमं कर्तुकालो निरूप्यते । i e., "We first explain the Rtukāla" And as to "the host of well known authorities," which he spoke of, I said that some began the section on Garbhādhāna as Madanapāla did by explaining the Rtukāla consisting of the sixteen nights, while others did so by giving the good and evil conjunction of stars on the occasion of the first occurrence of the physical event and the pacificatory ceremonies, if it took place in an evil conjuncture. His quotation was not अथ गर्भाधानम् । तत्र प्रथममर्जोदक्षिणे as Prof. Jolly takes it.

The argument of the opponent based as it was on the misreading प्रथमर्तुकालो will thus be seen to have no bearing whatever on the question whether the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first Rtu or course. Still Prof. Jolly takes it up without showing the connection, without giving any reason, and without even knowing what his quot-

ation was. The quotation however attributed to my opponent, Prof. Jolly brings forward from the Nirṇayasindhu. But what is the connection? Does the mere occurrence of the expression तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने without context, without connection, show that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the first occasion? What we have in the Nirṇayasindhu is this —तत्रादौ संस्कारेषु गर्भाधानम् । तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने दुष्टमासग्रहणसंक्रमादि फलं तत्र शास्त्रादि च पितृकृतमङ्कृत-प्रयोगरत्ने ज्ञेयम् । "Among Samskāras we have first Garbhādhāna. The effect of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon in an inauspicious month, and on the occasion of an eclipse or the sun's transit, and the pacificatory ceremonies consequent on that, should be known from the Prayogaratna composed by my father and the Bhaṭṭa i.e., Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa." Now Kamalakara here speaks of the evil effects of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon at an inauspicious juncture and of the pacificatory ceremonies in consequence of it. What possible bearing can the words "first appearance" have on the question whether the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance? Yet Professor Jolly thinks that the expression does support the view that it should be performed on that occasion. As a matter of fact, the Śāntis on account of the first occurrence at an inauspicious juncture are independent ceremonies independently performed and are omitted when the juncture is not inauspicious.

And what the Smṛtis and the authors of the Nibandhas and Prayogas say is confirmed by the actual practice. Garbhādhāna is unknown in Gujarat and some other parts of India. Professor Jolly is misinformed when he says that it is regularly performed in the whole of Bengal. In a pamphlet published in the course of the controversy, Mr Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M A, B L, says, "but it is a matter of public notoriety that the highest class among the Brahmans of Bengal—the Kulins—disregard the obligation (of performing Garbhādhāna) every-day without incurring any social penalty." Another writer

says, "We find that the ceremony is not performed by the great majority of the Hindus of India. In half of Bengal it is unknown." But in Mahārāṣṭra it is generally performed, but nobody considers it obligatory to perform it on the first occasion, and often, especially when the girl's health is not good or the husband a mere boy, it is delayed for a year or longer after the first appearance of the physical phenomenon, and no Prāyaścitta or atonement is done for the delay. Thus we practically act as if the Smṛtis and the Nibandhas which have the expression R̥tau generally mean by it any R̥tu that suits our convenience. In the face of this to say that they all mean to prescribe the first R̥tu as obligatory is hazardous. And there is an inherent improbability in the circumstance that the authors of the older Smṛtis should mean this when we find (as is acknowledged by Professor Jolly) that Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāmasūtra speaks of late marriages, and the medical authorities including Vagbhata prohibit intercourse till the girl is sixteen years old. The Smṛtis when they give new rules, i.e., rules, inconsistent with those laid down in older books, must be supposed to have an eye at or to sanctify the prevailing usage or opinion, and if Vātsyāyana, the medical authorities, and even poets represent the prevailing opinion to be unfavourable to early intercourse, though not quite to early marriage, we must suppose the older Smṛti writers to represent or sanction the same opinion.

The last point I shall notice is about the age of marriage indicated in the Gṛhya Sūtras. Professor Jolly says: "Although the Gṛhya literature has the rule about Nagnikā in common with the Smṛtis, still distinct indications that the ceremonies of Vivāha have reference rather to a grown up bride are not wanting." One of these indications and the rules concerning it, noticed by me in my Note, are not appropriate, he says, in the case of a Nagnikā. Now if the marriage ceremonies have reference to a grown up bride, how is it

possible that the Gṛhya literature in which those ceremonies are given should lay down the rule about the marriage of a girl when she is Nagnikā or immature?

He says "In those few passages in the Gṛhyasūtras which have reference to the age of marriage, a Nagnikā only is spoken of." Here too Professor Jolly seems to have generalized the statement in some of the Sūtras and made it applicable to all, just as he has generalized that about the performance of the Garbhādhāna at the first R̥tu. But in the case of these Sūtras which give the ceremonies that befit grown up girls only and are silent as regards the age, ought not one to suppose that they mean that grown up girls only should be married, and that their silence is due to the fact that there was in their time no question about marrying immature girls? The marriage of grown up girls was the prevailing custom and therefore it was not necessary to say anything about the mature or immature age of the girls.

But let us examine the Sūtras in which the marriage of a Nagnikā is enjoined Gobhila (3 4) has नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठ which means "but a Nagnikā is the best" The word Tu "but" shows a qualification of the previous statement which is "He should after being permitted, marry a wife, who is not of the same Gṛtra with him and is not a kinswoman of his mother." The previous statement is general having reference to both, a grown up and an immature girl, but this qualifies it and is to the effect that "an immature girl is the best." Professor Jolly thinks the original reading was नग्निकास्तु श्रेष्ठान् and observes that the object of the Sūtra is not to recommend Nagnikā as "the best" but to direct that he should marry a Nagnikā and the best. Even supposing the reading was as he takes it, the only difference is that we have an accusative in the place of a nominative, and consequently instead of our having an independent statement, we have to bring on Kurvita and Dārān from Sūtra 3 [a process known to grammarians by the

name of Anuvṛtti] But the sense is exactly the same, and the process of Anuvṛtti does not and cannot deprive Tu of its sense of "but" and confer upon it the sense of "and" When there is Anuvṛtti of the two words, the sentence means, "but he should marry a Nagnikā as the best" The word Tu is fatal to Professor Jolly's interpretation. Besides he seems to connect the words Śreṣṭhan with Dārān taking it away from Nagnikā, as if it had no connection with it, and to understand the whole to mean "he should marry a wife who is the best and Nagnikā." But what is the propriety of the comparison involved in the word Śreṣṭha? "A wife who is the best" The best of whom? Of womankind generally? If so, the comparison is purposeless, unless Gobhila were a poet; "a good woman" would have quite served the purpose But when you say "but marry a Nagnikā as the best," i.e., when the word Śreṣṭha is connected with Nagnikā the "but" shows this—you have told a man before to marry one of several kinds but one of the Nagnikā kind is the best of all those Here the word Śreṣṭha as involving comparison is proper So that it appears to me that the plain, direct and appropriate sense of the Sūtra is "he should marry a Nagnikā as the best" or "a Nagnikā is the best" And hence Gobhila does not prohibit marriage with a grown up girl but recommends an immature one as the best, i.e., he first goes on in the same manner as the authors of other Sūtras, mentioning no age and thus leaving the old custom of marrying grown up girls undisturbed, but afterwards adds something new, viz., that it is best to marry an immature girl. Here he does in effect what he does more formally in his precepts about intercourse after marriage, i.e., gives the views of others first and afterwards his own, with the difference however that in the latter case, he teaches his own doctrine in supersession of that of others, while in the other, he does not supersede the other doctrine but recommends his own as the best. It thus appears to me that Gobhila wrote his Sūtra when the old custom of

marrying grown up girls was falling into disrepute but had not become obsolete, and the new one of marrying immature girls which we find generally prevalent in the times of the metrical Smṛtis was coming in.

The next passage to be examined is that in the Gṛhyasamgraha of Gobhila-putra in which he directs the marriage of Anagnikā or a grown up girl (तां प्रवच्छेत्वनग्निकां II 17) Prof Jolly conjectures that the true reading here must be तां प्रवच्छेत्तु नग्निकां "he should give a Nagnikā in marriage" i.e., changes अनग्निका to नग्निका. And one of the two reasons he gives is that thus only can the passage be rendered consistent with II 20 in which the author directs the giving away in marriage of an immature girl, and the other is that in this way, the inconsistency between the teaching of the father and of the son is removed. Now this last inconsistency is due to Prof Jolly's having neglected the sense of Tu in Gobhila's नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठ, and deprived श्रेष्ठ of its comparative sense, as we have seen, and now to explain away the inconsistency thus created, he proposes to change the reading of the son's text. The first inconsistency also is due to Prof Jolly's having changed the कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते to दद्यादुहितरं पिता, and in my opinion does not exist. In II 20 Gobhila-putra does not command the giving away of an immature girl, but simply says it is to be commended (कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते), and in II 17 he gives the general rule that a grown up girl should be given in marriage. There is thus no inconsistency between the two texts, and it will be seen that this is what the father says also. For we have seen that Gobhila, in नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठ, only says that the best course is to marry an immature girl, and the implication in the three preceding Sūtras is that a grown up girl should be married according to custom, since the marriage-ceremonies are such as to befit a grown up girl only. The son by his II 17 only develops what is involved in the father's Sūtras. Thus then there is no inconsistency anywhere; Gobhila-putra must be regarded as enjoining the marriage of a grown up

girl, though according to him as to his alleged father, an immature girl is to be preferred.

Now कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते violates the rules of grammar and makes no sense. It is on that account that Prof Jolly, instead of that reading, adopts that which he finds in his old Nepalese Manuscripts of the Nārada Smṛti where also this text occurs, and that is दत्तादितरं पिता Now if this Śloka is found elsewhere it must be common property, it must be one of those floating texts or verses of which we have so many in Sanskrit but the original authorship of which is unknown and which are appropriated by any writer. It is quite possible that Gobhilaputra in appropriating it for himself, meant to change the reading so as to bring out the sense that such a girl is to be commended. Hence we have Praśasyate in the text as we find it in his book. Now the accusative must be changed to the nominative and we ought to have कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते. Probably it was so changed and somebody afterwards knowing what the words in other books were, restored the original without looking to the grammar. Or Gobhilaputra means this to be a quotation up to the word Kanyakām, and then without completing the verse by giving the remaining words, puts in his own to express that what is stated in the verse so quoted is commendable. Such a supposition, howsoever unusual it may appear, is not improbable in the varied fate to which our old literature has been subject. At any rate this supposition or any other that will meet the case is better than that we should reject the reading of a whole Pāda, and with it the peculiar sense "is commendable" intended to be conveyed, and adopt that found in another book and having a different sense, and to remove the inconsistency thus caused between II. 20 and II. 17, change the negative नञिक्ता into the positive नञिक्ता. This is a very responsible proceeding and no scholar ought to resort to it unless there is the clearest evidence for it and no other recourse is to be had. —I must here enter my humble protest in the interest of true

scholarship against the practice which has recently come into vogue of changing the readings of original texts in a light-hearted manner. Such changes only are allowable, as at once fully satisfy one's sense of propriety and admit of explanation on the natural or historical processes of transition from one form to another.

The third passage to be discussed is that in Hiranyakeśin's *Gṛhya Sūtra* which is **नग्निकां नम्रिकां**. Another reading which is found in three of the six Manuscripts collated by Dr Kīrste for his edition is **सजातां नम्रिकां**. This Prof Jolly accepts as the correct reading, while I accepted in my Note the first. My grounds are that it is the reading of three of Dr Kīrste's Manuscripts, and now it appears it is the reading of a *Grantha* Manuscript also which he has got since. It is the reading of two more Manuscripts consulted by me here in Poona, and it is the reading of the Poona *Hiranyakeśin* Brahmins, that is to say, those who as a religious duty have got the whole of the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and *Brahmaṇa* and *Hiranyakeśin's Sūtra* by heart, repeat this particular *Sūtra* with **सजातानमिका** as the reading. Again, I have stated that this is the correct reading, because, we have in the *Sūtra* the epithet **ब्रह्मचारिणीम्**, and as a *Nagnikā* or immature girl is necessarily a **ब्रह्मचारिणी** it is not necessary to add this condition, and since it is added, **नम्रिका** must be the correct reading. As to this Prof Jolly has in the first place got Prof Kīrste to give his reasons for choosing **सजातां नम्रिकां**. Prof Kīrste says he was guided by the analogy of the following *Sūtra* from *Mānavagṛhya* **नग्नमूर्ती कन्यामसंस्नुह्यैयुनामुपपश्येत् समानवर्णामसमानप्रवरां यवीयसीं नमिकां श्रेष्ठाम्**. That analogy "speaks for the separation of **सजातां** and **नम्रिकां** and allows no scope for the choice of a maiden not naked any longer." His remaining reason is that it is the reading of *Matṛdatta*.

As to this I have to observe that, because you have got *Nagnika* in another book with certain epithets, therefore

you must have Nagnikā in this book also containing as it does similar epithets, and because you are told to marry a Nagnikā there therefore you are told to marry a Nagnikā here also,—this is no good reasoning. If we follow a reasoning of this nature we shall have to give up all idea of a historical development. And as against the evidence of so many Manuscripts and of the Veda-repeating Brahmans of Poona, and the impropriety of the use of the epithet Brahmacārinīm, this reasoning has no value whatever. As to Mātrdatta, I have already said in my Note that he gives the sense that the context requires, but had a bad reading before him. Prof. Jolly also adopts Prof. Kirste's reasoning against all evidence to the contrary when he says "the above passages speak decidedly for the latter reading" सजातां नमिकाश्च, and adds "especially as the epithet असंस्पृष्टमैशुनाश्च in Mānavagṛhya stands by the side of नमिका as ब्रह्मचारिणीश्च does in Hiran'yakeśin",—that is Prof. Jolly accounts for one impropriety by bringing forward another of the like nature. But two improprieties cannot constitute one propriety, both are improprieties and must be removed in both the places. And I cannot here refrain from expressing my surprise that while Prof. Jolly would alter न दानश्च to प्रदानश्च and अनमिका to नमिका, i. e., turn the negative into positive, and make such other changes in the readings of texts without any authority from Manuscripts, to remove fancied improprieties, he should not accept a reading occurring in good Manuscripts and in the mouths of Vaidika Brahmans to remove an impropriety admitted to be so by himself.

But the impropriety in Hiran'yakeśin is removed by adopting the reading सजातानमिका; and the way to remove it in the Mānavagṛhya is as follows.—The passage quoted as one Sūtra must be divided into three or at least two Sūtras. The first ends with उपवस्यते or वसिष्यतीश्च and means "He should marry a virgin who has brothers and has had no intercourse with a man, who is of the same caste but of different Pravara and is younger." Here

what the author requires is that she should not have had intercourse with a man, which implies its possibility i.e., her being a grown up girl, so that his command here is that he should marry a grown up girl. The next Sūtra is नमिकां वेदाद् in which he adds that "one should marry a Nagnikā as the best." In this Sūtra Anuvṛtti should be made of the verb उपवच्छेद्. Now the impropriety disappears, असंख्यमेधुनाद् is not an adjective of नमिकाद् but of कन्याद्, and this result we arrive at simply by a division of the Sūtra different from that which has been made in Prof. Jolly's quotation by somebody whom I do not know, and not by violent changes of reading. And this division of mine bears a close analogy to the Sūtras of Gobhila discussed above, the last of which is नमिका तु वेदा, only we have not got Tu here, but simply the superlative degree of comparison. The evidence of analogy having thus disappeared, there is no question that सजातानमिका is the true reading in Hiraṇyakeśin. And the translation of this expression to सजातौ नमिकाद् is a matter that admits of any easy explanation, since it is a question of the addition of a mere dot, and since later readers of the Sūtra among whom child marriages only prevailed would consider the dot as proper. Thus then Hiraṇyakeśin requires one to marry a grown up girl expressly as probably in his time the practice of child marriages was coming into vogue, because he is going to prescribe intercourse on the fourth night Āpastamba and the rest go upon the supposition of the bride being a grown up girl, as they enjoin intercourse after marriage, and it was not necessary to name Anagnikā then, because child-marriages were not thought of or were rare when they wrote.

Prof. Jolly's change of Rāta to Raka in Āpastamba is of a piece with his other changes, and the sense of Rāta given by the commentator रतिशीला shows that that author also contemplates a grown up girl.

I have said enough to show the nature of the evidence brought forward and of the arguments used by Prof. Jolly to prove

that the Smṛtis contain nothing that is favourable to late marriages, that the Garbhadhāna ceremony should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance of the signs of puberty, and that the Nagnikā rule is common to the Sūtra literature with the Smṛtis. My own view as regards the history of child-marriages as gathered from the religious literature beginning with the Gṛhyasūtras is, it will have been seen from the foregoing pages, this — In the time of Āśvalāyana and many other authors of Gṛhyasūtras marriages after puberty were a matter of course, the evidence being the nature of the ceremonies prescribed and their silence about the age of the bride. In the time of Hiraṇyakeśin child marriages were coming into practice, and therefore he tells his followers that they are absurd since the ceremonies required the bride to be in a condition of maturity. When Gobhila and the author of the Mānavagṛhya flourished, late marriages were falling into disrepute though they were in practice, and hence they lay down marriage before puberty as the best course. When the Smṛtis of Manu and Baudhāyana were written, child-marriages were in full vogue but late marriages were not rare. And in the time of the authors of the later Smṛtis the custom of late marriage became entirely obsolete as it is at the present day. Still however it was not the custom, when the latter flourished, to begin intercourse necessarily on the first appearance of signs of puberty as it is not now. It was entirely optional, some people following the practice, others not. I would therefore arrange these authors chronologically thus, 1. Āśvalāyana and others, 2. Hiraṇyakeśin, 3. Gobhila, Gobhilaputra and the author of Mānavagṛhya, 4. Manu-Samhitā, Vasiṣṭha, Bandhāyana, 5. the rest.

NOTE I

Since I wrote and despatched my article on Prof. Jolly's paper I met K. Rangacharya the Panditaratna in the service of the Maharaja of Mysore who is one of those employed to form a library for the Maharaja, and had conversation with him on

this as on many other subjects. He told me that he had seen a passage in the Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra in which marriage with an Anagnikā was enjoined and that the commentator had taken that as the correct reading. I told him to send me a copy of the passage after his return to Mysore, and this he has done. The passage is as follows —

No 7 of the Maharaja's Library—Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra with a commentary entitled Subodhinī

Fol 7 सू०—आयां विन्देताग्निकां समानजातीयाम्.....
 व्या०— अग्निकां यस्मिन्वयसि स्वयमेव कजया वासः परि-
 दधाति तद्वयस्काश्

Trans—(Sūtra) He should marry a wife of the same caste with himself who is not a Nagnikā

Com. "Not a Nagnikā" i.e., of that age at which through bashfulness she wears a piece of cloth of her own accord

Now I think this text will amply corroborate the arguments which I contend are in themselves conclusive for regarding सज्जतानमिका as the true reading of Hiraṇyakeśin. It will show that the Nagnikā rule is certainly not common to the Sūtras with the Smṛtis as is laid down so positively by Prof Jolly, and when taken in conjunction with Hiraṇyakeśin's precept, it will indicate the existence of a condition of society in which its religious leaders found it necessary to direct their followers expressly not to marry little undeveloped girls, while there was another when the leaders did not find it necessary to do so, as nobody did it against the spirit of the ceremonies, which required that the bride should be a grown up woman. And all this will necessitate our giving to the words ब्रह्म and पु in Gobhila, ब्रह्म in the Mānavagṛhya, and प्रशस्ते in Gobhilaputra their proper legitimate sense which the Professor has entirely neglected, and to infer the existence of the third condition of society in which the religious leaders recommended, not enjoined, marriage with an undeveloped girl. These three

conditions might be synchronous if we supposed the countries in which the legislators lived were different and far distant from each other, or the sects for which they legislated were unamenable to each other's influence, while they will have to be regarded as existing at different periods of time if we do not make these suppositions. This last view is the only one that is reasonable.

And thus the Grhyasūtras, when properly understood and compared with each other, place before us vividly the different stages by which late marriages fall into disrepute and present to our view the new custom of early marriages in the very process as it were of formation. In early times girls were married only when they were fully developed, but after some time marriage before puberty began to find favour. Still the feeling against it was strong, and hence Hiranyakeśin and Jaimini expressly prohibit it. But the downward movement gradually became more powerful, and we find the authors of some Grhyasūtras recommending child-marriage as the best course. But they do not prohibit late marriages. That was reserved for the Metrical Smṛtis to do. But even among these we may discover different stages. Manu's attitude towards late marriages is not so decidedly hostile as that of some later writers. He allows girls to remain unmarried till the age of twelve, or for three years after puberty, if not given away till then, and permits marriage being deferred if a good bride-groom is not to be had. And in all this, we find, it will be seen, fresh evidence for the view that all Metrical Smṛtis are later than the Grhyasūtras.

This, I humbly contend is the way to arrive at the true social history of past times, and not by resorting to objectionable processes and reducing all texts to a dull uniformity so as to bring out one sense only which no Grhya text hitherto discovered can bear, viz., a positive and unconditional command to marry a Nagnikā or an undeveloped girl. This

procedure of making all Gṛhyas and all Smṛtis tell the same tale forcibly reminds me of the Ekavākyatā of the Paṇḍits who in all cases make the texts of the Vedas, the Sūtras, the Smṛtis, and the Purāṇas mean the same thing, viz. that, which is in keeping with the custom of the day. If it is not the mission of European and especially German Critical Scholarship to check this spirit of Ekavākyatā, I have greatly misunderstood it.

NOTE II

When in December 1892 I wrote the above article, I had no idea that I had two Manuscripts of the Mānavagṛhya close to my writing table. The title they bear on the wrapper is Maitrāyaṇīya-Gṛhyasūtra. They form Nos. 94 and 95 of our Collection of 1880-81. Now the Sūtras which are joined into one, in Prof. Jolly's quotation are thus given in No. 95 विवाहते वयुमती कन्या । मस्युदमैशुना । उपपच्छेत । समानवर्णा । मसमानप्रवरौवशीयसी । नमिकामेष्टा । No. 94 joins the second and the third of these into one, and after समानवर्णा has no stop in about three lines. Thus it is perfectly evident that मस्युदमैशुनाम् is an adjective of कन्याम् occurring in the first Sūtra, or कन्याम् understood, if that Sūtra is to be independently interpreted as the verb विवाहन्ते would show, and the sense is complete with उपपच्छेत, while नमिकामेष्टाम् is an independent Sūtra. The author thus does not bring together two inconsistent conditions, viz., that she should be an undeveloped or immature girl, and that she should at the same time have had no intercourse with a man, but lays down that one should marry a girl (fully developed) who has had no intercourse, but it is best to marry an undeveloped girl.

· BASIS OF THEISM, AND ITS RELATION TO THE SO-CALLED REVEALED RELIGIONS

[Being the substance of a lecture delivered by Sir R. G. Bhāndarkar at the anniversary of the Prathana Samaj, originally published in 1883 by the Cheap Literature Committee of the Theistic Association of Bombay.—N B U]

Gentlemen—I have been asked by the Secretary to deliver an English address to you. Those to whom this duty was first assigned have been prevented by other engagements from being present to-day. Since, therefore, no other person is available and the thing must be done, I appear before you to do it.

And why must it be done? What is the necessity of an English address? Why is a day assigned to it in the programme of our Anniversary ceremonies? Our usual service is conducted in Marathi, we pray to our Almighty father in Marathi, we discuss theological questions in Marathi,—we do not expect, at least for a long time, to find converts to our views among those whose mother tongue is English. Why then should we have an English address?

I will answer this question, in part, by referring to something that I have said in my evidence before the Education Commission. In reply to one of the questions of the Commission I have stated my belief that there are some sceptics and atheists among educated natives but that this fact is not due to the instruction imparted in Government Colleges. In English thought, the agnostic and atheistic side has at present acquired a prominence, and as India is now intellectually affiliated to England as it is politically, that side of thought must be expected to cast its reflection here. To this influence the students

of Missionary as well as Government Institutions are equally open, and the result in both cases is the same. My idea therefore is that the religious views of a good many of our brethren are influenced by those of some of the leading authors of England. Their mode of thought is European and English and hence can best be dealt with in English.

And there is another reason. The prevailing Hindu Religion is a religion in which we find various shades of belief and modes of action confused together. We cannot say it is not monotheism, we cannot say it is not polytheism or even fetishism. It is neither simply a religion of external observances nor is it a religion enjoining purity of heart only. We are dissatisfied with this state of things and have been seeking a more consistent and rational system of religious faith and action. A foreign religion has for some time been knocking at our door and claiming admission. If we have deliberately refused to admit it we must give our reasons. And this can only be properly done in the language in which its claims are enforced.

And the first thing that I wish to say to both these classes of my hearers is that our religious basis is that supplied to us by the critical method. This method of comparison and criticism has been successfully applied to the determination of historical and literary truth. It has brought about in the short space of about twenty-five years a complete and remarkable revolution in philology. The favourite theories of centuries have been entirely exploded, and the true relations between the many languages spoken by civilized man have been ascertained, and the principles that determine the origin and growth of human speech have been discovered. We expect similar results from the application of this method to religion, to find out how it is that God reveals himself to man, to determine what is essential and necessary in religion and what is

purely accidental, to separate the truth that God himself has taught to man, from the error, with which, in his mental and moral weakness, man has mixed it up.

The fact that we have all of us to face in the beginning is that religion is not confined to one people or one country, but that human beings in all ages and all countries, whether savage or civilized, have had some religion. Religion is inseparable from humanity. Man has always believed in some Invisible Power from which all that is visible has sprung, in something Infinite on which all that is finite rests, in a Power on which he is dependent and which is beneficial and has felt reverence for that power and worshipped it. The belief may be found to have assumed a distinct shape in some conditions of society and to have remained indistinct in others, it may have led to a variety of superstitions and absurdities, but if you endeavour to find the inmost principle of all religions you will I believe find it to be as I have stated it. Along with a belief in one's own existence and in the reality of the world, we find a belief in an Invisible Power and in something greater than the finite and beyond the finite, existing everywhere. Is it proper that as philosophers and thinkers we should make light of this fact? Should we not recognize it as fully as any other fact and make it the subject of serious thought? And what are we to conclude from it?—That poor weak humanity is everywhere subject to hallucinations and that this is a remarkable instance of its gullibility? Why then is the belief in the existence of the external world not to be considered a hallucination similarly? All our knowledge is phenomenal—we can perceive nothing but appearances. These appearances depend upon certain motions of the nerves. These motions may be produced by certain laws of our bodily nature and to these may be due the appearances which we attribute to something outside of us. As in certain conditions or diseases of

the brain, a man sees before him things that really do not exist, so may the appearance of things outside himself be due to man's physical conditions. But men have ever believed in the existence of the external world though there have not been wanting philosophers to tell them that this belief is groundless. Similarly they have believed and will continue to believe in an Infinite and Invisible Power upon which they depend and which exacts their reverence, though there have been philosophers to tell them that they are the victims of a delusion. And in every branch of that most certain department of human knowledge, physical science, do we not believe in things that do not fall within the range of our senses? We see that under certain conditions fire burns our fingers, and immediately come to believe that under those conditions fire will burn not only here but there, not only in this country but in that, not only now but hereafter. Do we in such cases stop where our senses cease to operate—do we not naturally go far beyond? The so-called general laws in science are all beliefs of this nature. Are these beliefs, or that general one in the constancy of nature on which these may be said to depend, a delusion then? If it is not, why should the belief in God, which the grand aspect of nature forces upon man, be a delusion?

And the function of religious belief in the development of man is higher than that of physical knowledge. The use of this last is to satisfy the wants of his bodily nature, to enable him to live comfortably. But purity of heart, the elevation of the feelings, the depth of the soul, a firm adherence to truth without regard to practical effects, equanimity in the midst of the severest troubles of life—these and such other virtues it is religion alone that can induce. Man can attain to the full measure of his capabilities only through the instrumentality of religious belief. Without it he will be a superior kind of beast with aims and aspirations low and stunted. But as he is, he is

a child of the Infinite with his aspirations ever increasing, ever widening. Are we then to believe that that belief which is at the root of the man's higher development is to be considered to have nothing corresponding to it in the world of reality, while that which satisfies his lower nature only is alone real and certain ?

The truth is that this universality of belief in the Infinite and Invisible is as much necessitated by man's apprehensive powers as the belief in an external world and in the constancy of nature. At the very dawning of human intelligence, when the heavens above and the earth below excited the wonder and admiration of man, when practically his eyes apprehended no limit to the scene by which he was surrounded, when he saw the play of powers about him, which acted independently of him, and on which depended his happiness, the Invisible and the Infinite forced itself upon him and evoked his reverence and love, and he fell down and worshipped. And does not the whole aspect of nature, the vault of heaven, with the Sun, Moon and countless myriads of stars, and the earth with the mountains, the rivers, the wide ocean and the extensive plains, continue to make as solemn and deep an impression on us as they did on our early ancestors ? When we take our stand on a high mountain and behold a succession of hills one behind another, stretching as far as our eyes can reach, and the dales and valleys at our feet smiling with vegetation, or the bold and deep gorges below, or when standing on a plain we behold darkness just beginning to disappear before dawning light, or at night the rays of the Moon steeping everything in soft and serene lustre, when I say we meditate on scenery, do we not feel a vista into Infinity opened up before us, are we not conscious of something unspeakably grand, does not our heart become dilated with ineffable joy and is not our spirit filled with reverence and love ?

A sympathetic chord in our own hearts does the poet touch when he says ? :—

I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts
And rolls through all things.

Yes, man has ever been seeing his God in the Universe—the True, the Good and the Beautiful has ever manifested Himself to him, and love and joy ever greeted him, in the vast scene in which he finds himself.

My answer to the second class of persons spoken of before who have placed before us a religion which they say was alone revealed by God in all its parts at a certain period in the history of man, and who call upon us to accept in on that ground, also rests similarly on the basis supplied to us by the critical method. Christianity is not the only religion professed by man. Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and a variety of other religions have flourished in the world and are flourishing. Are these the work of self-deception ? If we say so, we shall simply be playing into the hands of the opponents of all religions. What are the special claims of one of these religions to be considered as the only Revelation ? There is truth in all, and all have something objectionable which the light derived from the others should enable us to discover and cast aside. All have been revealed by God, but man from the very weakness of his apprehension, has mixed a great deal of falsehood with the truth communi-

ated to him by his Father. It certainly is not consistent with our ideas of God's love for man to think Him to have communicated that truth which it is so important for men to know, only at a late period in the history of the world and only to a certain people. If religion is of supreme importance to man, we must expect that it should have been revealed to him in the very beginning, being implanted by God in his very nature so that wherever he went he might carry it with him like his shadow. And this is what we actually find. Man has been carrying religious belief like his shadow wherever he goes, religion is as widely spread as humanity itself.

* Thus then God's Revelation to man was made not only at a certain period in the world's history, but it began with the dawning of human intelligence and went on progressing through all ages and it is going on still and will go on. God is ever with us communicating more and more of his truth to us as our powers of apprehension become purer and keener. The latest phase of His Revelation to man is that embodied in the movement which we here represent. It is therefore turning a deaf ear to this appeal from the High to accept one religion only as exclusively revealed by Him. It is disregarding the grand fact that God has ever been the Father of man and has ever been educating him into a knowledge of Himself.

And not only does the comparison of the different religions that prevail or have prevailed in the world enable us to determine the significance of each—the idea or ideas which it elaborates and to distinguish the essence of religion from its accidents—but the study of the development of religious thought and action in one and the same country serves the same purpose. No country in the world has undergone such strange and wonderful religious revolutions as ours and nowhere will the faithful servant of God be able to trace more clearly the manner in which He gradually unfolds His truth to

man. I will therefore devote the remaining portion of the time at my disposal to the consideration, necessarily very brief, of what our religious history has to teach us.

It was in the phenomena of Nature that the ancient Āryans first discovered their God or rather God discovered Himself to them. The heavens above, and the earth below, the Sun that traversed the sky from day to day and fructified the earth, the rising Dawn, before which the darkness of the night gradually disappeared and which gave a lovely appearance to the universe about them, the waters that periodically fell from heaven and cooled and refreshed the earth, parched by the summer heat of the Punjab,—these and such other phenomena excited the wonder and admiration of our remote ancestors, and in the visible they saw the Invisible, and found in these phenomena the Gods Dyaus, Pṛthivī, Sūrya, Savitr, Uṣas, Indra and others and even Aditi or the Illimitable, the mother of them all. The happiness of man depended upon the operations of nature, that is, on the powers of these Gods, and they were invoked to protect and bestow blessings. Observing the regularity with which some of these phenomena repeated themselves they elaborated the idea of order. The outside order was likened to the order within, the violation of which constituted sin, and Varuṇa, Savitr and others who were the guardians of Order were invoked to rescue them from sin and not to visit them with the severe punishment which their transgression of the Order deserved. To most of these Gods, the creation of heaven and earth and supreme power which none could transgress, were ascribed. In the course of time men found that each of the Gods possessed the attributes of the Supreme Godhead, and since the Supreme can be but One, they came to regard Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni as but several names of the One Supreme and declared that “the creator of heaven and earth was but one God”

After they had arrived at this stage there was a halt. As in the history of the physical, social and political advancement of man there are periods when the human spirit after having worked actively for sometime becomes dormant and there is no further progress, so are there in the history of man's religious advancement. Along with the development of the religious ideas which I have sketched, grew a worship of the gods. This worship gradually became complicated and acquired such an importance that every minute point in connection with it became the subject of an inviolable rule. Cold and dead formalities took the place of warm and living devotion and the very verses and hymns which contained the fervent prayers of the old R̥sis, were repeated mechanically in the course of the formal worship, without even an attempt to apprehend the sense. Not only were there certain kinds of sacrificial performances to be gone through, morning and evening, and on the new and full moon days as well as during the four rainy months, but there were grand Soma sacrifices to be performed whenever there was opportunity. Of these there were seven kinds each of which occupied six days, and on the fifth day the principal ceremonies, which collectively were called Sūtyā, or extracting the juice of Soma and offering it to the Gods were performed. Then there were Sattras or sacrificial sessions the shortest of which lasted for twelve days, the Sūtyā being performed on each occasion, and the longest for twelve years. Longer sessions even are heard of. This sacrificial religion became so thoroughly mechanical that the fruit arising from its exercise was considered to be due not to the favour of the deities worshipped but to some miraculous or magic charm in the rites themselves. The deities lost all importance, and in the course of time the theologians of this religion denied God and proclaimed sacrificial rites as the saviour of mankind.

But error by its very excesses rouses the dormant human spirit

and brings on its own destruction. The reaction was on the one hand led by the authors of the Upaniṣads, and on the other, by the Philosophers, principally of the Sāṃkhya school, and by Buddhism. The Upaniṣads declared that "sacrificial rites were but frail boats", and enjoined contemplation of the "Omniscient Soul whose greatness we observe in the world—the author, source and pervader of the universe, the lord of all, the unborn, the unchangeable and the pure or holy," and when a man saw him in his heart and everywhere else, he was free from death and attained eternal happiness. This contemplation and the resulting perception of Him were not possible to one "who did not refrain from evil deeds, who had not subdued his passions, and whose soul was not serene" In some of the Upaniṣads this perception of the Lord of all is spoken of as the perception of one's own self. The individual souls are considered as forms of the Supreme and are related to the Supreme as the sparks of fire to the fire, or as earthen jars to the earth of which they are made, or like rivers they have an independent existence at first and lose their individuality when united with the Supreme Spirit as rivers do when united with the ocean

The Philosophers taught that eternal happiness was to be attained by rooting out the cause of all misery which consisted in a union between the individual soul and a certain inanimate principle called Prakṛti. This Prakṛti was the cause of all the finite or definite thought and developed in the form of the world. A perception or feeling of the distinctness of one's soul from the Prakṛti freed the soul from its effects viz, all definite thought and consequently from all misery. God was not recognized as either the Creator or the Saviour and friend of man.

The Buddhists adopted this mode of thought, and equally with the others declared that the sacrificial rites were inefficacious, and denied the authority of the Vedas on which it was contended

they were based. Eternal happiness was according to them to be attained by a strict course of moral discipline, by restraining the passions and purifying and ennobling the heart. Buddhism was also a protest against the exclusiveness of the Brahmanical religion of sacrifices which could be exercised only by the three regenerate classes and of which Brahmans alone could be priests. It was not only a religion for all classes of the Indian community but for the whole world, the Mlecchas or barbarians included.

But how was the standard of moral purity which Buddhism set up, to be practically attained by frail humanity? It is all very well to talk of curbing the passions and purifying the heart. Sin is a very subtle enemy of the human soul. It contaminates at the very core of what man considers his most exalted and generous actions, and no one is more alive to his helplessness against his enemy than the man who honestly endeavours to attain purity and has already made some progress. In his despair man naturally cries for help. It was here that Buddhism was found wanting. By denying God it deprived man of his friend and saviour. Even the theistic Upaniṣads trusted too much to man's powers. Though they placed the highest happiness in the contemplation of God and in beholding His face, and represented moral purity as indispensable, they left all this to be done by the unassisted efforts of man. To supply this defect the doctrine of Bhakti arose, and the work in which it was distinctly enunciated was the Bhagavad-gītā. The Gītā derives its theism from the Upaniṣads, equally with them it enjoins moral purity and the contemplation of God, but in addition, it teaches man to love God and not himself, to live for Him and not for himself, and to place unlimited faith in Him.

The idea of a religion for all and not for certain classes only, which Buddhism first realized was taken up by the Bhakti

school and its method of salvation was open to all. But the purity of religion it was difficult to maintain in a country, the population of which was composed of various elements. The doctrine of Bhakti was first set forth in connection with the worship of Viṣṇu, to whom all the attributes of Godhead as laid down in the Upaniṣads were ascribed. Then came in the worship of Śiva and various other gods and goddesses, who must originally have been the objects of adoration with the aborigines of the country. Ceremonial religion of another kind than that which prevailed before, came to be practised, and vows, fasts, and observances were multiplied. Purāṇas were written to heighten the glories of particular gods and to inculcate the practice of the various observances. Amidst all this confusion, however, the monotheism of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā was not entirely lost. It became curiously blended with popular polytheism. The votaries of each one of the various gods claimed the attributes of Supreme Godhead for their deity, and Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viṭhoba, Śiva, Mahākālā, Bhairava, Khaṇḍobā and others were in turns the one supreme God. And even at the present day, every one of the innumerable ceremonies performed by the Brahmins in honour of innumerable gods, begins with a declaration that it is going to be performed for the propitiation of Parameśvara or the Supreme Lord of all, and ends with the expression of a hope that the performance will please the Supreme god. But all this was a drop in the ocean and failed to correct the popular tendencies, and religion again came to be as mechanical as the sacrificial religion was before. All religious merit was again thought to lie in the practice of those observances, and internal purity and spiritual worship were neglected.

Then there arose the Sādhus or the pious men of the mediæval period, who protested against this artificial religion, re-asserted the doctrine of Bhakti with vigour and inculcated purity of

heart ; and the last Great Sadhu in this part of the country was our own Tukārāma of Dehu. What the mission of these men was generally, may best be seen from an Abhanga of Tukārāma in which he states the purpose of his coming into the world. I translate it as follows —

I, am a denizen of Vaikunṭha and have come for this purpose viz , to bring into practice that which was taught by the Ṛsis we will sweep clean the ways of (constructed by) the sages ; the world is over-grown with weeds we will accept the portion that has remained.

Truth has disappeared in consequence of the Purāṇas, ruin has been effected by word knowledge

The heart is addicted to pleasures and the way (to God) is destroyed.

We will beat the drum of Bhakti, the terror of the Kali age, says Tukā,—raise shouts of victory through-^{out} 7.

And this is our mission also The Indian world still remains over-grown with the weeds of falsehood notwithstanding the efforts of those great men. The truth taught by the Ṛsis of the Upaniṣads still remains neglected, and ceremonial practices have still usurped the place of spiritual worship. Though the mediaeval Sadhus taught a purer form of faith, they did not as a general rule set their face against the popular beliefs and modes of worship with sufficient firmness and decision. This appears to me to be the principal reason why their mission was not completely successful. Let us therefore while endeavouring to realize their humility and single-hearted devotion, attempt to supply this defect

Let us like Tukārāma exert ourselves to bring into practice the teaching of the old Ṛsis, and learn from all the sources now available to us, indigenous as well as foreign. Let us learn from the Vedic hymns that the temple in which we should find God and worship him is the universe and the

heart of man ; from the sacrificial religion which once prevailed, that we should not over-grow and destroy the tender plant of spiritual worship ; from the rise of Buddhism, that religion is not a privilege of a favoured class, and that without high moral feeling and action it is an empty nothing ; and from its failure, that mere morality will not exalt the spirit and satisfy the religious craving of the heart and cannot be attained., from the Upanisads, that purity of heart is the way of arriving at God, and contemplation brings us face to face with Him and elevates the soul, and from the Gita and the Bhakti school, that man by his own efforts cannot effect his salvation, that God alone is our Father, Friend and Saviour, and that we should lay our souls at His feet, live in Him, and for Him, and not for ourselves. If in all humility we learn this, and learn whatever else is to be learnt from the other sources, that God in His mercy has laid open to us, and follow our guide fearlessly and faithfully, we need not be afraid of our future

THE POSITION OF THE PRĀRTHANA SAMAJ IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD

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The subject of to-night's discourse is the position of the Prarthana Samaj in the religious world. We are surrounded by men who profess Mohamedanism, Christianity, Hinduism in its various forms and phases, Buddhism and Jainism. What relation does the religion of the Samaj bear to these, is the question to be discussed. To arrive at something like a satisfactory conclusion, we must cast a glance at the history and evolution of religion from the earliest times to the present. The leading thinkers of Europe have recently formulated what is called by them the Science of Religion. The object of this science is to collect information about all religions that have prevailed and do prevail, and to trace the evolution of religion from the primitive form in which it was professed by savages to the highest that has been presented to us by Christianity—or I may say, by the religion of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā. The conclusion arrived at is that one same principle like a seed has been developing in a variety of forms corresponding to the branches of the tree which spring up from the seed. The essence of religion has been considered to consist in a belief in some higher Power, which may be benevolent or malevolent to man. In both cases, however, the belief is that the Power can be made favourable to man's purposes, if but the proper methods are followed, which methods are believed to be

communicated by the Power itself. Revelation thus comes in, even in the very earliest form of religion.

The constituents of religion have been given by Professor Tiele as emotions, conceptions, sentiments, words, and deeds. Emotion is that which moves a man towards that spiritual condition which we call religious. It may be man's feeling of dependence upon an external power, or a perception of the grandeur of nature or the transitoriness of the world. When man's mind is, by any such emotion, directed towards religion, he necessarily forms some conception of the nature of the higher Power which he worships. The Power may be conceived as a spirit dwelling in a natural object or a spirit free to move about, or a spirit presiding over a phenomenon of nature such as thunder, rain, or wind, or an all-pervading Spirit which is the ripest conception of the nature of God. Next we have sentiments, and they may be reverence, love or the like. In keeping with such a sentiment, there are certain words used to propitiate the Deity and bring it into man's power, such as prayers or charms, and associated with these words there are deeds, such as the offering of sacrifices and various other modes of conducting worship. In every one of the various forms of religion that have existed, we can discover these five constituents.

The question is asked why is it that man's spirit thinks at all of religion. Professor Max Muller as well as Professor Tiele say that there is a vague sense of the Infinite in man. He is not content with things as they are, but always looks for something beyond. Looking for something beyond, therefore, whenever he observes any operation in the external world, he traces it to such a power as he himself is conscious of, in his nature, viz., the power of Will. Thus behind the external operation he discovers a Will, that is, a Willing Spirit. This is the rudiment of religion which develops in the course of man's history. In

the earliest form this spirit is believed to dwell in such object as a tree or a rock. A further step in the progress is to believe that the spirit is not confined to a particular object but free to move. Sometimes such a spirit is looked upon as being forced to live in a certain object, and that object is believed to afford protection and work miracles. It then becomes a fetish. The various phenomena of nature are personified and believed to proceed from the will of certain spirits such as Agni, Vāyu, Indra, Uṣas, etc. These personified deities assume definite character and then they are believed to be gods, and afterwards are located in a certain happy place called heaven. The Vedic conception of the deities or the Greek or the Roman conception presents this stage of progress. In the course of time, as we see in the Vedas, these different gods are considered to be but mere names. The various phenomena over which they are considered to preside come to be attributed to one Power, and thus dawns the conception of One Supreme Spirit Who has created the heaven and the earth.

Even from the beginning a sort of morality becomes connected with religion. Savages have certain customs which if they violate, will, they believe, bring upon them the wrath of the spirits whom they worship. Then as man's knowledge of the world develops and he progresses in civilization, higher moral conceptions are developed, and these are considered as representing the will of their gods. In the course of man's history certain religions came to be deliberately founded with the object of bringing about a moral revolution such as Buddhism and Christianity.

Some times the development takes different directions amongst different races. Thus the mighty and inscrutable natures of God are emphasized in the Semitic religions. Names are given to God which are significant of His Lordship or Sovereignty and with reference to which

his human worshippers are called servants or slaves. Amongst the Āryans the name that we prominently find is Dyauspitar amongst the Vedic Indians, Zeus-Pater amongst the Greeks and Jupiter among the Romans. It means "Father in Heaven". Even from this and the various other modes in which the deity is named and addressed, the idea most emphasized by the Āryans appears to be that God is our Father and men are His children. Amongst both races these ideas have become corrupt, the former having led men to the propagation of their religion by the shedding of blood, and the latter to the attributing of the lowest human qualities to God. Various other characteristics are presented by this evolution of religion, but we must not stop to go over them. It would be sufficient to say that the evolution is towards a clearer and clearer realization of the Idea of the Infinite that was implicit in the beginning, leading men to find God everywhere and to form a conception of perfect holiness.

Now the conceptions and the other constituents of religion that I have mentioned, the Prarthana Samaj adopts from the most developed forms of religion as contained in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, in the Bible, or in the literature of the progressive religious thought of the day. We believe God to be immanent in the world directing the process of physical and spiritual evolution that has ever been going on. This is an idea adopted by the advanced religious philosophy of the day and there is a shade of it in the Upaniṣads — "That soul who is awake, while all the rest are asleep, creating as He wills, is the light, is Brahma, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds (or beings) find their support in Him. none can transgress him". "The great soul, the Lord, brings forth good" "He evolves righteousness and drives away sin" We believe that God's

Dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and living air,
And the blue sky and in the mind of man.

And He is

A motion and a spirit, that impels,
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things.

And the Brhadāranyaka tells us —“He is the inward controlling Soul, who dwelling in the earth, the waters, fire, ether, air, the sun, the moon, the stars, the quarters, lightening, thunder, all worlds, all Vedas, all sacrifices, all beings, the breath, speech, the eye, the ear, the mind, the skin, light, darkness, seminal fluid, and the soul (of individual) is different from them, Whom these do not know, Whose body all these are, and Who controls these from the inside.” Similarly the Bhagavadgītā says —“God dwells in the hearts of all beings, and placing them as on a wheel moves them by His wonderful power”.

Another constituent of religion—the sentiments—are with us; those of reverence and love, and our words and deeds which together make up our worship are fervent prayers, an attitude of humility, an unquestioning faith, self-surrender, a readiness to follow where God leads, contemplation, mutual converse, love of man and loving acts, and fidelity to truth. All these have been taught to us by the Bhagavadgītā, by Christ, and in an impressive manner by our own Tukārāmā

I have already observed in the beginning that it is of the essence of religious belief that religion should be regarded as revealed by the higher Power that is worshipped. This belief can, I believe, stand the test of reason. If Lord Kelvin has recently told us that evolution in external nature is under the direction of a higher Power, should we not consider the evolution of religion also to be under the direction of that Power? Hence then our doctrine and belief is that God has been leading men, from the times when they were in the primitive condition to the present day, towards the realization of higher and higher religious truth. The evolution of religion therefore means a continuous Revelation.

And there is also another sense in which religious evolution must be considered a Revelation. Just as in the case of a poet or an artist, there are flashes of light which he gives expressions to, by means of words or colour, in the same way, from time to time, in the cases of certain individuals, there are flashes of religious truth which those individuals convey to others less gifted. Our own Tukārāma says in one place, "What possibility is there that an insignificant person like myself should speak such words? It is the Sustainer of the universe that made me speak;" and in another "I have broken open the treasure, the things belong to the Lord, I am simply a porter to carry them to you". And in the Abhaṅga sung by us on the morning of the first day, he said "I have been sent to communicate the message". When Tukārāma gives expressions to such ideas as these, are we to consider that he is telling lies? Certainly not. He says so because he really did see flashes of light of which ordinary men have no experience. It is in this special sense, therefore, that the religious evolution is under the direction of God.

If, therefore, the doctrines adopted by the Prarthana Samaj are those found in the most developed forms of religion, be sure our religion is a revealed religion. It is also a revealed religion in two other special senses. For it is the only religion that acknowledges the influence and hand-work of God in all the religions that existed or now exist; and therefore imposes upon us an attitude of sympathy towards all religious beliefs while hitherto antipathy between different religions has been the general rule. And the study of all these religions has had the effect of clearing the religious vision so as to enable the leaders of the Samaj to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and has led them to adopt the highest form of truth that has hitherto dawned upon the human mind. It is in these two special senses that the dispensation followed by the Prarthana Samaj may be considered a New Dispensation.

Thus then here is a religion which God himself has placed before us in the fullness of time, when all the races of the world have come together and have been as it were comparing notes. The question is whether you will adopt this new Revelation, the main doctrines of which, however are those of the most highly developed religions, which for this country may be considered to be those of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, and of the teachings of Saints and Prophets like Tūkārām. Will you then accept the best portions of the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā, and of the teachings of the mediaeval saints, supplemented by certain ideas from Buddhism or from the Bible, or will you adhere to all the religions that go under the name of ordinary Hinduism, the religions which represent all the stages of evolution beginning from the most primitive such as the worship of trees and stones, serpents and cows, and of fetishes? Will you accept merely mechanical ceremonies which can have no connection with your moral advancement as your worship of God, or take up the spiritual mode chosen by the Prarthana Samaj, which alone is calculated to purify the heart and elevate it, and prepare you to perform your duties in life? The existing forms of religion belonging as they do to earlier stages of civilization are destined, if India is to advance, to disappear, and along with their disappearance, all that is good in the higher religious thought of the country is also in danger of disappearing, unless we deliberately choose it and make it alone our religion. And the existing mechanical modes of worship must be entirely thrown away and the spiritual mode substituted, to bring about the moral reformation of the country which is so urgently needed.

THE INCORPORATION OF PRE-MAHOMEDAN FOREIGNERS INTO THE HINDU SOCIAL ORGANISATION

FROM THE DNYAN PRAKASH OF POONA, DATED, WEDNESDAY
1st SEPTEMBER 1909

[The following was originally delivered as a lecture at Poona by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in Marathi, and was printed in the Poona paper, referred to above It is here translated by me.
—N.B.U.]

As already announced Dr. Bhandarkar delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha on the subject referred to in the above heading, with Prof. Kashinath Bapuji Pathak in the chair Dr. Bhandarkar, in mentioning at the outset the reason which led him to choose this subject for his lecture, said —

On the day on which Mr. Gopalrao Gokhale delivered a lecture at this Sabha on the subject of "The Hindu-Muslim Question" I incidentally remarked that all those foreigners who came into India before the Mahomedans, became included in the Hindu Society. Had not the Mahomedan religion come into existence, the present Hindu-Muslim Question would not have arisen at all Like the foreigners before them, they too would have been incorporated within our society As soon as I remarked thus, Mr Gokhale said " Do please then speak on this subject", and thus left me no alternative but to take up that subject for this lecture. The subject of to-day's lecture is to show how the foreigners, that come to India before the Mahomedans, became absorbed in the Hindu Society To-day's lecture is not of the nature of merely popular commonplaces, every statement therein must be substantiated by proofs Owing to my failing eyesight this work of finding out the references was done by

, [Mr.] Devadatta [Bhandarkar], and during the course of to-day's lecture he would read out the references as required.

EVIDENCE OF THE PURĀṆAS

The Maurya Dynasty is one of the royal Dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas Candragupta founded the Maurya Dynasty soon after the invasion of Alexander the Great. The Empire of the Mauryas was then extended over the whole of Northern India, i e, from Ganjam to Kathiawad. After the dynasty of the Mauryas, the Purāṇas mention the Śunga, Āndhrabhṛtya, Kāpāyana and some other dynasties. The Śātavāhana or the Śālivāhana line of kings at Paithan is also mentioned in the Purāṇas The Purāṇas prophetically describe these kingly lines as ruling in the future. Among such lines, it is mentioned there that the Śaka, Yavana and other kingly lines would reign Such in general are the statements in the Purāṇas, but the (details of the) dynasties themselves have to be established from the evidence of Inscriptions and Coins.

WHO WERE CALLED THE YAVANAS ?

Yavanas are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. It is necessary to determine first who the Yavanas were In an Inscription of Aśoka reference is made in one place to अंतिवोको नाम योजराजा. The name Antiochus is well known to students of European History. Alexander died soon after his invasion of India. After him Seleucus established his sovereignty from Syria to India. Antiochus is the grandson of Seleucus. He has been frequently mentioned in connection with the Mauryas. The Antiochus whom Aśoka, the Emperor of Pāṭaliputra refers to in his Inscription is Antiochus II who ruled from B.C. 261 to 241. They were Macedonian Greek kings and so Aśoka calls them Yoṇa or Yavana. The word Yavana denotes a Macedonian Greek. The earliest allusion to their having founded a kingdom in India is to be had in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. There

is a Vārtika in the Mahābhāṣya in connection with the usage of the Past Tense, technically called *Laṅg*, the Vārtika being *परोक्षे च कोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दृष्टमविवक्षे*. This Vārtika means that the *Laṅg* is to be used in speaking about a thing which the speaker has not seen, but which is well known to the people and which, if he had a desire, he could see. The instance that is given in illustration of this Vārtika is *अरण्यं यवनः साकेतम्* ! It therefore follows from this that the event of the Yavanas having laid a siege to Saketa occurred in Patañjali's time. The eastern part of Persia was formerly called Bactria, where the Greeks re-established their kingdom. These Bactrians had, at one time, come over to and established their power in India.

THE YAVANA KINGS

The Yavana mentioned by Patañjali is probably Menander, the Bactrian Greek. It appears from what the Roman historians have written that his date is *circa* 142 B.C. There is also another evidence to prove that Patañjali lived at that time, which however it is not necessary to allude to here. This Menander had established his kingdom over the provinces of Panjab and Afghanistan, both of which were at that time included in India. The fact that Menander had established his kingdom in India can be proved from his coins as well. It was the practice to mention on the coins of those times, the name of the king as well his epithet. The name and the epithet were written in Pali. The Pali is the earliest Prakrit form of Sanskrit. It was current in Ceylon, and the Buddhist works are written in Pali. The letters on Menander's coins are engraved in Pali, wherefore the conclusion is not unwarranted that the subjects of Menander were also a Pali-speaking people. His coins bear in Pali the legend (literally, the words): *महाराजस्स भद्रस्स मिन्दिमस*. There is a work called *Minindra-Papaho*. It contains an account of the discourse between king Milindra and Nagasena, the Buddhist. The capital of

Milindra was at the town of Śākala in the Panjab. The Menander referred to above and Milindra are one and the same person. It is also stated that Milindra in the end became a Buddhist. So much then with regard to Yavana kings. We may now proceed to the consideration of the Yavana subjects.

COMMON PEOPLE OF THE YAVANA CASTE

In the Karla caves, there is a stone Inscription, which contains the following —

- (1) धेनुकाकटा यवनस सिद्धयान यमोदान ।
- (2) धेनुकाकटा धम्म- यवनस ।
- (3) रज्जो वासिठिपुत्तस सिरिपुल्लमाविस सवकुरे
चतुर्विसे २४ हेमंतान परवे ततीये ३ दिवसे वितीये २
उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण पुत्तस्य सो [व]
सकस्य अबुलमाय वयसस्य इम देवधम्म मण्डपो ।

The town Dhenukākāṭa was on the banks of the Saptā-Godāvarī. Dhenukākāṭa, and Dhanakāṭaka, the Capital of Śātavāhana, are probably identical. A Yavana of this place seems to have taken the name of Sihadhayāna, and led a Hindu religious life.

The name of the second Yavana in this Inscription is given as Dhamma (Dharma) which is certainly a Sanskrit name.

It is said in extract (3) above that Harapharāṇa, the son of Setapharāṇa made a gift of the Maṇḍapa (the Hall). This Harapharāṇa should be probably Hallophurnus. There does not appear anything like Hindu about this name, still he made a gift and is called an Upāsaka (devotee). There is therefore a very good ground to hold that he had embraced a religion of this country.

There is an Inscription at Junnar which is as follows.—

यवनस इरिलस गतानं देवधम्म वे पोडियो ।

This Inscription mentions that a Yavana named Irilasa (had)

constructed two tanks From this it appears that these Yavanas had become the followers of the Buddha and that in their ways of making religious gifts, they followed the Hindus.

यवणास चिट्स गतानं भोजन मटयो देयधम सधे ।

The name Citra (Cīṭasa) the Yavana, who is spoken of in the Inscription here referred to as having given the Dining Hall is also a Hindu name.

यवनस चंदानं देयधम गमदार ।

The name Candra (Candānam) in this Inscription is a Hindu name.

In the Nasik Inscriptions occurs the following —

**सिधं ओतराहस दत्तामितियकस योणकस चंमदेवपुतस इन्द्राग्निद-
तस धम्मस्सना ।**

The word Otarāha (Auttarāha) here shows that the Yavana referred to in this Inscription belonged to the North. This Inscription mentions the Yavana Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva of the town of Dattāmitra (Dattāmiti) in the province of Sauvira, near Sind (Sīdha) in the North The names Dharmadeva and Indrāgnidatta show that the names of the Yavanas were not like modern Shaikh Wallad, Shaikh Mahomed, (&c.) but were completely Hinduised From this it must be concluded that after they (the Yavanas) came here, they fully became Hindus.

THE ŚAKA KINGS

The Śaka kings came after the Yavanas. They are known by the name of Kṣatrapas. An Inscription in connection with them too has been found at Nasik, which contains the following —

**सिद्धं राष्ट्रः शहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य महपानस्य आमात्रा दीनीककुणेन
उपवदातेन विगोशतसहस्रदेन.....देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-
ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षे ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्री भोजापथिना... ।**

The name Uṣavadāta in this may perhaps be a Hindu name, since it could be either from Vṛṣabhadatta or Ṛṣabhadatta. But Dīrīka, Nahapāna and Kṣaharāta are not Hindu names. Uṣavadāta was a Śaka and was the son-in-law of a Kṣatrapa of the name of Nahapāna. Some twenty-four thousand coins bearing the name of Nahapāna have recently been found. This Nahapāna did not originally belong to India, but belonged to outside (or, Nahapāna was not an Indian, but a foreigner) He did establish a kingdom, but it lasted for only fifty years, and Gautamīputra soon defeated and extirpated his dynasty, and founded the Śātavāhana Dynasty. Some coins of the time of Nahapāna are found in the Nasik District, and they bear the stamps of both Nahapāna and Gautamīputra. The Inscription just now referred to mentions that Uṣavadāta, the son of Dīrīka and the son-in-law of this Nahapāna gave three lacs of cows to Brahmans and fed annually a lac of Brahmans.

This same Inscription also speaks of him as **प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः लब्धमार्गप्रदेन**. In the town of Prabhāsa, i. e., Somanātha-Paṭṭana, he gave the wherewithal of marriages to eight Brahmans. He constructed a cave at Nasik for the residence of the Bhikṣus. He made a provision for a permanent income by way of interest for meeting the expense for the new clothes &c., of the Bhikṣus. The maximum interest at that time was from five to seven-and-a-half per cent. It was not twenty-five per cent as at present. It will be seen from the above-mentioned evidence that the mode of making religious gifts of the Kṣatrapas was exactly like that of the Hindus.

There was another Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa Dynasty at Ujjayini, comprising nineteen or twenty kings, and they in all ruled for 200 or 225 years. Their rule lasted from about the beginning of the Christian era to 389 Śaka.

If at all we wanted to give a derivation to the word Kṣatrapa, we could show that it is a Sanskrit word, but such a word (as

Kṣatrapa) is nowhere to be met with in the Sanskrit Literature. The word Kṣatrapa or Khatrpa and the word "Satrap" occurring in the Persian history seem to be identical. This last means the officer or the Viceroy of the Emperor. The Kṣatrapas at once took up Hindu customs and manners.

The geographer Ptolemy says that a king of the name of Tiastenes was ruling at Ujjayini. He also says that Pulutāsi ruled at Paithan. In some of the Inscriptions and coins on our side, occurs the name Caṣṭana, which is the same as Tiastenes. He is the founder of the Ujjayini Kṣatrapas. His name Caṣṭana looks foreign but the first part in the names of his son and grandson, Jaya-dāma and Rudra-dāma, is Hindu, and the names Rudra-simha &c, of the subsequent kings in this Dynasty are all Hindu names.

In the Kanneri Caves near Bombay occurs the following.—

[वा] सिद्धी पुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णीस्य देव्याः कार्दमकराजवंश-
प्रमवायाः महाक्षत्रपरु [द्र] पुत्र्याः इय.....भविष्यस्यस्य
अमात्यस्य शतेरकस्य पानीयमाजनं देयधर्मः ।

The name Śātakarṇi here is the name of a king of the Śātavāhana Dynasty. The present Inscription says that his wife came from the Kṣatrapa Dynasty, and proves beyond the possibility of doubt that a Hindu king had married a Śāka woman.

On a stone-Inscription at Junagad, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman is, in one place, spoken of as सवार्थ-गान्धर्व-न्याया-
द्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारज-धारज-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाहविपुल-कीर्तिता । That is, this Inscription describes him as having mastered the art of Music, Logic and other sciences. Rudradāman was the grandson of Caṣṭana.

In one of the caves at Nasik, there is an Inscription to the following effect —

सिखं शकस दामविकस केसकस बुधीकस विष्णुदत्तपुतस
दशपुरबाधवस लेण पोयियो च दो..... ।

Of this, Dāmacika may be the name of a place Vudhika may either be a name, or if it be not a name, it means a money lender. As he (the donor) is called a Lekhaka, (i. e., a writer), his profession seems to have been that of a writer, Viṣṇudatta is the name given of his father, and he is called a Śaka

Viṣṇudatta was also a name borne by the Marathas, since in an Inscription on a cistern at Bhaja, there occurs the following—

महारटिस कोसिकीपुतस विष्णुदत्तस देयधम पोडि ।

This Inscription shows that this Viṣṇudatta, the son of Kauśiki, was a Maratha. That is, it follows that, there was, generally speaking, no difference whatever in those days, between the Śakas and the Marathas

The following occurs in another Inscription at Nasik —

सिखं राष्ट्रः माढरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्तामीरपुत्रस्य आमीरेभरसेनस्य
संवत्सरे नवम ९ गिम्हपत्ते खोये ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १३ एताय पुवय
शकान्निवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपकस्य रेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विम्ब-
वर्मस्य मात्रा शकनिकया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया गिलानमेवजार्थ
अक्षयमीची प्रयुक्ता ।

The substance of this Inscription is that the lady "Viṣṇudattā", the daughter of Agnivarman and mother of Viśvavarman laid at deposit bearing interest an "Akṣaya nivi", i. e., a large amount for charitable purposes, for treatment of sick persons Viṣṇudattā was a Śakanikā, i. e., a Śaka woman (Marathi. Śakimā) The termination Varman is suffixed to the names of Kṣatriyas. It therefore follows from this that the Śakas got incorporated with the Kṣatriyas The Inscription mentions the era of the Ābhira Kings, whence it follows that the Ābhiras were the rulers of the country at that time The method of reckoning time in those days was not based on the

month but followed the seasons; and hence the statement in this Inscription to the effect that (the event took place) in the summer (गिम्ह षष्ठे) in the ninth year of Iśvarasena.

MEN OF THE ĀBHĪRA TRIBE

The Ābhīras followed the Śakas They may possibly belong to Central Asia. A mention is made of their name in the [Maha-]Bhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. They are there called Mle(n)cchas Varāhamihira, in the Śloka म्लेच्छादि यवनास्तु &c., includes the Yavanas among the Mlecchas

The Ābhīras are thus referred to in an Inscription at Guṇḍa in Kathiawad —

आभीरेण सेनापतिबाहकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापतिरुद्रभूतिना ।

There is historical evidence to show that this Rudrabhūti made many religious gifts The Inscription belongs to the time of Rudrasimha, who ruled in 102 Śaka. The Ābhīras were free-booters, and later they established their kingdom here. When, after the demise of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna was escorting the wives of Kṛṣṇa, they were plundered on the way by robbers. These robbers were the Ābhīras themselves, who are there called Mlecchas With regard to the Mlecchas it is said in one place —

रोहिन्स कूपकग्रामः पूर्वमासीदनाश्रयः ।

असेव्यः साधुलोकानामाभीरजनदारुणः ॥

THE ĀBHĪRAS ARE THE PRESENT-DAY AHIRS.

The people that are now known to belong to the Ahir caste were originally Ābhīras. The Ahirs are to be found among goldsmiths, carpenters, cowherds and even among Brahmans. The Ahir goldsmiths of Poona wear the sacred thread (Marathi Jānavēṃ), those of Khandesh do not wear it. There arose recently a dispute between those two Ahir Sects. As the Poona Ahir goldsmiths put on the sacred thread, they were excommunicated by the Khandesh Ahirs. The Poona Ahirs

'had come to me (in this connection) when I told them to the following effect—"All these your classes were originally Ābhira ones. The Ābhīras had no sacred thread. The Khandesh Ahīras have preserved their original practice, and it is likely enough for that reason that they have excommunicated you."

THE TURUŠKAS OR THE TURKISH KINGS.

The *Rājatarangīni* calls the kings who ruled in the North about this time as "Turuškas" or "Kuşapas" These Turuškas belonged to the Turkish stock. Hima Kadphuses, one of the kings of this dynasty, is described on his coins as राजाधिराजस्य संपन्नोऽक्षैश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य. The name of this king is by no means Hindu, but from the description given of him, it appears that he had become a staunch Śaivite. The date of this king may possibly be the second or the third century after Christ. On one side of his coins there is an effigy of him with the Turkish hat, the Fēz. On the other side of his coins there is an image of Nandin (=the bull of Śiva), and near it the image of a person, having a trident (the Trīśūla) in his hand; wherefore it follows that the image must be of Śiva himself. It thus clearly follows that this king was undoubtedly a devotee of Śiva

THE MAGAS BECAME BRAHMANS

There are also other instances to show that the foreigners coming from outside became Brahmans. The "Magas" are one of such people. They first established colonies in Rajputana, Marwar, Agra and Bengal. There is an Inscription of Śaka 1028 concerning the Magas, which contains the following account of them —

देवो जीयात्रिलोकी मणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्तु दुग्धासुनिधिचलयितो यत्र विप्रा मगाख्याः ।
वंशस्तत्र द्विजानां भूमिनिखिलतनोर्मास्वतः स्वाङ्गमुक्तः
शाम्भो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥

There was a tribe called Maga in the Śākadvīpa, whom Śāmba or Sāmba brought over here. Six men of this family became famous poets. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa contains an account of Śāmba who brought the family to India. Śāmba, constructed a temple on the bank of the Candrabhāgā. The river of Chenab was formerly called Candrabhāgā. The Brahmins of that time looked with disfavour upon becoming the worshippers of gods, and so Śāmba could not secure any worshipper. He was then asked by the preceptor of Ugrasena to bring over from Śākadvīpa the Magas and to make them the worshippers. Accordingly Śāmba brought the Magas and assigned to them the duty of worshipping the god. There was formerly at Multan a golden temple of the Sun. This was the same temple that was destroyed by the Mahomedans in the last but one century (lit. in the century preceding the last century).

Varāhamihira lays down the rule that the Bhāgavatas should set up (the worship &c. of) Viṣṇu, the Magas that of the Sun &c. (He says —)

विष्णोर्मागवतान्मगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः समस्मद्विजान्
मातृणामपि मातृमण्डलविदो विप्रान्विदुर्ब्रह्मणः ।
शाक्यान्सर्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नम्राङ्गिणानां विदुः
ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिना तैस्तस्य कार्या क्रिया ॥

From this it clearly follows that the Magas had a colony (or settlement) here at the time of Varāhamihira. The date of Varāhamihira is 509 Śaka. From the Śloka given above, it appears that the practice of consecrating (the temples of) the Sun at the hands of the Magas was in vogue to about that time.

We may now consider for a while who these Magas were. The priests of the Persians are known under the name of the Magi in the history of Persia. The 'Magi' and the 'Magas' are probably identical. The language of the Avesta, the

sacred work of the Persians and that of our Vedas are very nearly similar. Though the Persians regard some of our deities as evil spirits, still the deity 'Mitra' is common to both. The worship of this god had even extended to Syria, Asia Minor, Rome and other places, and it must have extended to India in the east, as it had spread to Rome in the west. The Magi of the Persians are our Indian Magas.

The Magas came to be regarded as Brahmans after they came over to India. They wore round their necks a sacred thread known as Avyanga, which was a cord made of the cast-off skin of serpents. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa contains an account of this (Avyanga), which also says that this cord was to be tied round the middle part of the Sun's image. The Magas afterwards gave up the Avyanga-cord and began to wear the Hindu sacred thread (Marathi Jānavem).

THE HŪNAS

About the time of the downfall of the Gupta Empire - i. e., about the end of the fifth century A. D. - the Hūnas penetrated into India. Two kings of this line are very well known from Inscriptions, viz., Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Karmadeva, the ruler of Cedi (Chattisgad) had married the Hūna princess Āvalladevi. Among the various Rajput Gotras, there is one called Hūna. From these two facts it follows that the Hūnas got incorporated with the Hindus. One tribe of these Hūnas went over to Hungary and established itself there where it still flourishes.

INCLUSION OF THE GURJARA KINGS AMONG THE KSATRIYAS

It now remains to consider the Gurjars, who were the last of the foreigners to come over into India. The word Gujjara was Sanskritised into Gurjara, and their country was called Gujarath from the twelfth century. Before that, that country was known as the Lāṭa country. The "Lāṭi Riti" is referred

to in the Kāvya-prakāśa also. There is a District, known as 'Gujarath' in the Panjab, which was the original place of the Gurjaras. A copper-plate Inscription and a stone one were found at Dīd-wāṇa and Ghaṭiyāla bearing date Vikrama Śaka 9. In these Inscriptions the province of Gujarath is called Gurja-rāṭra (i. e., the land that gives shelter to the Gurjaras). The province of Lāṭa acquired that name when these people belonging to the Gurjara tribe moved down to the South. They established their rule in Marwar, and in that dynasty there were six kings, viz., Devaśakti, Nāgabhaṭa, Rāmabhadra, Bhoja-rāja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla. Bhoja established his power over Kanauj, and his descendants Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla had their capital at Kanauj itself. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mahārāṣṭra and the Gurjara kings of Marwar and Kanauj were constantly at war with each other. A Mahomedan historian says that the two Kingdoms of the "Jurja" and "Balharā" adjoined each other. "Jurja" is Gurjara, and Balharā is the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. An Inscription says about these [Gurjara] Kings that they belonged to the Pratihāri Dynasty. The Poet Rājasekhara was the preceptor of King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj. The poet in his Bala-Rāmāyaṇa includes this king in the family of Raghu and describes him as Raghukulacūdāmaṇi, (i. e., the crest-jewel of the family of Raghu). A tribe known as Guzr is found, even to this day, to have spread itself to the sea of Azab in Russia. From this it follows that after these tribes of cowherds or shepherds wandering in central Asia, came to have dominions in India, they were by Rājasekhara called "Kings belonging to the Dynasty of Raghu", and were completely Kṣatriyaised.

THE EXPANSION OF THE GURJARA TRIBE

Tod mentions four families of the Rajputs, viz., (1) Paṇḍi-hāra, (2) Pramāra or Paramāra, (3) Cāhumāna (Cavhāna), and (4) Soḷaṅki. None of these is a Sanskrit name. To seek a Sanskrit etymology for these names would be as (ridiculous

as) deriving the word **खुरी** (Khurohi=a chair) as **खुरा पीकवे** **जसदाव**.—Of the four families mentioned above, the Padihara family is in some places called also by the name "Gurjara". From this it is reasonable to conclude that these four families were Gurjara families. Of those the Solanki Branch was established at Anahilapattana in 961. It was from this time forward that that province was called Gujarath. It appears that like the Ābhīras, the Gurjaras came in large hordes, since among the existing (Gurjara) classes, there are Gujar Gauḍa Brāhmanas (these are to be found in Rajaputana), Gujar goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths &c

CONCLUSION

Thus all the foreigners, viz., the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Ābhīras, the Turks (Turushkas), the Magas, the Hūpas and the Gujars who came into India at different periods got absorbed in the Hindu Society. None of the tribes is to be (now) found as distinct from the Hindus. Such was not however the case with the Mahomedans, the reason being that religion is their predominant instinct. As G. K. Gokhale (Original—'Gopalrao' only) said, we must also freely mix with them. Our tradition from early times has been to incorporate within ourselves all (others) if this tradition were to be kept up in the future, even the aggressive tendency of the Mahomedans is likely to be curbed. The foreigners who came here before the Mahomedans were absorbed so quickly and on such a large scale in the Hindu social organisation, that in the modern society (of India) any attempt to decide who is an Āryan and who a non-Āryan would be quite futile. Mr Jackson has in one of his writings expressed a similar opinion. [His words are —]

"It remains to refer to certain kinds of mental bias that are apt to affect the judgment in questions of Indian history. There is, in the first place, what may be called the patriotic bias, though it is shared more or less by European as well as

Indian scholars. It shows itself in a tendency to exaggerate the freedom of India from foreign influences, and to claim entire originality for such inventions as the Indian Alphabet, which bear their foreign origin on their face. This school loves to trace the leading castes of the present day to an Aryan origin and to accentuate the Hindu orthodoxy of the kings and conquerors of old. When these are looked upon as Hindus from the beginning, the most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked. I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European. Those Indians have indeed a poor idea of their country's greatness, who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput Royal races."

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE WRITINGS, AND OF THE
WORKS FROM WHICH EXTRACTS HAVE BEEN
INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME.**

1864

- 1 First Book of Sanskrit, Extracts from the Prefaces
to—[First Edition published in 1864]. (pp 413-414)

1868

- 2 Second Book of Sanskrit, Extracts from the Prefaces to—
[First Edition published in 1868] (pp 415-421)

1876

3. On Bhavabhūti, being extracts from the Preface to the
Second Edition of the Mālātī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti, with the
Commentary of Jagaddhara, Bombay Sanskrit Series. [First
Edition 1876 Second Edition 1905] (pp. 422-438)

1883

4. Basis of Theism, and its relation to the so-called Revealed
Religions. (pp. 603-616)

1884

5. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during
the Year 1882-83 and on the State of the Present Collections of
Manuscripts, Extracts from— (pp. 1-57)

1887

6. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the
Year 1883-84, Extracts from— (pp. 58-291)

1891

7. A Note on the Age of Marriage and its Consummation
according to Hindu Religious Law (pp. 538-583)

1893

8. History of Child Marriage. (pp. 584-602)

1894

9. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, Extracts from—(pp. 292-348)*

10. Social Reform and the Programme of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. (pp. 503-517)

1895

11. Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1895 (pp. 487-502)

1897

12. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91, Extracts from (pp. 349-412)

1901

13. Social History of India. (pp. 443-470)

1902

14. Presidential Address at the Bombay Provincial Social Conference held in 1902. (pp. 518-526)

15. Presidential Address at the National Social Conference held at Ahmedabad in 1902 (pp. 527-537)

1903

16. The Position of the Prārthanā Samāja in the Religious world. (pp. 617-623)

17. A Note on Ekāvālī (pp. 439-442)

1909

18. The Incorporation of Pre-Mahomedan Foreigners into the Hindu Social Organisation (pp. 624-638)

1915

19. The Indian Caste System. (pp. 471-486)

INDEXES.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING INDEXES.

C. = Country.
Ck = Cūlukya
Can. = Captury
Com = Commentary, or Commentator.
D = Digāmbara
D. or Dy = Dynasty.
Dā = Dharmaśāstra.
F. = Family.
Gr = Grammar
H P = High Priest.
J. = Jain.
K. = King
Lit. = Literature

Mbh = Mahābhārata.
Med. = Medicine
Mss = Manuscripts
N = Name
Phil. = Philosophy
Raṣ. = Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Rg or Rv = Rgveda
S = System.
Ś = Śvetāmbara
Sk or Skr = Sanskrit
Tān = Tāntric
U = Upaniṣads
VV = Verses etc

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